

KING CHARLES II.
*Commanding the Five Members
in the House of Commons*

exercised the authority, and displayed the majesty of a monarch, his insolent subjects would instantly shrink before him. The queen and several of the courtiers enforced this advice; and Charles, who was ever too nasty, and had lately received such insults that even no private gentleman could bear with patience, yielded to the fatal importunity of his friends and servants. He was encouraged to hope, that he could give the final blow to the popularity of the faction, by producing undeniable proofs of their having invited the Scots to invade England.

A. D. 1642. Accordingly, on the third of January, the attorney-general (by the king's order) presented to the house of peers the following articles of high-treason against Kinbolton, and five commoners, the most active persons in the opposition, viz. Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Arthur Haselrigg, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode:

" 1. That they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of England, to deprive the king of his royal authority, and to place in subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the lives, liberties, and estates of his majesty's subjects.

" 2. That they have traiterously endeavoured, by many foul aspersions upon his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his majesty odious to them.

" 3. That they have endeavoured to draw his majesty's late army to disobedience to his majesty's command, and to side with them in their traiterous designs.

" 4. That they have traiterously invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his majesty's kingdom of England.

" 5. That they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the rights and very being of parliaments.

" 6. That in order to compleat their traiterous designs, they have endeavoured, so far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join with them in their traiterous designs; and to that end actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king and parliament.

" 7. And that they have traiterously conspired to do, and actually have levied war against the king."

As soon as the Attorney-General had delivered these articles of impeachment, he demanded, in behalf of his master, that the house should appoint a committee of secrecy for examining the king's witnesses; that he should have liberty to add or alter as he pleased, and that the persons he had impeached should be taken into custody.

Charles seconded this attack by another still more bold and inconsiderate: a sergeant at arms repaired to the house of commons, and demanded, in the king's name, the five impeached members; but he was dismissed without any positive answer. In consequence of this, messengers were employed to search for and seize them; and their trunks, chambers and studies were sealed up and locked. These proceedings being related to the commons, they came to the following resolutions:

" That the sergeant at arms be ordered to apprehend and bring further as delinquents the persons who have sealed up the trunks, or doors, or seized the keys of Mr. Pym, Mr. Holles, or any other member of the house; and that the sergeant shall have power to break open the doors, and to break the seals off from the trunks.

" That if any person whatsoever shall come to the houses of any members of this house, and there break open the trunks, doors, or papers of any member, or seize upon their persons, that such member shall require the aid of the constable to keep such person in custody, until the house give farther order."

ther order; and this house doth declare, that if any person whatsoever shall offer to arrest or detain the person of any member without first acquainting this house therewith, and receiving farther order, that it is lawful for such member, or any person assisting him, to stand upon his or their guard of defence, and to make resistance according to the protestation taken to defend the privilege of parliament."

The king, irritated at these proceedings, resolved to go the next day in person to the house of commons, and demand the impeached members. But this design was not kept sufficiently secret to answer his majesty's intention. The countess of Carlisle, sister to the earl of Northumberland, discovered it, and sent intelligence to the five members, so that they had time to withdraw a few minutes before the king entered. Charles was attended with his ordinary retinue, amounting to about 200 men, armed in their usual manner, some with halberts, and some with walking swords. He left his attendants in the lobby, and the door being immediately thrown open, he entered the house and advanced to the speaker's chair, all the members standing up to receive him. Charles looked carefully round the house, but not seeing the accused members, he made the following speech to the commons:

" Gentlemen,

" I am sorry for this occasion of coming to you. Yesterday I sent a sergeant at arms to demand some, who, by my order, were accused of high-treason. Instead of obedience, I received a message. I must here declare to you, that though no king that ever was in England could be more careful of your privileges than I shall be, yet, in cases of treason, no person has privilege. Therefore am I come to tell you, that I must have these men wheresoever I can find them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect you will send them to me as soon as they return. But I assure you on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a fair and legal way; for I never want any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatever I have done in favour, and to the good of my subjects, I do intend to maintain it."

This imprudent action of Charles threw the house into universal disorder; and even before the king reached the door, some of the members called aloud, " Privilege! Privilege!" Immediately after his departure the house adjourned till the next day; and the five accused members retired into the city, where they were sure of protection. The guards at the gates were immediately doubled, and the greater part of the citizens continued under arms during the whole night.

The following morning Charles dispatched a messenger to the lord mayor, ordering him to call a common council immediately. His commands were accordingly obeyed; and about ten o'clock the king, attended only by three or four lords, repaired to Guildhall, and addressed the common council as follows:

" Gentlemen,

" I am come to demand such persons as I have already accused of high-treason, and do believe are concealed in the city. I hope no good men will keep them from me; their offences are treasons, and misdemeanors of a very high nature. I desire your loving assistance herein, that they may be brought to a legal trial.

" And whereas there are divers suspicions raised, that I am a favourer of the popish religion, I do profess, in the name of a king, that I did and ever will, to the utmost of my power, be a protector of all such as shall any ways oppose the laws, and

“ and statutes of this kingdom, either papists or separatists; and not only so, but I will maintain and defend that true protestant religion which my father professed, and will continue in it during life.”

The lord-mayor and aldermen behaved with the greatest respect, and attended his majesty as far as Temple-Bar; but he could not escape the contumacious language of the populace, who made the streets echo with the cry of “ Privilege of Parliament.”

No sooner had the king left the city, than a committee of the parliament met at Merchant-Taylor's Hall, doubtless to insinuate, that they did not think themselves safe without the walls of London. This committee was charged with the affairs of Ireland, which, notwithstanding the dreadful situation of the protestants in that kingdom, had been hitherto neglected. A declaration was, soon after meeting, drawn up, with regard to the late attempt on the privilege of parliament, and afterwards confirmed by the house. It was conceived in the following terms:

“ Whereas his majesty, in his royal person, came yesterday to the house of commons, with a great multitude of men, armed in a warlike manner, with halberts, swords, and pistols, who came up to the very door of this house, and placed themselves there, and in other places and passages near to the house, to the great terror and disturbance of the members thereof then sitting, and, according to their duty, in an agreeable and orderly manner, treating of the great affairs of both kingdoms of England and Ireland; and his majesty having placed himself in the speaker's chair, did demand the persons of divers members of that house to be delivered to him.

“ It is this day declared by the house of commons, that the same is a high breach of the rights and liberties of parliament, and therefore the house doth conceive, that they cannot, with safety of their own persons, or the indemnities of the rights and privileges of parliament, sit here any longer, without a full vindication of so high a breach of privilege, and a sufficient guard wherein they may confide, for which both houses jointly, and this house by itself, have been humbly suitors to his majesty, and cannot as yet obtain.”

The whole kingdom was now thrown into a flame; and nothing was talked of but declarations, votes and remonstrances, against the late flagrant breach of privilege. Several addresses were presented to the king, repelling him to name the persons who had advised him to pursue such alarming measures. Petitions were also sent up from different parts of the kingdom; and among others, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, represented to his majesty,

“ That trade is decayed, to the ruin of the protestant religion, and the lives and liberties of the subjects, by the designs of papists; more particularly, by their fomenting the Irish rebellion, by the changing the constable of the Tower, by fortifying Whitehall, and his majesty's late invasion of the house of commons. They therefore pray, that by the parliament's advice, the protestants of Ireland may be relieved, the Tower put into the hands of persons of trust; a guard appointed for the safety of the parliament, and that the five members may not be restrained, nor proceeded against, but by the privilege of parliament.”

Charles thought proper to send an answer to the city petition, in which he observed, “ that it was impossible for him to express a greater sense of Ireland than he had done; that, merely to satisfy the city, he had removed a very worthy person from his command in the Tower; and that the late tumults had rendered it absolutely necessary for him to fortify Whitehall

for the security of his own person: that his going to the house of Commons was to apprehend those five members for high-treason, to which the privilege of parliament could not extend; but that he never intended to proceed against them any otherwise than by legal methods only.”

This, however, did not at all tend to quiet the minds of the people. Exasperated by opposition, and influenced by the artful harangues of their leaders, the popular tumults every day increased; and the king thinking himself and family in danger, determined to remove from Whitehall, and take up his residence at Hampton-court. His friends, who were best acquainted with the nature of popular interruptions, particularly those of the lower class in London, exerted all their influence to prevail upon the king to lay aside his design. They observed, that a little firmness would be sufficient to dissipate the storm raised by an artful faction; that if he would remain in his palace, and his friends return to their seats in parliament, the giddy populace might soon spend their rage, and the affairs of government resume their natural order. But all their reasonings were in vain: Charles, after dismissing the guards, attended at Whitehall, removed, with his whole family, to Hampton-court.

Two days after the king left London he sent a message to the commons, wherein he proposed, that they should agree upon a legal method, by which he might carry on his prosecution against the members, lest farther misunderstanding, might happen with regard to the privileges. In their answer they desired the king to lay the grounds of his accusation before the house, pretending that they must first judge whether it would be proper to abandon their members to a legal trial. In a subsequent message, Charles informed them, that he was willing for the present, to wave all prosecution; and, by another, he offered pardon to the members; to concur in any law that should acquit or secure them; and to make any reparation for the breach of privileges, of which he acknowledged they had reason to complain. But the commons were determined not to accept of any satisfaction, unless he would name the persons who advised him to pursue that illegal method; a condition which they were sensible he would not comply with.

Though the commons were deaf to all the offers made them by his majesty, the distress to which himself and his family were reduced, excited the compassion of the wiser part of the nation. They were alarmed at the furious proceedings of the commons: no person seemed to be safe, as it could not be known what they would, or what they would not vote: the treason. It soon appeared that they were determined to strike a terror into every person who should venture either to speak his mind, or to do his duty. They allowed the attorney-general but one night to prepare for justifying his conduct with regard to the accusing the five members, and after many captious questions, which he could not answer without breaking his oath of secrecy, they voted him guilty of a high crime, and addressed the lords to detain him till they could bring him to an open trial. It appears, however, that the true design of these proceedings against the attorney-general was to oblige the names of the witnesses whom the king was to produce against the accused members, for when they were disappointed by the attorney-general, Had they succeeded in their intention, it might perhaps, have proved still more favourable to the king, as it is more than probable, that he had been able to obtain information and proof from the Scots, who would then have been obliged to declare in his favour, and they seem themselves to have been apprehensive of

this, for the Scottish parliament ordered their commissioners to mediate a peace between the king and his parliament.

The accused members, who had hitherto affected to remain in the city, now went in triumph to Westminster. Skippon, whom the commons, by their own authority, had appointed major-general of the city militia, conducted them thither at the head of a numerous army. And when the populace passed by Whitehall, they asked, in a very insulting manner, "What was become of the king and his cavaliers? and whither they were fled?"

From the proceedings of both parties, it now appeared sufficiently evident, that the sword alone could decide the contest. Charles, however, was still desirous of averting the horrors of a civil war; and accordingly sent a message to the parliament, desiring, "that they would digest into one body all the grievances of the kingdom, and to send them to him, promising his favourable assent to those means which should be thought most effectual for redress." But this request was refused; the commons pretended they were engaged in matters of too much importance to admit of time for such kind of business.

Every candid person must acknowledge that the concessions made by Charles were abundantly sufficient to have quieted the apprehensions of men who were desirous of peace. But the leaders of the party had to invincible a distrust of him, that they put no confidence in his promises; and were persuaded that nothing less than wresting all power from his hand would be sufficient for their safety. He, however, stood at present fairer in the eye of the public than he. He had taken away, by his messages and concessions, all the points controverted between them. New ones were therefore started. They desired him to put the Tower of London, all the forts, and the whole militia of the kingdom, into such hands as they could trust. Charles agreed to give the command of the Tower to Sir John Conniors, instead of Sir John Byron, though the latter had done nothing to merit his discharge; but he absolutely refused their request with regard to the militia.

Charles now removed from Hampton-court to Windsor, and employed his time in making dispositions for providing against events which he now saw in prospect of avoiding. He perceived that the intention of the parliament was to secure the magazines in the Tower of London, Hull, and Portsmouth; and even their addresses to him had hinted something of that kind. He had given private orders to the Duke of Newcastle to secure Hull; but the design being discovered by the treachery of some about his person, the house of commons insisted on his attending his duty in parliament; and ordered Sir John Hotham, a gentleman of great estate in that neighbourhood, to take care of the place for the parliament. At the same time, they passed a vote, that the governor of Portsmouth should admit no person into that fortress, nor suffer any part of the ordinance or military stores to be disposed of, without an order from the king signified by both houses of parliament.

Many people considered these proceedings as a dissolution of the regal government; especially as the commons had taken upon themselves, not only to dispose of the militia and trained bands of the capital, but to name lord-lieutenants of several counties, and even the captains that were appointed to command the ships of war. The duke of Richmond was highly exasperated at these proceedings, and made motion in the house of peers to adjourn for six months; but his motion was overruled, he was severely censured for his conduct, and a protest was entered by those lords who were friends to the com-

mons, because, as they pretended, his punishment was not adequate to his crime. So dangerous was it to oppose the current of popular fury, whatever unconstitutional methods were made use of to effect it!

The duke of Richmond was a nobleman of great spirit, nearly related to the king, and in possession of a very large estate. The leaders of the commons therefore thought it necessary to point him out as an object of popular resentment. They procured an attested copy of the protest, and resolved, "that the house had sufficient cause to accuse him of being one of the malignant party, and an ill counsellor to his majesty." Sir Ralph Hopton also felt the weight of their resentment. He had been one of the most strenuous declaimers against the real grievances of his country; but was persuaded the concessions made by the king were more than sufficient for reforming the government, and placing the liberties of the subject on a basis not to be shaken: He therefore opposed the proceedings of the house with great force of reason, and sometimes with indecent expressions, similar to those that had been used by many of the leaders against their sovereign. But the very words that had been applauded when uttered against majesty, were censured when they were directed against the leaders of the commons. His speeches were declared malignant, and he was committed prisoner to the Tower.

These proceedings of the commons so greatly alarmed the king, that he began to be anxious for the personal safety of his wife and children, whom he loved with the most tender affection. It was therefore resolved to send them to Holland, where they would be beyond the reach of their most inveterate enemies. His eldest daughter, the princess Mary, had been lately married to the prince of Orange, who now greatly interested himself in favour of his distressed father-in-law. In consequence of this determination, Charles accompanied his family to Dover, from whence they embarked for the continent.

While the king was employed in providing for the safety of his family, the commons presented to him a bill for disposing of the militia, or rather putting it entirely into the hands of the parliament. Charles did not absolutely refuse the royal assent to this bill, but replied, that he was not sufficiently at leisure to consider a matter of such importance, and therefore they must wait some time before he could give them a positive answer.

Alarmed at this delay, the parliament instantly dispatched another message to the king, pressing him for an immediate answer. They represented, that when dangers and distractions prevailed, a delay was of equal consequence with a denial; that it was their duty to see a measure so necessary to the safety of the public carried into execution; that the people in many parts of the kingdom had applied to them for that purpose, in the most earnest manner; and that, in some places, the inhabitants were so alarmed at their present dangers, that they had exerted their own authority in preparing for their defence.

Charles did not think proper to give the commons an absolute denial; but desired that if the military authority was in any part defective, it might be conferred on the crown; promising, at the same time, that he would immediately give commissions to such persons only as the parliament should name. But this was far from satisfying the commons. They replied, that the dangers of the kingdom were so pressing as to admit of no longer delay; and that if his majesty refused to satisfy his people, they would do it by their own authority.

Notwithstanding these menaces, the commons did not as yet think proper to pull off the mask. They pretended the greatest sorrow at his majesty's leaving the

the capital, and earnestly pressed him to return, and fix his residence at Whitehall. The king was astonished at this message, and gave the following answer to the committee who delivered it:

"I am so much amazed at this message, that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears! Lay your hands upon your hearts, and ask yourselves, whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies; and if so, I assure you, this message has nothing lessened them. As to the militia, I thought so much of it before I gave that answer, and am so much assured, that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point.

"For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall: ask yourselves whether I have not.

"What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask what you have done for me.

"Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I offer as free and general a pardon as you yourselves can devise. All this considered, there is a judgment of heaven upon this nation, if these distractions continue.

"God so deal with me and mine as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the protestant religion, and for the observance and preservation of the laws; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation."

This answer was considered by the commons as an absolute denial to their request: in consequence of which they declared, that those whose counsels the king followed were enemies to the state; that if he persisted in his resolution he would expose the safety of the three kingdoms to the utmost danger, unless the parliament provided some remedy; and that they approved of the conduct of those who had already put themselves in a posture of defence.

Though the commons thus assumed an independent authority over their sovereign, yet they were in reality greatly alarmed, especially when it was known that his majesty had set out to visit the northern parts of his kingdom, and that he intended to make the city of York the place of his residence. As soon as Charles reached Huntingdon, he sent a message to the commons, upbraiding them for their conduct with regard to the affairs of Ireland, and informing them, that he expected an equal tenderness in them with regard to his majesty's known unquestionable privileges, among which he is sure it is a fundamental one, that his subjects cannot be obliged to obey an act, order, or injunction, to which his majesty hath not given his consent; and therefore he thinks it necessary to publish, that he expects, and hereby requires obedience from all his loving subjects to the laws established, and that they presume not, on any pretence of order or ordinance, to which his majesty is no party, concerning the militia, or any other things to do, or execute what is not warranted by those laws; his majesty being resolved to keep the laws himself, and to require obedience to them from all his subjects. And his majesty recommends to his parliament, what he had before required, that they should compose and digest as soon as possible, such acts as they shall think fit, for the present and future establishment of their privileges, and the free and quiet enjoyment of their estates and fortunes, the liberties of their persons, the security of the true religion now professed in the church of England; the maintaining of his majesty's legal and just authority, and the settling of his reve-

nue; his majesty being very desirous to take all fitting and just ways, which may bring a happy understanding between him and his parliament, in which he conceives his greatest power and riches consist."

The commons were so irritated at this message, that they determined to insist upon their former resolutions concerning the militia: they voted severe penalties against all who had advised the king to give the answer he did to that bill; and resolved upon the question, "that when the lords and commons in parliament, which is the supreme court of judicature in the kingdom, shall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament."

The king had now reached York, and finding the people faithful to him, he determined firmly to oppose the attempts of the parliament with regard to the militia. On the contrary, the commons (resolved to support the power they had usurped in contempt of all laws) appointed lord-lieutenants to the different counties, gave them the command of the militia, the garrisons, and all the forts in the kingdom; obliging them to obey his majesty's orders signified to them by both houses; that is, the orders of parliament signified in the king's name, with an intent to dethrone him, Manifestos, the forerunners of civil wars, were published on both sides. Those of the king carried with them a force of evidence, which was only opposed by invectives. A detail of the sacrifices and concessions he had made, and of the violence and insults which had been their only reward, gave an appearance of justice to his cause. Confiding in the strength of his arguments, the king was desirous that the declarations of the parliament might be distributed with his own; while the parliament was very industrious to suppress the king's papers. Lord Falkland, secretary of state, and Mr. Hyde, afterwards lord Clarendon, were the authors of the papers in behalf of the king. In these the English constitution was defined with great precision; the three species of government, the monarchical, the aristocratical, and the democratica were distinguished; and the government of England shewn to be a compound of the whole, each tempering the other.

The civil war was not, indeed, yet declared, but it was sufficiently evident, that it must soon be the consequence from these furious measures. The army of all the forces levied against the Scots had been deposited in the magazine of Hull; and Sir John Hotham, the governor, had accepted a commission from the parliament, but was thought to be no enemy either to the church or monarchy. These circumstances induced Charles to believe, that if he proceeded in person to the gates of that town, before the commencement of hostilities, the governor, overawed by his presence, would admit him with his main retinue, by which means he might easily become master of so important a place. He was, however, mistaken. Hotham had received strict orders from the parliament to be upon his guard; so that when Charles appeared before the place, the governor sent him a very respectful message, desiring his majesty to approach nearer to the town; but the king, continuing to advance, he ordered the bridge to be drawn up, and the garrison to appear on the walls in a posture of resistance. When Charles was near enough, his voice to be heard by the garrison, he called Hotham, and demanded entrance; which the governor refused, declaring, that he had received no trust from the parliament. Charles was in no manner disposed to attack the place; and therefore repeated his demand, offering to reduce his train to a few persons. This was also denied; and the king

ceiving that the governor was determined to defend the place, he retired, after proclaiming Sir John Hotham a traitor by two heralds at arms. Charles afterwards complained to the parliament of the disobedience of the governor; but was so far from obtaining redress, that they justified his conduct.

The parliament, however, were greatly alarmed at finding the inhabitants of Yorkshire attached, in the firmest manner, to the royal cause. They had raised a guard of six hundred men for the security of his majesty's person, and seemed determined to assist him to the utmost of their power. The parliament, though they had already levied a guard for themselves, had attempted to seize the whole military power, the navy, and all the forts of the kingdom, yet they immediately voted, "that the king, seduced by wicked counsels, intended to make war against his parliament, who, in all their consultations and actions, had proposed no other end but the care of his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person: that this attempt was a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to a dissolution of the government; and that whoever should assist him in such a war were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom."

The proceedings of the two parties being now incompatible, both sides made the necessary preparations for deciding the dispute by force of arms. The parliament appointed the earl of Essex general of their forces; and the ardour was so great among the people in the capital, that no less than four thousand men enlisted in one day. At the same time, the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general. Orders were issued for bringing in loans of money, in order to maintain the forces levied to defend the parliament: and the zeal of the people was, in this particular, more remarkable than their enlisting under Essex; for during ten days, the throng was so great, that the persons appointed to receive the offerings of the populace had neither time nor room sufficient for the purpose; many of them were therefore obliged to carry back their treasures, till a more convenient opportunity offered for their being received.

But notwithstanding the parliament were thus supported by the voluntary offerings of the people, they were totally eclipsed by the splendid appearance of the nobility, who flocked to the king at York. Above fifty peers of the highest rank in the kingdom attended upon Charles, among whom was the lord-keeper Littleton; while the house of lords at Westminster seldom consisted of more than fifteen members, and even some of these were of the royal party, and constantly opposed the measures of the commons. The king issued commissions of array all over the kingdom, but the execution of them was voted treasonable by the parliament. They were, however, greatly astonished and alarmed, when they perceived a large and respectable part of the kingdom had declared for the king; and, in consequence thereof, a great number of propositions were made, on which they were willing to come to an agreement. Their demands were as follow:

1. That the officers of the crown, the ministers of state, and the governors of all the ports and forts of the kingdom, shall be chosen and approved of by the two houses, or by the council in the intervals of parliament. 2. That no places shall be given for life; but that those on whom they should be bestowed, may hold them no longer than they discharge their duty well. 3. That the two houses, and the council, shall name the person

unto whom the government and education of the king's children shall be committed. 4. That no marriage shall be concluded, or treated, for any of the king's children, without the consent of parliament. 5. That the laws against jesuits, and other secular priests, and in general against all papists, shall be strictly put in execution, without any toleration or dispensations whatsoever. 6. That the popish lords be expelled from the house of peers, and their children taken from them, in order to their being brought up in the protestant religion. 7. That such a reformation be made of the liturgy and church government, as both houses of parliament, with the advice of divines, shall advise. 8. That the king shall rest satisfied with the method taken by the parliament for settling the militia. 9. That a strict alliance be entered into with the states of the United Provinces, and other neighbouring princes and states of the protestant religion, against the pope and his adherents. 10. That the five impeached members be cleared by act of parliament, and restored to their rights, that future parliaments may be secured from the consequence of that bad example. 11. That peers made hereafter be restrained from sitting and voting in parliament, without the consent of both houses. 12. That the military forces now attending the king be discharged. 13. That the lords and others of the privy-council, and others in offices and employments, be removed, except such only as shall be approved by both houses of parliament; and that the persons made choice of to fill their places and employments may be approved of by both houses of parliament; and that the privy councillors shall take an oath for the due execution of their places, in such form as shall be approved of by the parliament. 14. That the great affairs of the kingdom shall not be concluded nor transacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown or unsworn counsellors; but that such matters as concern the public, and are proper for the high court of parliament, shall be debated, resolved, and transacted only in parliament; and such as shall presume to do any thing to the contrary shall be reserved to the censure and judgment of parliament; and such other matters of state as are proper for the privy-council shall be debated and concluded by such of the nobility and others as shall, from time to time, be chosen to fill that board, by approbation of both houses of parliament; and that no public act, concerning the affairs of the kingdom, which is proper for the privy council, shall be esteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the royal authority, unless it be done with the advice and consent of the major part of the council, attested under their hands; that the council shall be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty-five, nor under fifteen; and if any councillor's place happen to be vacant, it shall not be supplied without the assent of the major part of the council, which choice shall be confirmed at the next sitting of parliament, or else be void. 15. That the lord high-steward of England, the lord high-constable, the lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seal, the lord treasurer, the lord privy-seal, the earl marshal, the lord admiral, the warden of the cinque ports, the chief governor of Ireland, the chancellor of the exchequer, the master of the wards, the several secretaries of state, the two chief justices and chief baron, shall always be chosen with the approbation of both houses of parliament; and in the intervals of parliament, by the assent of the major part of the council, in the same manner as is before expressed in the choice of counsellors. 16. That

“ 16. That such members of either house of parliament, as, during this present parliament, have been put out of any place or office, shall either be restored, or otherwise have satisfaction upon the petition of such house of which they are members. 17. That all privy-counsellors and judges shall take an oath, the form whereof shall be agreed upon and settled by act of parliament, for maintaining the petition of right, and of certain statutes made by this parliament, which shall be mentioned by both houses; and that an inquiry of all breaches and violations of those laws shall be given in charge by the justices of the king's bench every term and by the judges of assize in their circuits, and justices of peace at the sessions, to be presented and punished according to law. 18. That the justice of parliament shall pass upon all delinquents, whether they be within the kingdom or in foreign parts; and that all persons cited by either house of parliament shall appear, and abide by the censure of parliament. 19. That a general pardon shall be granted, with such exceptions as shall be advised by both houses of parliament.”

It was not reasonable to imagine that Charles would ever comply with these demands, which were manifestly calculated to deprive him even of the shadow of regal authority. No subjects had ever talked in so high a strain since Henry III. was in the power of the Mountforts. They had, indeed, so changed every part of the constitution, that it scarce retained any vestige of its former state, except the name of a king at the head of a republic. “ Should I grant these demands,” said the king in his reply, “ I may be waited on bare-headed, I may have my hand kissed, the title of majesty may be continued to me, and The king's authority, signified by both houses, may be still the style of your commands; I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre, (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead): but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king.”

Nor did Charles content himself with refusing these demands of the parliament. He retorted their accusations with great force; and exhibited his charge against the commons in a very spirited and masterly manner.

The sword of civil discord was now drawn, and both parties made preparations for deciding by it the dreadful contest. Hambden, Whitlocke, Maynard, Grimstone, St. John, and Selden, accepted of the parliament's commissions, under the ordinance of militia; but the great weight of landed interest declared for the king. Charles was furnished by his queen with money, which she had borrowed upon her jewels; but the parliament had a much surer resource in public credit, upon which great sums were raised by way of loan; and small skirmishes passed between the royal and parliamentary parties in different parts of the kingdom.

The greater number of the lords were now with the king, and those who remained in the house knew not how to act, being, from various causes, fearful of declaring their sentiments. Some of them were reduced by the authority of Essex, and the leading members of the commons; some were intimidated by the danger to which their persons were exposed by the insolence of the populace; some by the threats of the commons to annihilate their order; some were influenced by resentment, and some by principle; so that upon the whole there was not a party sufficient, in their house, to stem the dreadful torrent that was now ready to rush upon the constitution. The vene-

erable earl of Bristol, disdaining the ignoble source of resentment for the usage he had met with from the king, in a very pathetic, but ineffectual, speech, exposed the impending calamities of England, and exhorted them to conclude a peace with the king on honourable terms. But his advice, however prudent and salutary, produced not the desired effect; the parliament were determined to push the advantage they enjoyed over the king to the utmost extremity. Hollis, by order of the house of commons, demanded at the bar of the lords the names of those peers who had refused to comply with the ordinance for militia, and made an ungenerous use of the discovery. The names of those that were known to be well affected to the king were published, by which means they were insulted by the populace, and could not attend their duty in parliament without being exposed to the utmost danger; while those who had the courage to join his majesty were branded with the opprobrious title of “ betrayers of the liberty of their country.” The commons likewise voted, that all householders in the north, without an order from parliament, should be seized and secured. At the same time they voted nine of the lords incapable of ever again sitting in parliament. In consequence of this last resolution the nobility who were with the king signed a paper “ that they would obey no orders or ordinances whatsoever, but such as were warranted by the known laws of the land; that they would defend the king's person, crown and dignity, together with his majesty's just and legal prerogative, against all persons and power whatsoever; that they would defend the true protestant religion, established by the law of the land; the lawful liberties of the subjects of England, and the just privileges of his majesty and both houses of parliament; and that they would obey no rule, order or ordinance whatsoever, that had not the royal assent.”

Animated by these assurances of support, Charles having collected a few forces, advanced to the southward, and, on his arrival at Nottingham, he erected his royal standard, the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the nation.

Never perhaps was a quarrel more unequal than that between the two contending parties, when Charles erected his standard. The parliament were masters of the royal revenues, the fleet, the sea-ports and the magazines of arms and ammunition. The king was destitute of almost every advantage. He had neither arms nor ammunition, except what belonged to the trained bands of the counties favourable to his interest, and a small supply sent him by his queen from Holland. It is therefore no wonder that the parliament entertained the most sovereign contempt for all the efforts they supposed the king was capable of making in support of his prerogative, and imagined that he would not even attempt to make a resistance, but must at last yield to the power, however enormous, of the two houses. The situation Charles owed his safety. Even after his standard was erected, the danger of a civil war was not in general apprehended, nor was it more than would have the imprudence to engage in a contest with enemies, and render his condition still more desperate by opposing a force so greatly superior to his own. These hopes were confirmed by the low condition of his army, if indeed his new forces deserved that name when he appeared at Nottingham. His train of artillery, though far from being large, he was obliged to leave behind him at Northampton, and his horses to draw it. The troops of the parliament consisting of above six thousand men, well armed and well appointed, lay at Northampton, under the command of the earl of Essex, within a few miles march of him, and seemed to threaten him with inevitable destruction.

When Charles reflected on these circumstances, he was greatly alarmed at his situation, and determined to make one more effort for concluding a peace with his parliament. He accordingly sent a message to the two houses, by the hands of the earls of Southampton and Dorset, Sir John Culpepper, and Sir William Uvedale. He proposed to open a negotiation immediately, in order to conclude a treaty of peace. He assured them that nothing on his part should be wanting to advance the true protestant religion, oppose popery and superstition, secure the laws of the kingdom, confirm all the just power and privileges of parliament, and render both king and people happy. "Bring with you (added he) as firm resolutions to do your duty, and let all our people join with us in our prayers to Almighty God, for his blessing upon this work."

The commons, however, instead of joining with the king in proposals for restoring the public tranquillity, reproached him with having erected his royal standard; and refused to open any negotiation, unless he would recall all his proclamations published against them. Even this answer did not exasperate Charles to make use of any indecent expressions; he offered to take down his standard, and recall his proclamations, provided they would recall the papers they had published against him and his friends. This was absolutely refused; they would agree to no terms, unless he would immediately take down his standard, and recall his proclamations, without their acting a reciprocal part.

But this negotiation, unsuccessful as it was, did Charles the greatest service. The parliament had treated the king's messengers with the utmost indignity; they did not even pay the common civility to their persons. At the same time, they ordered all their officers to repair to their respective posts immediately, and published the following declaration to indicate their conduct:

"Whereas his majesty, in his message, requires, that the parliament should revoke their declarations against such persons as had assisted his majesty in this unnatural war against his kingdom; it is this day ordered and declared by the lords and commons, that the arms which they have been forced to take up, for the parliament, the religion, the laws, and the liberties of the kingdom, shall not be laid down till his majesty shall withdraw his protection from such persons as have been voted by both houses to be delinquents, and shall leave them to the justice of the parliament, to be proceeded with according to their demerits; to the end that both this and succeeding generations may take warning, how they incur the like heinous crime; and also to the end that those great charges and damages, wherewith all the commonwealth have been burthened since his majesty's departure from the parliament, may be borne by the delinquents and other malignant and disaffected persons; and that all his majesty's good and well affected subjects, who by loan of monies, or otherwise at their charge, have assisted the commonwealth in time of extreme danger, may be repaid all sums of money lent them for those purposes, out of the estates of the said delinquents, and of the malignant and disaffected party in the kingdom."

The commons flattered themselves with receiving advantages from this declaration, but they were deceived: on the contrary, it turned the tide of popular affection strongly in favour of the king. This was perceived by the parliament, they were cautious in their proceedings; and, perhaps, to single consideration the king owed his safety. He was now looked on as so precarious, that Sir John Ashley, whom the king had appointed major-

general of his army, told him, that he could not give him assurance but he might be taken out of his bed, should the rebels make a brisk attempt for that purpose.

In consequence of this it was determined that the royal army should leave Nottingham, and the king accordingly began his march for Shrewsbury, the most convenient town in England for the rendezvous of his army. Every hour during his march added considerable accessions to his strength, the people flocking from all parts to join the royal standard. On his arrival at Wellington (a day's march from Shrewsbury) Charles ordered his army to be drawn up, ranged in several divisions under proper officers, and his military orders to be published at the head of each regiment. As soon as this was done, he mounted his horse, and placing himself, as near as possible, in the center of his army, addressed them as follows:

"Gentlemen,

"You have heard these orders read: it is your part, in your several places, to observe them exactly. The time cannot be long before we come to action, therefore you have the more reason to be careful; and I must tell you I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who shall transgress these instructions. I cannot suspect your courage and resolution; your conscience and your loyalty have brought you hither, to fight for your religion, your king, and the laws of your land. You shall meet with no enemies but traitors, most of them brownists, anabaptists, and atheists; such who desire to destroy both church and state, and who have already condemned you to ruin for being loyal to us. That you may see what use I mean to make of your valour, if it please God to bless us with success, I have thought fit to publish my resolution to you, in a protestation, which, when you have heard me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better quarrel; in which I promise to live and die with you.

"I do promise, in the presence of almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed protestant religion, established in the church of England; and by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

"I desire to govern by all the known laws of the land; and that the liberty and property of the subjects may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just rights. And, if it please God, by his blessing upon this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion; I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern to the utmost of my power by the known laws of the kingdom; and particularly to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent in this parliament. In the mean while, if this time of war, and the great necessity to which I am now driven beget any violation of law, I hope it will be imputed, by God and man, to the authors of this war, and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of the peace of the kingdom.

"When I willingly fail in these particulars, I shall expect no aid or relief from man, nor protection from above. But in this resolution I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of the blessing of heaven."

The effects this speech produced were of the most advantageous nature. The whole army were animated with fresh spirits; they promised to live and die with their sovereign, they now considered him not

only as the father, but the guardian of his country. His cause became so popular, that the town of Shrewsbury declared in his favour, by which he acquired a communication with all North Wales, and other places beyond the Severn.

The king had now learned, in the school of adversity, the useful lessons of complaisance, affability, and other popular arts, which he practised with infinite success. He erected a mint at Shrewsbury, and the nobility and gentry of his party poured in money and plate with as much zeal, though not in such large quantities, as the Londoners had done to the parliament. He had stooped to many other measures, which nothing but his necessities could justify, for raising money, and his troops were as regularly paid as those of the parliament, and as little burthensome to the country. The people were charmed to see the alteration made in the king, with regard to his address and behaviour. In all his excursions and marches, he repeated to his people his tenderness for their laws and liberties, and his resolution rather to die than infringe them. This behaviour gained the hearts of the populace; they flocked to his standard, and his army amounted to ten thousand men.

On the first appearance of the commotions in England, the two princes, Rupert and Maurice, sons to the unfortunate Palatine, offered their service to the king, and the former now commanded a body of horse, which had been detached to Worcester, in order to watch the motions of Essex, who was then on his march towards that city. Rupert had hardly reached Worcester, before he saw a body of the enemy's cavalry approaching the gates. He immediately attacked them with the utmost fury. The dispute was very obstinate, till colonel Sandys, who commanded the parliament's detachment, being mortally wounded, they gave way, and were totally routed by the royal party.

This action, though inconsiderable in itself, tended greatly to raise the spirits of the king's forces, and it was determined to march immediately to meet the parliament's army, and, if possible, decide the quarrel by a general battle. The royal forces were commanded by the earl of Lindsey, who had served many years in the Low Countries with great applause: prince Rupert commanded the horse: Sir Jacob Astley the foot: Sir Arthur Aston the dragoons: Sir John Heydon the artillery: and lord Bernard Stuart a troop of guards. Lord Clarendon says, that the estate and revenues of this single troop were at least equal to that of all the lords and commons, who remained in the parliament at Westminster. Nor will this appear improbable when it is considered, that both houses were remarkably thin; the commons often voting matters of the greatest moment, when not more than forty-five or fifty members sat in the house.

Charles left Shrewsbury on the 12th of October, and, in order to bring on a battle with the army of Essex, pursued his march towards the capital with great expedition. This alarmed the parliament so much, that they sent repeated expresses to their general to stop the progress of the royal army. Essex obeyed with reluctance. He was very unwilling to begin a war, which threatened the destruction of his country; but at last determined to obey the orders of his masters.

The two armies were now within six miles of each other. The king's army lay in the neighbourhood of Banbury, and that of the parliament at Keinton in Warwickshire. In the night of the 22d of October Charles received intelligence from prince Rupert, that the enemy was approaching; in consequence of which, early the next morning, the king repaired to the top of Edgehill, fully resolved to give them bat-

tle; and shewed himself as ready to expose his person as any private officer in the whole army. As each seemed equally forward for an engagement, the whole noon was spent in drawing up both armies, in which the king was the less expeditious, as some of his troops were not yet come up, and his situation was such that he could not be attacked without great disadvantage.

The right wing of the parliament's army was composed of a considerable body of troops, which lined some hedges, and two bodies of horse, drawn up near the town of Keinton. The left wing was composed of a strong body of foot and a thousand horse, commanded by Ramsay, a Scotch officer; and the center, which was designed as a body of reserve, by Sir William Balfour, under the earl of Bedford, general of the horse. Essex himself resolved to charge in person at the head of a regiment of foot.

The right wing of the royal army was commanded by prince Rupert, the left by general Wilmot, and the center by Sir John Biron. The king intended to have scattered some proclamations among the parliament army, offering his pardon to such officers and soldiers as should join his forces; but this prudent measure was neglected; and the old earl of Lindsey was so affected at the heat and animosity of the young officers, that he declared, "he did not look upon himself as a general, but would die as a private colonel, with a pike in his hand, at the head of his own regiment."

Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a body of horse to serve against the rebels in Ireland, had been obliged to serve in the parliamentary army, and was now posted in the left wing; but he no sooner perceived prince Rupert advancing, than ordering his troop to discharge their pistols in the air, he joined the royal detachment. This incident together with the furious charge of the prince, threw the whole left wing with consternation; they fired a disorderly fire, and were broken, routed, and driven off the field by prince Rupert, who pushed them above two miles, forgetting that he carried with him the flower of the royal army, and thereby exposed the king and the remaining part of his army to the most imminent danger. The right wing of the parliament's army had no better success. Ordered to their ground by lord Wilmot and Sir Robert, they also took to flight. The action had hitherto been chiefly among the horse, the foot on both sides were pretty entire, and fought with great courage. The forces of Essex made their chief efforts against the king's standard, which was carried by Sir Edward Verney, and bravely defended by his men; but their principal attack was against the division commanded by Sir William Stapleton. It was here the error committed in drawing up the king's forces was perceived. For though the body of reserve under Sir John Biron had now advanced and poured an attack against the artillery of Essex, and was on the point of taking it, yet Balfour's reserve was still in tire, and advanced to the relief of the artillery at the time when Stapleton was going to abandon it. Had prince Rupert, or general Wilmot, waited till this critical moment, the victory had been gained, and perhaps a final period put to the civil war. Both these commanders were at a great distance from the dispute, was now very unfavourable to the king. For Balfour's division charged him in the rear, and with so much fury, that the earl of Lindsey, being on foot at the head of his regiment, was mortally wounded, the royal standard was taken, and some of the king's cannon nailed up.

During this furious engagement, Charles, attended by his two sons, was in the center of his own host, at a small distance from the hottest part of the fight, but upon Balfour's breaking in, his person was in

most imminent danger, and he sent the two princes back to the hill, which they reached with some difficulty. The duke of Richmond, the earl of Dorset, and several other noblemen, kept by his person; and it was here that Charles had the first opportunity of shewing his personal courage. For drawing his sword, and advancing to attack the enemy, his soldiers were so animated by the example of their king, that they returned to the charge with more fury than ever; the royal standard was retaken, and the enemy in their turn obliged to give ground. Rupert, at the head of his horse, now returned from the unseasonable pursuit, and the battle assumed all the appearances of beginning afresh. The prince saw, with astonishment, that every thing bore the appearance of a defeat instead of a victory; but his troops were satisfied with carnage, and could not be prevailed upon to renew the attack. The two armies faced each other for some time, but neither of them shewed courage sufficient for a new battle. All night they lay upon their arms; and the next morning perceived themselves in sight of each other; but neither general nor soldier shewed any disposition to renew the fight. Essex first drew off his forces, and retired to Warwick. The king returned to his former quarters. The loss was greatest on the side of the parliament; and near five thousand men were found dead on the field of battle. On the king's side the earl of Lindsey, lord Aubigny, and Sir Edmund Verney, the king's standard-bearer, were slain in the action; and the lord Willoughby, Sir Thomas Lunsford, Sir William Vavasor, and Sir Edward Stradling taken prisoners. Among the parliamentarians, the lord St. John, and colonel Essex, one of their best officers, were killed, and Sir William Essex, father to the colonel of the same name, was taken prisoner. The coach of the earl of Essex, and some of his papers and his waggons, fell into the hands of the royalists.

It was the first action of any consequence that was fought between Charles and his parliament: and though neither could boast of any remarkable advantage, it occasioned a general consternation in the nation. A civil war was known in England only by tradition; the inhabitants were not yet habituated to consider one another as enemies in the field, nor to think it their duty to plunge their swords into the breasts of their friends, their neighbours, their equals, their brothers, and their parents; for such were the horrors entailed upon civil war. Both parties shuddered at dipping their hands in the blood of their countrymen; but when the first dread was over, all ties of nature and duty were broken; all relations, however tender, disappeared; and mankind were drowned in floods of cruelty, and sported upon the blood of their country. The dispositions of both parties were so violent, that it was almost impossible for any man to remain neuter, without exposing himself and his family to inevitable ruin. Many had joined the parliament merely from a received opinion, that the king was utterly incapable of making even a show of resistance, and must be obliged, without a drop of blood, to comply with their demands. When they saw him joined by those who had appeared at the head of the most forward opposition, of whatever was usurped, or even doubtful in prerogative, when they saw him surrounded by a council of court, and retain all the forms of law and equity, when they saw the noblest blood in England led to be tried in his defence, and his own person placed at the head of the army with as much appearance of resolution, as that of a common soldier of fortune, they began to imagine they had been too hasty in their choice, and to repent of their precipitous engagements: but they had gone too far to recede, and were obliged to stand or fall by the party

they had embraced; thinking that the king, whatever professions he might make, never could pardon the provocations he had received.

After Charles had refreshed his troops, and placed a garrison in Banbury, he continued his march to Oxford, the only place in his dominions at his devotion. But as the weather still continued favourable, the royal army was not suffered to remain idle. One Martin had been appointed governor of Reading by the parliament, who had considerably augmented the fortifications of the town. A party of horse was therefore detached to make an attempt upon the place, which was thought of great importance. At their approach both the governor and garrison were seized with a panic, and fled with the utmost precipitation to London, so that the royal detachment entered the town without opposition. This remarkable success induced Charles to march his whole army to Reading; and to form the design of approaching the capital itself.

The commons, alarmed at the king's progress, and the consequences that might ensue if his army should reach the city, sent an express to the earl of Essex, ordering him to march with the utmost expedition to London. He obeyed the order, and was received by both houses as a conqueror: they also made him a present of five thousand pounds, declaring "that they were infinitely obliged to the said earl, for the great and acceptable service he had done the common wealth, and that they should be ready on all occasions to express the due sense they have of his merit, by assisting and protecting him, and all others under his command, with their lives and fortunes, to the utmost of their power; that this should remain upon record in both houses of parliament for a mark of honour to his person, name, and family, and for a monument of his singular virtue to all posterity."

But notwithstanding this compliment paid to Essex, several of the most distinguished persons in the parliament were dissatisfied with the great powers with which he was invested; and were very desirous of preventing any farther effusion of human blood, if an equitable accommodation could be obtained. They were persuaded that the king would have no objection to enter into a treaty with the parliament, if he could procure the safety of his friends, who had, in a manner, been proscribed by both houses. But this was not likely to be effected. All the prisons, several of the halls, and other large houses in London, were filled with those the parliament termed delinquents; among whom were some of the aldermen both above and below the chair, and many of the richest citizens. These commitments had been made with all the insolence of power; and the goods, money, and houses of the delinquents, had been seized, in as arbitrary a manner as any act of authority ever committed by the king. The delinquents were not only punished before conviction, but upon the slightest suspicions.

These arbitrary proceedings could not fail of alarming every person of sense and reflection; and peace now appeared to be a very desirable object. The parliament had discharged many suspected officers and soldiers, who not having an opportunity of joining the royal army continued in the neighbourhood of London, and were perpetually forming cabals against the parliament. As it was impossible to prevent their correspondence with the king's friends, Charles conceived great hopes of their assistance, and this motive induced him to continue his march toward the capital. Previous to his leaving Reading, he sent a proclamation of pardon to the cities of London and Westminster, but the parliament ordered the sheriffs to reject it, the most effectual method they could

could have taken to render it universally known. At the same time Sir Peter Killigrew was sent with a petition to his majesty, for fixing some place near London where he might reside, while the negotiations for a peace were carrying on. Charles shewed great readiness to embrace this offer, named Windsor as the place for carrying on the conferences, and desired that the parliament's garrison might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that castle.

In the mean time Essex ordered six thousand of his troops to march to Kingston, that they might be in readiness to advance to Hounslow, to stop the progress of the royal army, provided they continued their march towards London; and sent several of his best regiments to Brentford, where they threw up some works, while another strong detachment filed off towards Acton.

As soon as Killigrew received the king's answer, he immediately set out for London. On his reaching Brentford, and finding it full of soldiers, he strongly represented to Essex that he feared his advancing so far from the city might prove an obstacle to the peace; but Essex took no notice of it. Killigrew, however, on his arrival at Westminster, prevailed with the parliament to write a letter to the king, intimating their design that a cessation of arms should take place between the two armies.

The active prince Rupert had been perpetually scouring the country at the head of his cavaliers. He well knew that the secret intention of Charles was, if possible, to march to London; and foresaw it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to effect it, if Essex had time sufficient to compleat his dispositions. It is sufficiently evident, that the commons themselves never meant that their petition for peace should imply a cessation of arms; because they thought it necessary to make the cessation a separate act, which they had dispatched to Charles by Sir Peter Killigrew. While that gentleman was passing with it to the king's head quarters, then at Colebrook, prince Rupert attacked the parliament's regiments and works at Brentford with the utmost fury; and, notwithstanding they made a noble resistance, they were all cut off, wounded, or taken prisoners, and the prince remained master of the town. In the heat of this action Killigrew arrived, with the letter for a cessation of arms in his pocket, and immediately informed Essex of the purport of his message. Essex would not suffer him to proceed any further, and made the necessary dispositions for acting on the defensive, till he could receive reinforcements from London.

The king now moved with his whole army to Brentford; while the city marched its trained bands, in excellent order, to join the earl of Essex, who determined, at all events, to engage the royal army. The parliamentary forces amounted to 24,000 fighting men, besides detachments, consisting of 1,000 more, which might have been recalled in a few hours. Essex was likewise possessed of a complete train of artillery, which he drew up in a lane between Turnham Green and Hammer-smith. His van consisted of Stapleton's and Goodwyn's regiments of horse. His main body and reserve were composed of his infantry, intermixed with the city trained bands. His cavalry formed the wings, the left extending towards the Thames, and the right towards Acton. A council of war being held, it was proposed by some of the officers, that the party lying at Kingston should advance towards Hounslow; that two of the best regiments of horse should file off towards Acton; and that, upon a signal given, Essex, at the head of the main body, should advance in front; by which means the king's army would be attacked at one and the same time in front, flank and rear. But none of the principal officers were for putting the success of the war upon

the issue of a single battle; because if they gained the victory, the constitution must be destroyed; if they were defeated, both themselves, their friends, the city of London, and the cause of liberty itself, must be left to the mercy of an incensed sovereign and a furious army. Essex, however, thought that some art was necessary in order to support his design of not coming to a general engagement. It was urged that the intended detachments would so greatly weaken the center of the army, that the king might easily force his passage, and get between them and London, before either the flank or rear of his army could be attacked, especially as it was known with what irresistible fury prince Rupert charged at the head of his cavaliers. It was therefore resolved not to venture a general engagement; that the three thousand men lying at Kingston should immediately march to London, where their appearance was highly necessary to allay a strong ferment that now appeared in favor of his majesty; and that the detachment at Acton should rejoin the main body. Both armies continued to face each other for some time, and several small skirmishes happened between the advanced parties, but nothing material occurred. At last they both retired, the king to Colebrook, and Essex to London.

A few days after the two armies retired, the parliament sent the following message to the king:

"May it please your majesty,

"It is humbly desired by both houses of parliament that your majesty will be pleased to return to your parliament, with your royal, not your martial attendants; to the end that religion, laws and liberties, may be settled by their advice; knowing, by a late and sad accident, that your majesty is environed by some such counsellors as rather persuade a desperate division, than a joining and good agreement with your parliament and people: and we shall be ready to give your majesty assurance of such security as may be for your honour, and the safety of your royal person."

Besides this message, petitions were now drawing up by the cities of London and Westminster for peace, which so greatly alarmed the violent party in the house of commons, that they were ordered to be discontinued. These disorders, and the difficulties which the commons were now reduced to for want of necessary supplies, encouraged Charles, in answer to their late address, to tell them, "That he repented his good subjects would look upon that resolution with indignation, as intended, by the contrary of it, to treat him with contempt; and debased by the malignant party, of whom he had to complain, as a wall of separation between his majesty and his people. That he had often told them the reasons that induced him to leave his capital, which, indeed, he was driven; and had often complained that the greatest part of his petitioners, the members of the house of commons, could not with safety to their persons, sit and vote here among them; but were debarr'd, by violent and artful practices, of those privileges which their rights, and the trust reposed in them by their constituents, justly gave them. That the whole kingdom knew an army was raised, under pretence of orders of both houses, (an usurpation never heard of in any age) which army had put his majesty in his own kingdom, given him London, Kenilston; and now these rebels, being routed and possessed of London, he was constrained to return to his parliament, that he might be in power of that army. That since the true and deavours of these desperate men could not save the crown from his head, it being defend'd by the providence of God, and the affection and loyalty of his good subjects, they had requested that

"liver it up, and put his own life, together with the
"lives, liberties, and fortunes of all his good sub-
"jects, into their merciless hands: that he thought
"proper to give no other answer to that part of
"their petition; but as he imputed not that affront
"to both his houses of parliament, nor to the major
"part of those who were then present there, but to
"that dangerous party which his majesty and the
"kingdom must detest, so he would not take advan-
"tage of it: that if they would really pursue the
"course their petition delivered at Colebrook point-
"ed out, he would perform all he then promised;
"whereby the hearts of his distressed subjects might
"be raised by the hopes of peace, without which
"neither religion, the laws, nor the liberties of the
"kingdom, could be settled and secured."

A negotiation, however, was opened at Oxford; and the earl of Northumberland, with four members of the lower house, repaired thither as commissioners. In this treaty the king strenuously insisted on the re-establishment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the restoration of his constitutional prerogative. The parliament still required new concessions, and a farther abridgement of legal authority, as a more effectual remedy to their fears and jealousies. Finding the king supported by more forces, and a greater party than they ever had imagined, they seemingly abated somewhat of the exorbitant conditions they had formerly claimed; but their demands were still too great for an equal treaty. Besides other articles, to which a complete victory alone could entitle them, they required the king, in express terms, to abolish episcopacy; a demand which they had only insinuated before; and desired that all other ecclesiastical controversies should be determined by their assembly of divines. They also desired the king to acquiesce in their settlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the entire authority of the sword. And in answer to the king's proposal, that his magazines, towns, forts, and ships, should be restored to him; the parliament required that they should be put into such hands as they could confide in. And having now, in the eye of the law, been guilty of treason in levying war against their sovereign, their fears and jealousies must, on that account, have multiplied extremely, and have rendered their personal safety still more incompatible with the authority of the monarch. The conferences, therefore, proceeded no farther than the first demand, and the parliament's commissioners returned suddenly to London.

Exclusive of the military operations between the principal armies, which lay in the heart of England, each county, each town, and almost each family, was divided within itself; and the most violent convulsions shook the whole kingdom. The two noblemen in the north, on whom Charles principally relied were, the earls of Newcastle and Cumberland. The latter soon resigned his command, but the former associated with the northern counties, where the inhabitants were well disposed to join the royal party; and on account of their being situated near the borders of Scotland, were much better provided with arms than the other part of the kingdom. Newcastle, therefore, soon raised an army of eight thousand men, but so pompously divided and subdivided into regiments, squadrons, and companies, that it appeared to consist of twice the number. The chief adherents to the parliament, among whom were the lord Fairfax, and colonel Sir Thomas Fairfax, were proclaimed traitors. Lord Fairfax had received a commission to command the parliament's forces in Yorkshire; but perceiving the people in general were prepossessed in favour of the king, he was obliged to act only on the defensive. He attempted to prevent the earl of

Newcastle from passing the river Tees, but his detachment was over-powered, and Newcastle marched directly to York, where he was received in triumph by Sir Thomas Glenham, the deputy governor.

During these tractions, the queen and Goring landed at Burlington-bay, with a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, and some money. The king's affairs in the north were now in a prosperous condition. He had a strong garrison in Newcastle. The regiments that were raised against him in Richmondshire and Cleveland had disbanded themselves. The earl of Newcastle had garrisoned Newark in Nottinghamshire. A detachment from his army, under the command of Mr. Cavendish, had made themselves masters of Grantham in Lincolnshire, and taken three hundred prisoners, with all their arms and ammunition.

The families of Huntingdon and Stamford had been for some time at variance with each other; and colonel Hastings, a younger brother of the former, had opposed, with success, in Leicestershire, the lord Grey, son to the earl of Stamford. The city of Litchfield itself was without fortifications; but the close, built by one of its bishops, was capable of making a good defence, and had been seized for the king by a party of Loyalists. Lord Broke, one of the most zealous parliamentarians in England, was ordered to attack this strong retreat. He accordingly advanced to Litchfield, at the head of a considerable detachment, and entered the city without opposition, the king's party retiring into the close. While Broke was concerting the proper dispositions for besieging the place, he was killed by a musket-ball, and by his death the parliament lost one of the most inveterate enemies Charles had in the nation. This event inspired his soldiers with a desire to revenge the death of their leader. They soon made themselves masters of the place, and took the whole party prisoners. The earl of Northampton, who commanded the garrison of Banbury, was advancing to the relief of Litchfield; but in his march threw himself into Stafford, in order to prevent the town from being fortified by Sir John Gell, one of the parliament's generals. Gell abandoned the place at his approach; but being joined by Sir William Brereton he advanced against Stafford. Northampton, who knew nothing of the junction, marched immediately out of the town, in order to fight Gell. The contest was very sharp, and though the royalists were far inferior in number, Gell's cavalry were totally routed, but the brave earl of Northampton lost his life in the action. This misfortune so intimidated his forces, though they had greatly the advantage, that they retreated to Stafford.

But the most remarkable actions of valour were performed in the western parts of the kingdom. Sir Ralph Hopton, at the head of a small troop, being obliged to retire into Cornwall, before the earl of Bedford, who commanded a superior army in Devonshire, he was joined by the militia, and the whole country reduced to peace and obedience under the king. But the loyalists were not contented with the advantages they had gained in Cornwall; they were desirous of carrying the war into Devonshire, and reducing that county also to subjection. Pursuant to this resolution, Sir Bevil Granville, the most popular man in that county, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Stanning, Arundel and Trevanion, undertook at their own expence, to raise an army for the king, and their great success in Cornwall soon enabled them to effect their purpose. Hopton had been as forward as any man in the parliament for opposing the king's measures, but being persuaded of his majesty's good intentions, and seeing no end of opposition but in rebellion, he joined the royal party, and received a

commission from the marquis of Hertford to act for Charles in the western counties. Hopton had served many years abroad with great applause, and was therefore complimented with the principal command of the army. Their success was so rapid, that the parliament was alarmed, and sent orders to Ruthven, governor of Plymouth, to march with all the forces of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and reduce the whole county of Cornwall to obedience. He obeyed the order, and was soon after followed by the earl of Stamford, with a considerable reinforcement. Ruthven having entered Cornwall by means of some bridges thrown over the Tamar, he marched with the utmost expedition, in order to bring on an engagement with the royalists before he was joined by Stamford's forces, and obtain alone the honour of that victory which he looked for with assurance. The royalists were equally impatient to bring the affair to a decision, before Ruthven's army received so considerable a reinforcement. The battle was fought on Braddock-down, and victory declared for the royalists, though greatly inferior in numbers. Hopton had made very artful disposition for the engagement. He concealed two field pieces behind his ranks, which opened at every discharge. These pieces did great execution among the enemy, and soon put them into disorder. The advantage was immediately perceived by Hopton, who led his forces to the charge, and obtained a complete victory. The rebels lost above two thousand five hundred men, together with all their artillery and baggage. Ruthven, with a few broken troops, the poor remains of his army, fled to Saltash; but that town being taken by Hopton, he escaped with some difficulty, and almost alone, into Plymouth. The earl of Stamford, informed of Ruthven's defeat, retired to Tavistock with great precipitation. But he was soon after obliged to abandon that town by Sir John Berkeley, who took possession of Tavistock for the king.

A. D. 1643. The royalists, however, notwithstanding these advantages, were greatly distressed for want both of money and ammunition; and this obliged them to conclude a neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonshire. But as soon as the spring advanced, the commons disapproved of the treaty, and the war re-commenced, with the appearance of every disadvantage to the royal party. Stamford, who commanded the parliament's forces, was at the head of near seven thousand men, well provided with money, provisions, and ammunition. Desirous of retrieving the honour he had lost when driven from Tavistock, he advanced against the royalists, who were not half his number, and oppressed with every kind of necessity. Despair, blended with their natural valour, now determined them to make one noble effort against the enemy. Stamford was encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton; and it was determined to attack them, in four divisions, by five in the morning, on the sixteenth of May. One of the divisions was commanded by lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton; another by Sir Bevil Granville and Sir John Berkeley; a third by Stanming and Trevannion; the fourth by Basset and Godolphin. The royalists pressed, with the utmost valor, four ways up the hill, and were as obstinately opposed by their enemies. For some time the battle continued doubtful, till word was brought to the royal forces that all their ammunition was spent, except four barrels of powder. This defect they determined to supply with valour, but at the same time to conceal it from the soldiers. Orders were therefore given to advance, without firing, to the top of the hill, where they would be on equal ground with the enemy. The courage of the officers was so well seconded by the soldiers, that the royalists continually gained ground. Major general Chudley, who com-

manded the parliament's forces, did every thing becoming a good officer; and when he saw his men recoil before the royalists, he advanced in person at the head of a strong detachment of pikes, and, piercing into the thickest of the enemy, was overpowered and taken prisoner. This incident determined the fate of the battle. His men began to give ground apace; so that the four parties of royalists approaching nearer and nearer, as they ascended the hill, they at last met together on the plain at the top, where they signalized their victory with mutual shouts and congratulations.

In consequence of this success, Charles ordered the marquis of Hertford, who had raised about twenty thousand forces in Wales, to join the Cornish royalists, and push their conquests still farther in the western counties. In his march he attempted to surprise Cirencester, but failed in the attempt, through some unavoidable accidents arising from the badness of the roads and weather. But as that town was of the utmost advantage to the king, prince Rupert undertook that service; and marching with the utmost expedition, took the place by storm, cutting to pieces the whole regiment of the parliament's forces, taking eleven hundred prisoners, and about four thousand stands of arms.

But the success of the royalists in the west was some measure balanced by that of the parliamentary army commanded by the earl of Essex, who had not taken the field, and laid siege to Reading. His army consisted of twenty thousand men. The town was but indifferently fortified, and defended by a garrison of three thousand men. The town was but indifferently fortified, and defended by a garrison of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, commanded by Sir Richard Aston and colonel Fielding. The largeness of the place, the weakness of the fortifications, and particularly the great consumption of gunpowder necessary for making a vigorous defence, and with which Charles was very ill provided, had occasioned a motion in the royal council for abandoning the place, and removing the magazines to Oxford: but before this could be effected, the town was invested by the enemy. The approaches, however, were carried on with so little judgement, that it was plain the place would not have been taken, had the fortifications been properly constructed. The enemy, however, enjoyed great advantages from the situation of the place, their cannon playing directly into the town, by which means several of the garrison were killed, and Sir Richard Aston dangerously wounded. The disabling of this able commander was of the most importance, as the king was now advancing the head of his army, to relieve the town. While he was on his march, the garrison, under Fielding, who had now succeeded to the command, after killing a great number of the enemy in their late thought proper to capitulate, by which the town was delivered up to the parliament's army. By the articles of the capitulation, the whole garrison were to march out with the honours of war, and be at liberty to join the royal army; but all deserters were to be given up to the enemy. The latter was thought so ignominious and prejudicial to the king's affairs, that Fielding was tried by a court martial, and condemned to lose his head for not doing it, but his sentence was afterwards remitted.

Though Essex had succeeded in his enterprise, his army, during the siege, had been fully supplied with every necessary from London, yet the hardships which the soldiers suffered, from the inclemency of the weather, had weakened them to such a degree, that they were not capable of undertaking any new enterprise: so that no action happened between the two armies, though several

neighbourhood of each other. Essex at last made a motion towards Oxford, and fixed his head quarters at Thame, on the borders of Buckinghamshire, in order to over-awe that country, which now began to turn in favour of the king. Colonel Urrey, a Scots officer, had been preferred to the command he held under Essex, on the pressing instances of the commons; but not thinking the post he enjoyed adequate to his merit, he threw up his commission; and presenting himself in his regimentals before prince Rupert, offered to conduct a detachment of the royal army to a place where they might, with great ease, beat up the enemies quarters. Rupert readily embraced the proposal, and Urrey performed the service with great courage and success, killing and taking prisoners a whole regiment of the parliament's horse, besides dispersing other detached parties, and returning to Oxford with a large booty, and a considerable number of prisoners. Animated by this success, he proposed a still more daring attempt to prince Rupert, at surprising the enemy's head quarters; offering at the same time, that the prince should enjoy the honour of the enterprize, while he himself acted as a volunteer. Nothing could be more agreeable to the daring spirit of prince Rupert than expectations of this kind. He embraced the offer with great avidity; and putting himself at the head of a well detached of horse, marched with so much expedition, that he surprised and cut in pieces two of the enemy's regiments, one of horse and the other of foot, quartered at Wickham, together with another considerable party lying at some distance. The success of the prince's detachment rendered it highly prudent to make any farther attempt, as the enemy was by this time, sufficiently alarmed; and he accordingly began his march back to the royal army. Essex, who was now informed of the success that attended Rupert, and exasperated at so daring an attempt, sent a party of his horse to intercept his retreat, at a bridge which the royalists were obliged to pass. His troops designed for this expedition were seen by Rupert, as he was marching over a plain called Chalchold, towards a lane which led to the bridge. He immediately perceived the disadvantage of being exposed in the debate, gave immediate orders for his army to halt, and drew up his party on the plain. Not being of having been discovered, the parliament's army advanced against the prince with great intrepidity; but being unable to support the furious charge of Rupert, they were all cut off, or taken prisoners, so that the earl of Essex could bring up the infantry to his assistance, and Rupert returned with his prisoners to Oxford. The famous Hampden, who commanded a regiment of foot in the neighbourhood, learned the party sent to intercept Rupert, as a secret, and rushed into the thickest of the battle, and among the prisoners, after the action was over, informed Rupert, that he was confident Mr. Hampden was wounded; for he saw him, contrary to his usual custom, slide off the field before the battle was over; he was hanging down, and his hands leaning on his sword. The soldier was not mistaken: news reached the next day, that he had received a brace of bullets in his shoulder, and that the bone was shattered. He languished eight days and then paid the debt of nature. He was sincerely lamented, even by his enemies. He was, doubtless, one of the greatest men that ever produced. His prodigious abilities, his invincible courage, his unshaken integrity, have been celebrated by writers of all parties. But he had equally inhibited the most violent prejudices against monarchy, and esteemed him as a prince wholly unworthy of any trust or confidence from his people. He was an attempt to annihilate monarchy, to subvert the ancient constitution of his country, and to introduce a civil war over every part of the

kingdom, was carrying opposition to a very blameable extreme; especially when there was the greatest reason to believe, that his antipathy to the king was not founded upon truth; and that the arbitrary proceedings of that prince proceeded rather from necessity, and a natural desire of supporting the prerogative which had been transmitted to him from his ancestors, than from any ambitious designs of eradicating the liberties of the people. Perhaps Hampden himself never intended to carry opposition to this dreadful height. It is more than probable, that he, as well as many others in the opposition, never imagined that the king could have found so many resources; and that he must have been obliged, even before the sword of civil discord had made any progress in depopulating the kingdom, to submit to the conditions offered by the parliament. Perceiving himself deceived in the resistance he imagined Charles could make, he endeavoured to repair the dreadful consequences of his mistake, by pushing on the war with more vigour and spirit than ever. He well knew that a decisive victory only could now protect his party from the indignation of an enraged sovereign; and was therefore desirous of pursuing, with the utmost intrepidity, the only measures that could restore peace to his country. When the king was informed of Hampden's misfortune, he was so sensibly affected with the fate of that great man, though one of his capital enemies, that he made an offer of his own surgeons to attend him; but it was too late: he had been seized with a violent fever, which hastily put a period to his life.

While the two principal armies continued in their quarters near the city of Oxford, Sir William Waller was sent, at the head of a large body of forces, into the west, with orders to incorporate among his troops the poor remains of the parliament's army that had escaped from the battle of Stratton. Waller was a man of great spirit and fortune: he had already displayed his great abilities as a commander, by reducing Portsmouth, and defeating Lord Herbert. His great reputation brought in vast numbers of volunteers, and he advanced into the west with the utmost celerity. But before he reached the place of action, prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford, had joined Hopton with a considerable reinforcement, so that the army of the royalists now amounted to near seven thousand men. They were well provided with artillery, and other necessaries, and greatly elated with their late success. But the disposition of the western forces, which had chiefly been disciplined by Hopton, were very different from the troops under prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford. They were very regular and tractable in their quarters; they paid punctually for every thing as far as their money would extend, and treated those who did not join them with great humanity and tenderness. They never levied money upon the inhabitants but with apparent reluctance, and with promises to repay it as soon as the circumstances of the times would permit. This abstinence was blended with the utmost courage, and a consciousness of their being the chief supports of the royal cause in that part of the kingdom. Maurice ridiculed this behaviour; and his troops having been accustomed to live at free quarters, looked upon the sobriety and regular conduct of the others as a reproach to themselves. It was fortunate for Charles, that notwithstanding this difference in the disposition of his soldiers, all of them were united in the common principle of supporting the crown; their reputation was very great, even with the parliamentary party.

From these considerations it is little to be wondered at, that the royalists should make a very rapid progress. Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstun castle, gave up without the least resistance, and gentlemen of known fidelity to the king were appointed governors.

Sir William Waller had now reached Bath, where he continued some time recruiting his army; and frequent skirmishes happened between the two parties, which generally terminated in favour of the royalists. At last the armies met at Landsdown near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event. The gallant Sir Beville Granville fell in the action, and Hopton was greatly hurt by the blowing up of some powder.

After this engagement the royalists marched to the eastward, in order to join the king at Oxford: but Waller hung on their rear, and greatly infested their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced with additional troops which flocked to him from all quarters, he soon so greatly surpassed the royalists in number, that they durst no longer continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of an action. It was therefore resolved, that prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford, should proceed with the cavalry, and, after procuring a reinforcement from the king, hasten back to the relief of their friends in the Devizes. Waller was so confident of taking this whole body of infantry, now abandoned by their principal support, that in a letter he wrote to the parliament, he told them that the work was done, and that he would inform them, by the next post, of the number and quality of the prisoners. But the king, even before Hertford's arrival, hearing of the great difficulties to which the western army was reduced, had prepared a strong body of horse, and immediately dispatched them under the command of lord Wilmot. Waller, instead of endeavouring to prevent the junction of this reinforcement with the foot in the Devizes, which he might easily have done by continuing the blockade of the place, drew off his troops, thinking himself sure of the victory, and that a decisive action would totally ruin the king's affairs. He was, however, mistaken. The infantry, relieved from despair, advanced with the greatest alacrity to join Wilmot, and a general action succeeded on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes. After a short but sharp conflict, Waller's army was totally defeated, few of them escaping either death or captivity. Waller himself, with the poor remains of his numerous army, fled to Bristol, and carried thither the first news of his own defeat.

This event, together with the late success of prince Rupert, and the death of Hampden, so discouraged Essex, that, quitting Thame and Aylesbury, where he had hitherto lain, he retreated to London, at the head of a broken and disheartened army, which, but a few months before, he had led into the field in so flourishing a condition. In the meantime the forces that had defeated Waller reduced Bath, and then marched to form the siege of Bristol, in conjunction with the troops under prince Rupert. Bristol was considered as one of the principal places possessed by the parliament; it was very rich, and garrisoned by two thousand five hundred foot, a regiment of horse, and another of dragoons. Nathaniel Fiennes, son to lord Say, commanded the forces, and many of the citizens took up arms, and joined the garrison. The fortifications were, however, incomplete and irregular, which induced prince Rupert to resolve to storm the city. Accordingly the assault was begun in four different places, and, after a desperate engagement, the suburbs were taken. But still the garrison were masters of the town, and the entrance was rendered more difficult by the ruins of the houses that were demolished in the late attempt; as well as by the loss sustained by the royalists. It was even proposed not to make any farther attempt, when, to the great joy of the whole army, the besieged beat a parley. The articles of capitulation were soon settled, by which the garrison were allowed to march out with their arms

and baggage, leaving their cannon, ammunition, and colours. The most wealthy inhabitants of Bristol, fearing the city would fall into the hands of the royalists, embarked the greatest part of their wealth on board their ships, in order to send it to London; but prince Rupert, informed of their design, seized the ships, and by that means became master of a very rich booty.

The taking of Bristol was of the greatest importance to Charles; but to shew that he was not associated with success, he published a manifesto, in which he renewed his protestation lately made with such solemnity at the head of his army, and declared his earnest desire of concluding a peace, upon the re-establishment of the constitution; offering to grant general pardon, and bury all that was past in eternal oblivion. But the factious inhabitants of London were so far from thinking that the king's late success gave him a title to talk of peace, that they resorted to greater violences than ever. Sir William Waller, now returned to the capital, and by his spirited harangues kept alive that enthusiasm, which a trying fortune seemed to have depressed. The leaders of the house of commons secretly promoted seditious dispositions of the people, though they professed they were very desirous of peace. The lords were no secret that they were determined to send propositions to the king, and his majesty's late manner occasioned by his successes in the west, was repented even by some considerable members among the commons, as a mark of royal clemency, and a proper basis for a treaty. On the fifth of August the king sent down to the commons the following propositions to be transmitted to the king.

1. "That both armies be immediately disbanded, and his majesty be intreated to return to his parliament, upon such security as should be thought satisfactory.

2. "That religion might be settled by the advice of a general synod of divines, in such a manner as his majesty, with the consent of both houses of parliament, should appoint.

3. "That the militia, both by sea and land should be settled by a bill; and the militia forts, all over the kingdom, put into such hands as the king should appoint, with the approbation of both houses of parliament; his majesty's revenue be absolutely and totally restored to him: only deducting such outlays as had been expended for the maintenance of his children.

4. "That all the members of both houses who had been expelled only for absenting themselves should be restored to their seats.

5. "That all delinquents, before the year 1642, should be delivered up to the justice of parliament, and a general pardon for all others, on both sides.

6. "That an act of oblivion should be passed, to wipe out of memory all former acts of hostility."

These propositions were immediately taken into consideration by the commons, and the answer relative to the king's revenue was agreed to, before being late on Saturday night when the bill was passed, the house was adjourned till Monday morning, when all the members in and about London were assembled, and there is the greatest reason to believe that the parliament been left to themselves, they would have laid a sure foundation for the salutary peace. But this was prevented by the factious faction, who had hitherto rendered abortive every attempt for putting a period to the unhappy discord. The two houses were surrounded by populace, who in a very clamorous and threatening manner, demanded that no terms of accommodation should be accepted. In the midst of this tumult Mr. Hollis produced a letter from Essex, dated the 10th of August, that the king's forces had taken Doncaster.

and Weymouth. But this was far from discouraging the faction; the tumults continued to increase, till the lords, in a conference with the commons, plainly told them, that unless care was taken to suppress the violent proceedings of the populace, they must and would adjourn their house, till they could meet and deliberate with freedom, and without danger to their persons. An order was accordingly sent to Pennington, the factious lord-mayor, ordering him to suppress these tumults. But many of the members, thinking their lives in danger, had retired from the house, and the propositions for a peace were rejected by a majority of seven. They now listened to no proposal from the lords that tended to put a period to the horrors of a civil war, but instead thereof appointed committees to sit in every hall in the city, to receive subscriptions for raising men and horses for the defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties. The lords were highly exasperated at these proceedings, especially as they saw, that, notwithstanding the late order, no care was taken to suppress the tumults, and that a party of the trained bands were suffered to attack and murder several women who had loudly clamoured for peace. The earls of Northumberland, Bedford, Clare, Holland and Portland, with the lords Conway and Lovelace, left the house and retired to the king, who received them with favour.

While these things were transacting in the parliament, it was proposed in council, that the royal army should march directly to London, where every thing was in confusion, and where it was hoped, either by an insurrection, by victory, or by treaty, a speedy end might be put to the civil destruction. Had this motion been carried, in all probability the consternation of the party at the approach of the royal army would have been fatal to their cause; but it was thought by the majority of the council, that the great number and force of the London militia would render the attempt too dangerous. Gloucester, lying within twenty miles of the army, offered an easier, and, at the same time, a very important conquest. It was the only garrison now possessed by the parliament in those parts. Should the undertaking be successful, the advantages would be very great; the whole course of the Severn would be under his majesty's command; the rich mal-content counties in the west, being deprived of all assistance, might be obliged to pay high contributions, as an atonement for their disaffection; an open communication would be preserved between Wales and these new conquests; and one half of the kingdom being entirely free from the influence of the parliament, might be united into a compact body, give the king a great superiority, and be employed with success in reducing the rest of England to obedience. These reasons induced the king to embrace a resolution that proved fatal to him and his adherents.

The garrison of Gloucester, consisting of about 1000 regular troops, besides the citizens who took up arms on this occasion, was commanded by one Malley, an intrepid soldier of fortune; but his not being infected with the enthusiasm of the age, induced Charles to think that he would soon listen to terms of accommodation. He was, however, devoted to his masters; and though no enthusiast himself, he well knew how to employ, to great advantage, that fanatical spirit with which his whole garrison, and the greater part of the inhabitants, were infected. The king sent a summons to the governor to surrender, giving him two hours to reply; but before half the time was expired, two citizens appeared at the head quarters, and displayed all the marks of that enthu-

stic ardour which had been so fatal to the peace of the three kingdoms. Without being asked the purport of their message, without exhibiting the least appearance of duty or good manners, they said, in a pert, shrill, undiminished accent, that they brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester; and, after making several insolent and seditious replies to some questions that were asked them, they delivered the following answer in writing: "We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and soldiers, within the garrison of Gloucester, unto his majesty's gracious message, return this humble answer: That we do keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty and his royal posterity; and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty signified by both houses of parliament; and are resolved, by God's help, to keep this city accordingly."

All negotiations were now at an end, and the siege was pushed with the greatest intrepidity. Sir William Vavasour lay, with his Welsh forces, on the west and north-west sides of the town; Ruthven, earl of Brentford, was posted on the south; and Sir Jacob Ashley on the east, where the king himself had his head quarters.

As soon as it was known in London that Gloucester was invested, the inhabitants were thrown into the greatest consternation. The whole city was immediately in confusion, and the people thought they saw the royal army thundering at their gates. Had even a party of the king's forces appeared in this moment of distraction, the consequences might have been fatal: but the siege of Gloucester demanded the king's whole attention, and in a few days the citizens recovered from their consternation.

In the mean time the arbitrary proceedings of the parliament exasperated many who had before joined them; and a combination was formed in London that required all the abilities of the leaders to suppress. Edmund Waller, so well known for his poetical writings, was a person of a very considerable fortune, and equally remarkable for his talents and elegance of manners. He was a member of the lower house, and had heartily joined in the measures that had been pursued for reducing the prerogative of the crown within proper bounds; but seeing no end of the encroachments of the commons, he exerted all his powers to stop the career of faction, and used the utmost boldness in his speeches in blaming the violent counsels by which the members were governed. But finding all his eloquence in the house was exerted in vain, he determined, if possible, to form a party in the city, that might oblige the parliament to accept of reasonable conditions, and restore peace to the nation. All the eminent persons in and about London had formed the same design, and highly approved the sentiments of Waller, the character of whose conversation, added to his character of courage and integrity, had procured him many friends. These all joined in wishing that some expedient could be found for stopping the impetuous career of the parliament, and bringing about a peace on equal terms. Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins, had for some time entertained the same sentiments; and informed Waller, that the same desire of peace among all men of sense and moderation prevailed in the city. It was therefore thought very easy to form a strong combination, for refusing, by mutual agreement, the illegal taxes imposed upon the people by the parliament, without the royal assent.

Pleased with the idea of restoring peace to their country, by obliging the parliament to accept of reasonable terms of accommodation, they applied themselves assiduously to form lists of persons whom they

they conceived would join them in their design; and soon had the pleasure of seeing them contain a considerable and very respectable number. But, unfortunately for them, a servant belonging to Tomkins, who had imbibed the fanatical spirit of the times, overheard their conversation, and informed Pym of their design. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner, were immediately seized, and tried by a court-martial. They were all found guilty, and Tomkins and Chaloner suffered death on gibbets erected before their own doors; but the sentence of Waller was respited, and he afterwards obtained a pardon, on paying a fine of 10,000*l*.

During these transactions in parliament, the siege of Gloucester was carried on with great fury; and Mafsey, ambitious of saving the place, and having under his command a garrison ready to sacrifice their lives in support of their religion, had hitherto maintained his part with such courage and capacity, that he had greatly retarded all the advances of the royalists. By sudden and frequent sallies he infested them in their trenches, and often gained considerable advantages. But notwithstanding all his intrepidity, he saw his garrison reduced to the last extremity; and failed not, from time to time, to inform the parliament, that, unless he was speedily relieved, he must, from extreme want of provisions and ammunition, be obliged to surrender.

The commons now found it necessary to exert their whole power and authority, in order to repair their losses, and put themselves in a posture of defence. They well knew, that if Gloucester fell into the king's hands, it would be very difficult to support themselves against a victorious army; especially as they had lately found that very great dissensions prevailed among the people, even in the capital itself. They used the utmost diligence to recruit the army of Essex, and render it capable of facing the royalists. They excited then preachers to renew their declamations against the cause supported by his majesty; and even had recourse to the expedient of impressing men into their service, though they had so loudly exclaimed against that practice when exercised by the king, and even very lately abolished it by a bill for which they had so strenuously contended. They also prevailed upon the city to send four regiments of its militia to the relief of Gloucester; an event expected with the utmost anxiety.

At length, an army of 14,000 men being raised, and properly equipped, Essex put himself at their head, and marched with the utmost expedition through Bedford and Leicester. He was greatly inferior to the royalists in cavalry; and prince Rupert had been detached, at the head of a flying party to harass him in his march; but Essex, by the more force of conduct and discipline, eluded all the efforts of Rupert, and passed over those open champaign countries, without any material loss. On his approaching the city, the king was obliged to raise the siege, so that Essex entered Gloucester without opposition. He found on his arrival, that the garrison was reduced to the utmost extremity, and that had his march been deferred one day longer, and the royalists made another attack, the garrison must have submitted, for they had only one barrel of powder remaining, and their provisions were wholly consumed. The country people supplied both the army and garrison with plenty of necessities, which they had carefully concealed from the royalists, pretending that their stock was entirely exhausted.

It is reasonable to imagine that Charles intended to give Essex battle if he returned by the same rout, and for that purpose continued for some time at Sudley castle, and thence removed to Evesham. But Essex sadly declined an engagement in an open country

where the king's cavalry, under so intrepid a leader, must have a decisive advantage. He lay five days at Tewkesbury, which was his first stage after leaving Gloucester; and seemed, by some preparations, to continue his rout to Worcester. But by a forced march during the night he reached Cirencester, and obtained the double advantage of passing unimpeded through an open country, and of surprizing a convoy of provisions, escorted by three hundred royalists. Essex now directed his march towards London, through the northern parts of Wiltshire, where he thought the king's horse could act only with the least advantage. But by the indefatigable activity of prince Rupert, his rear was attacked at Awbourn-chase, with so much success, that great numbers of his soldiers fell in the action. At last he reached Newbury; but was surprized to find, that the king, by forced marches, had arrived before him, and was already in possession of the place.

An action was now unavoidable, and the necessary preparations were made for the approaching combat by the leaders of both armies. The battle was fought with desperate valour and a steady bravery on both sides. Essex's horse were several times broken by the king's, but his infantry stood firm; and his long barrier of pikes against the furious attacks of prince Rupert, and those gallant troops of gentry, who chiefly composed the royal cavalry. The London militia on this occasion behaved with remarkable valour; and though taken so lately from their ordinary occupations, equalled the most veteran soldiers. They had been trained by Skippon, and the enthusiasm with which they were inspired rendered them strangers to fear. The engagement continued as its fury till night put an end to the slaughter, and left the event undecided. Essex, who had done more than he intended, renewed not the action, but pursued his march towards London, which he reached in safety. His rear indeed was once put into confusion by the king's cavalry, but no material consequences ensued; Rupert with all his intrepidity could not stop the army of Essex, so as to bring on a second engagement. The king followed the parliamentary army, and took possession of Reading, where he established a garrison.

The loss sustained on both sides in the battle of Newbury was not so great as might have been expected from the length of the action, which began at six in the morning, and continued till night; not more than 2000 men being slain in the said battle. Among those who fell on the part of the royalists were the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, two noblemen of great worth and abilities. But what rendered the loss irreparable, was the death of Isaac Carey, lord viscount Falkland, secretary of state. He was one of the most learned persons of his age, and stood foremost in the list of patriots, who were persuaded that the prerogatives of the crown encroached on the liberties of the subject. But when the royal power was confined within bounds, and the liberty of a subject had nothing to fear from the hand of authority, he embraced the defence of the limited powers which were still left to monarchs, without which he was persuaded the English constitution could not subsist. He was however generous with the miseries of his country, and dreaded the effects of his own party, almost as much as that of the parliament. Persuaded that an advantageous peace could only be attained when the forces of both parties were nearly balanced, he was very desirous of settling a negotiation, and settling the affairs of the kingdom on the solid base of the English constitution. On the morning of the battle in which he fell, he took some care in dressing himself, and in his

acquaintance that his motives for doing it were, his being unwilling the enemy should find his body in a slovenly, indecent situation. "I am weary of the times," added he, "and foresee much misery to my country; but believe I shall be out of it ere night." He fell in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

Notwithstanding the royal forces in the north were greatly superior to those of the parliament, yet they did not make that progress which might have been expected. The popularity of the earl, now created marquis of Newcastle, was very great in the north; but he was opposed by two men, who about this time began to render themselves remarkable for their valour and military conduct. These were Sir Thomas Fairfax, son to the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell. The former had obtained some advantages over the royalists, especially at Wakefield; and the latter obtained a victory at Gainsborough, over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendish, who perished in the action. Cromwell, by a painful observance of the duties of the field, and a remarkable zeal for the cause, was daily rising in preferment. He had never seen any foreign service, and if we believe his contemporaries, his courage was not natural, but gained by experience and reason. As he was a judicious judge of human nature, he began now to put in practice his favourite scheme, that of inspiring those whom he commanded with an enthusiasm, that might more than balance all the sentiments of honor, loyalty and duty in the other party. He succeeded, and the regiment he commanded became famous for a ferocious courage, founded on fanaticism, that nothing could withstand.

But notwithstanding the great abilities of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell, the advantages were on the side of the royal party in the north. They gained a complete victory over Fairfax at Atherton Moor, and dispersed his whole army. But the fortrefs of Hull greatly prevented the progress of the royalists, and it was determined to besiege the town. Newcastle accordingly set down before it with an army of twenty thousand men. Hotham was no longer governor; both he and his son had entered into a correspondence with the royalists, and had fallen victims to the severity of the parliament. Sir Thomas Fairfax was commanded in that town, and by his military conduct and valour rendered all the attempts of the royalists abortive, and he was obliged to raise the

As the success of each party was nearly equal, it appeared no prospect of peace, unless the Scots could be engaged to join in the war, it being considered that their weight must turn the scale of the victory favoured. The commons had been early making applications to the Scottish leaders; they had proposed as their agent into Scotland to carry on the negotiation. He represented the great danger that would attend the form of religion established in the country, if the royal party prevailed; and exhorted them to succour their distressed brethren in Scotland. The marquis, now duke of Hamilton, the earl of Montrose, had waited upon the queen, and laid before her the danger that threatened the kingdom from the negotiation of Pickering. Hamilton was for temporizing, but Montrose had very different sentiments, and urged the necessity of having recourse to more violent methods, in order to prevent the Scottish parliament from joining with the commons of England. But notwithstanding the favour of Hamilton, Charles intrusted Montrose with the affairs of Scotland; and he had earnestly requested that they would not allow any endeavours to prevent the Scottish parliament from joining in any negotiation with the com-

mittees which he understood the English parliament intended to send into that kingdom. The duke of Hamilton and his brother the earl of Lanark were sincere in their attachment, they undertook more than they were able to perform. A parliament or convention of the states was called, tho' expressly against the king's consent. This measure was indeed chiefly effected by the Scots commissioners, who after concluding the late treaty in England, had entered into a close correspondence with the leaders of the parliament in London. The negotiation had indeed been carried on with so much secrecy, that when it was first mentioned in the house of commons, it created a general consternation. There is something extremely shocking in the idea of calling in a foreign enemy; but the desperate state of their affairs rendered it necessary. The earl of Rutland and the lord Grey of Wake, were named as commissioners for the house of lords; but the former had not sufficient to get himself excused, and the latter, tho' considered as an unshaken friend to the cause of the parliament, so resolutely declined the service, that he was sent to the Tower for disobedience. Sir William Armyn, and Sir Henry Vane the younger, at last undertook the service, and were assisted by the same fanatical divines, who promised to bring over to their interest the Scottish clergy, on whose assistance the success of the negotiation in a great measure depended. Montrose sent timely information to the king of the intrigues of the English parliament, and offered, on receiving a commission for that purpose, to declare the convention of the states traitors to their country. Had this been done immediately, the attempts of the commons would, in all probability, have been rendered abortive; but the king listened so much to the counsels of Hamilton, that Montrose and his friends were neglected till the affair became desperate, and it was then too late. Hamilton indeed pretended, that he had done every thing in his power to prevent the Scots from agreeing with the English commissioners; but that all his endeavours were in vain. The truth is, a large arrears was still owing by the English parliament to the Scottish covenanters, and this must have been lost if the former had been ruined. The Scotch forces in Ireland had done nothing to answer the great expectation conceived of them; and tho' their general, the earl of Leven, had engaged they should never join the king, yet as the parliament was unable to supply Leven with money, it was hard to say what courtes the soldiers might follow, when pinched by necessity. Leven and his forces were therefore recalled from Ireland in order to prevent their settling in that kingdom, and passing over into England. Add to this, that the great spirit of Montrose, his virtuous popularity, his numerous dependents, and the inflexibility of his principles, rendered him now so formidable, not only to the covenanters, who were directed by Argyll, but also to the moderate party headed by the duke of Hamilton, that a coalition took place between these two parties against Montrose and the royalists. It happened to the Scots, as to a people wanton with liberty, who having nothing to wish for, had a thousand things to fear. Hamilton, with all his moderation, made no secret of his disliking the revival of what he called hereditary tyranny in Scotland, and consequently he was united with the covenanters in the main principle of opposition to Charles. For though the true motives of it were ambition, and an insatiable desire of possessing the revenues of the church, yet religion was the avowed pretence. The English commissioners improved all the passions the Scots entertained with regard to the king's intentions. They laid before the convention the steps they had already taken for an uniformity of ecclesiastical government between the

the two kingdoms; they invited him to send members to the assembly of divines, then sitting at Westminster, for introducing a farther reformation of religion, and offered to proceed as far as the low condition of their affairs would admit, in discharging the arrears due to the Scottish army. But at the same time, they mentioned the necessity of securing all those invaluable blessings by the Scots preventing the ruin of the English parliament, which could only be effected by immediately raising an army for their assistance.

This rebellious proposition would certainly have been rendered abortive, had not some of Charles's best friends been intimidated by a charge sent down against them by the English parliament, for holding a correspondence with the queen. Their letters had been intercepted by Fairfax, who forwarded them to London, whence they were sent to Scotland by the parliament. At the same time the king's friends were divided among themselves. The duke of Hamilton and his brother the earl of Lanerk, finding they had been deceived by the covenanters, would willingly have joined Montrose and the declared royalists; but that nobleman now considered them as the worst of traitors. He imputed all the ascendancy the king's enemies had obtained in Scotland to their counsels, and rejected, with indignation, all advances towards an accommodation. It is certain the Scots in general were at this time well affected to his majesty's person; nor did Montrose over-rate his own abilities, when he made an offer to the queen of taking the field against those noblemen who had voted for calling a convention of the states without the king's permission. His enemies were so sensible of this, that they offered to give him the second command in the armies; a proposal which he artfully eluded; and, notwithstanding all the provocations he had received, preserved an unshaken loyalty. Recourse was had to the same principles which had been before successful, that of undermining the civil authority by means of religion. They perceived insurmountable difficulties should they make their first attack upon the state; but they knew that treason would find a ready admission thro' the doors of the church.

At the time the English commissioners arrived in Scotland, the assembly of divines were in full convocation; and perhaps never were there seen together such a number of men so grossly ignorant, though dignified with a sacred function, and concealed under the disguise of public zeal. The episcopal clergy, who had a principal share in the government, when the alteration in religion took place, had either been sequestered, or enjoyed very little credit with the covenanters, and every vacancy that happened had been filled with the weakest and most violent men their country produced. Henderson, their moderator, in any other company of clergymen would have made but a contemptible figure, while Rutherford, Gillespie, and the other leading members of the assembly, by their writings and deportment, rendered it justly a question whether they were more fit for the discipline of a school, or that of a mad-house. Tho' Argyle, Loudon, and other great men, who had done so much for public liberty, had industriously encouraged this ignorance and frenzy in their teachers, they now began to feel the inconveniences of both. The weakest minds are susceptible of ambition; the lust of power is common to the wise and the foolish. The enthusiastic teachers were soon sensible of their own importance; and the torrent of zeal they poured out against popery, prelacy, and the like unmeaning words, grew more ungovernable, and swept before it all considerations of duty, loyalty, national independence, and public safety.

When the English commissioners presented their

letters and credentials from the Westminster divines they were received as angels speaking from heaven, and without consulting any thing but their own patriotic zeal, they proposed that a new league and covenant should be taken by the subjects of both kingdoms. Not contented with the establishment of presbyterian discipline in their own country, they indulged an ardent passion for propagating, by every method, that mode of religion in the neighbouring kingdoms. Persuaded, in the fervency of their zeal, that, by supernatural assistance, they should be enabled to carry their triumphant covenant to the gates of Rome itself, their joy was unbounded when a prospect opened of rendering it prevalent in England.

This solemn league and covenant was framed by Vane, who, in eloquence, address, and capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any person in that age. It effaced all the protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority. By this instrument they solemnly engaged themselves to pursue the universal extirpation of popery and prelacy in England, "as well as in Scotland, lest they should be partakers of other men's sins"; and undertook to pursue to extremity all incendiaries and malignants, terms which they extended as far, and to whom they pleased: and vowed an eternal adherence to a true peace and union between the two kingdoms. They also vowed to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland; but, by the office of Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that these kingdoms should be reformed, according to the word of God, and the examples of the purest churches. The Scots zealots, indeed, declared an expression entirely free from ambiguity; they regarded their own model as the only one which corresponded, in any degree, to such a description. Guthrie, afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, was the only member in the assembly of divines that perceived the ambiguity, or, at least, that had the courage to hint at what afterwards happened, namely, the wish that an independent party might root out prelacy, as well as prelacy, unless the assembly declared in express terms, what plan of church-government they intended both nations should follow. His voice, however reasonable in itself, served only to draw upon him an enormous load of public reproach, and the work of the zealots was hurried on, till that the new solemn league and covenant was unanimously voted.

The natural result of this covenant was a rupture with the English parliament; by which the Scots engaged to raise an army of 16,000 foot, and 2,000 horse. Desirous that the sword should overcome, and to victory to all refractory minds, they prepared themselves, with great alacrity, for their military enterprises. Their levies were soon completed. The hopes of good pay, and warm quarters, and a favourable disposition for the cause, induced numbers to enlist, so that their army was ready, at the end of the year, to enter England, under the command of their old general the earl of Leven.

Charles no sooner perceived the storm gathering in the north, than he endeavoured to secure himself by every expedient in his power. Ireland received promise of assistance. He accordingly concluded a treaty of arms with the papists: and the duke of Ormond sent over considerable bodies of his forces to England, by which means the royal army was greatly augmented. The success of prince Maurice in the west also tended to raise the spirit of the royal party. He had formed the siege of Exeter, which was defended by the earl of Stamford, who was forced

obliged to surrender the city. This was an important acquisition; but Maurice was so pleased with his new conquest, and the daily additions he received of men and money from the neighbouring counties, that he stayed too long at Exeter, without sending any assistance to colonel Digby, who had besieged Plymouth, a place of great importance. The royalists were, indeed, for some time, persuaded, that the town would be delivered up to him, by Sir Alexander Carew, the governor; but the design was discovered, and Carew sent prisoner to London. Digby, however, made himself master of mount Stamford, and had certainly taken Plymouth, had prince Maurice come in time to his assistance. But the prince, deceived by the negotiation with Carew, instead of marching to Plymouth, led his forces to Dartmouth, and after a tedious siege, reduced the town. He then marched to Plymouth, and joined Digby; but it was now too late. The garrison, before his arrival, had received a reinforcement of six hundred men from Portsmouth, under the command of an intrepid and experienced officer, who made so noble a defence, that prince Maurice, after sustaining a considerable loss, was obliged to raise the siege.

It is impossible, in a general history, to enumerate all the warlike operations of this busy year. Suffice it to say, that a war, which was extended over the whole kingdom, left hardly room for any man to continue neuter, however agreeable to his wishes. Every county became a scene of horror and of blood. Not only forts and castles, but also the seats of the nobility and gentry sustained long sieges. Each action, each siege, and almost each skirmish, did honour to some particular family; though, in such a multitude, many particulars that well deserve to be transmitted to posterity, are forgotten, and swept away among the refuse of things. But upon the whole, notwithstanding the exploits of Essex, Cromwell and Fairfax, the affairs of the king were in a much better situation than they were at the close of the preceding campaign. Lord Clarendon tells us, that he had now five armies in the field. The principality of Wales, an inconsiderable part of it excepted, was at his devotion. Plymouth, Poole, and Lyme, were the only places of strength in the western counties possessed by the parliament. Hull was the only considerable place they held in Yorkshire, and Nantwich, in Cheshire. But on the other hand, the parliament had received infinite encouragement. The earl of Essex had distinguished himself by his military talents, above either his rivals or enemies. He was entirely possessed of the affection of his own soldiers, and therefore capable of performing the most dangerous service. The earl of Waller was the idol of the associated counties, even many of the royalists held him in great esteem. Though almost a stranger himself to the army, yet Cromwell, perhaps the best general of the age, served under him with so much success, that the scale of war where he fought was always turned in favour of the parliament. The great courage and reputation of the chief and younger Fairfax, did honor to the cause they maintained. They lost no credit when vanquished, committed any acts of cruelty when victorious. Moderation prevented many in the north, who joined the royal cause, from exerting themselves with that vigour they would otherwise have done. William Waller continued still the idol of the London populace, though his actions, since the battle of Chatham, deserved very little applause. Many officers distinguished themselves in supporting the cause, and the parliament prudently rewarded even their miscarriages, when they were assured

of their good intentions, and that they had done every thing in their power to deserve success.

But the eyes of all parties were now principally turned towards Scotland, it being chiefly from that kingdom they expected deliverance or feared destruction. It is almost incredible with what severity the divines in that kingdom proceeded against all who refused their covenant. Those preachers and professors of the gospel of peace, issued the most peremptory order for seizing the goods, collecting the rents, and apprehending the persons of the royalists. Nor were they contented even with this unjust severity dictated by their fanatical strain of devotion, they gave a commission to the soldiers in general, to put to death all who refused to take the covenant, and made any resistance to their being sent to prison.

There yet remained in the English parliament some members, who, though they had been induced, either by private ambition, or their zeal for civil liberty, to concur with the majority, still retained an attachment to the hierarchy, and to the antient modes of worship. But in the present danger which threatened their cause, all scruples were laid aside; and the covenant, by whose means alone they could expect to obtain so considerable a reinforcement as an accession of the whole Scottish nation, was received without opposition. The parliament, therefore, having first subscribed it themselves, ordered it to be received by all who acknowledged their authority. This caused great rejoicings among the Scots. They highly applauded themselves in being the happy instruments of extending their mode of worship, and dissipating that profound darkness, in which, they fancied, all the neighbouring nations were involved.

A. D. 1644. A mediation had been proposed by the French for putting an end to the horrors of civil discord in England, by concluding a lasting peace; and the ambassador from that court had been some time in London for the purpose. Before the parliament had acquired the assistance of the Scots, they appeared to listen to his proposals; but he was now given to understand that his offers were rejected. They were, however, still distressed for money: they had sent a large sum to Scotland to put that army in motion, and the city seemed not forward to supply their wants. Essex relapsed into his former indifference, and appeared very desirous of putting an end to the war. He was far from being pleased with the steps taken by the parliament for introducing a foreign army, which must further increase the distresses of his country, as his own troops were in great want of necessaries. He therefore sent a message to both houses, acquainting them, that if his army, which lay at St. Albans, was not speedily supplied, he must throw up his commission. Fairfax and lord Gray made similar complaints, and displayed, in pathetic language, the distresses of their troops. Answers were immediately dispatched, promising the complainants relief as soon as the necessary supplies could be raised, but they rejected every offer for putting an end to the war.

The parliament, as a further testimony of their averfensels to an accommodation with the king, ordered formal preparations to be made for the trial of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. The unfortunate prelate still continued in prison, and had been for some time deprived of his estate and goods by the violence of the commons. Though it is certain that no subject had more largely contributed to the errors of government, yet his enemies, however keen and artful in their resentments, found insurmountable difficulties in forming a charge which could amount to high treason. His friends had not forsaken him in his confinement, he still continued his opposition to the

the parliament, and obstinately refused to collate a person to a living, when recommended to him by the faction. But still his case was very different from that of the judges; because it was next to impossible to convict him legally of what he had said and recommended at the council board, in which his chief crimes consisted. This did not, however, prevent the faction from treating him with the utmost severity. His books and papers were seized by an order from both houses, and his famous diary printed and published. But notwithstanding all the violence of his prosecutors, the articles against Laud were very defective, and they were obliged to have recourse to the same methods used before in the case of Strafford, that of accumulated treason; though it was confessed that no article, singly considered, amounted to treason. The charge against him, when properly considered, consisted of three general heads.

1. "A traitorous endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government.

2. A traitorous endeavour to subvert God's true religion as by law established, and to set up popish superstition and idolatry in its stead.

3. An attempt to subvert the rights of parliament, and the ancient course of parliamentary proceedings."

The most trifling allegations were brought to support this general charge. The most bitter speeches were made against him, and some of them delivered in the coarsest expressions. But notwithstanding all the spirit exerted against the primate, the lords proceeded very slowly in his trial; while he defended himself with so much vigour, reason, and eloquence, that the prosecution was for some time at a stand. His ruin was, however, determined, and every expedient was to be tried to complete it. The populace were no sooner informed that it was doubtful whether the lords would find him guilty, than petitions were signed, by a great number of citizens, for bringing him and the bishop of Ely to justice. This produced so great a ferment, that the earl of Pembroke, a violent enemy to Laud, intimated to them, that if they delayed any longer to give the satisfaction expected by the commons, the citizens would assemble and demand justice, as they did in the case of Strafford. Mr. Strode, one of the managers of the prosecution against the archbishop, threw out a menace of the same kind, at the bar of the house of lords; but upon their resenting it, he declared he had not done it in consequence of any commission from the commons, and that he meant not any affront to the peers. The lords were satisfied with this apology, and he was dismissed without censure. They were, however, greatly intimidated, and the principal part of them attended not the service of the house. The primate's enemies took advantage of this session, and when no more than fourteen peers were in the house, Laud was voted guilty of endeavouring to subvert the laws, overthrow the protestant religion, and lay aside the use of parliaments. But none of these articles, nor even all of them conjoined, were found by the judges to amount to high treason by any known established law of the land; and the lords declared themselves of the same opinion in a conference with the commons. Disappointed in their expectation of capitally convicting Laud, his enemies appointed a fast to be held, in order to rouse the spirit of the populace. A petition against delinquents was presented to the lower house, and every symptom of a dangerous convulsion appeared. The commons were, however, obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and pass an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate. But notwithstanding the low condition into which the house of peers had fallen, there appeared

some intention of rejecting this ordinance, and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguish, by threats of new tumults, the small remains of liberty possessed by the upper house. Apprehensive of the dangerous consequences that might attend their following their duty, and determined not to vote against the dictates of their consciences, only seven peers were in the house when the important question was decided.

The primate, who had long expected the fatal sentence, sunk not under its terrors. His fears dissipated in proportion as the fatal hour (which was to put a period to his mortal existence) approached. "No man, said he, can be more willing to send me out of life, than I am desirous to go."

On the morning of his execution he applied himself, with great fervency, to private prayer, and continued till the lieutenant of the Tower came to conduct him to the scaffold, which he ascended with a cheerful and composed countenance. He then made a speech to the people, endeavouring to clear himself of what had been laid to his charge; and having prayed for some time, he gave the executioner a purse, saying, without the least change of countenance, "Here, honest friend, God forgive thee as I do, and do thy office upon me with mercy." He then kneeled down, and prayed for some time; after which he laid his head upon the block, and praying silently to himself for a few minutes, he said aloud, "Lord receive my spirit;" which was the signal for the executioner, who, with one blow, struck off his head.

Thus died Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, in the 72d year of his age. He had many sad hours of leisure, during his imprisonment, to reflect, that the measure he had dealt to others was meted out to himself. He was an eminent instance that a great scholar may be a weak man, and a favourite minister a poor politician; that mistaken zeal is sometimes as fatal to the cause it would support, as premeditated treachery; and that nothing can more irritate the people of England, than to see religion affecting to hold the reins of government, and government actuated by the caprices of ecclesiastical authority. However mistaken, he was certainly sincere, and actuated by religious motives in all his pursuits. It was that supported him in the dreadful hour of trial, and rendered his last moments remarkably tranquil and composed.

While preparations were making for opening the campaign, Charles summoned the members of both houses, who adhered to his interest, to meet at Oxford. By this measure he hoped to avail himself of the name of a parliament, so passionately desired by the English nation. The house of peers was full, that though many lords were employed in different parts of the kingdom, it contained more than double the number of members that voted at Westminster. But the house of commons did not amount to above one hundred and fifty, not more than half the other house of commons. The session was opened by a speech from the king; and the address in order to enable him to recruit his army with more success, granted him the sum of 100,000*l.* to be raised by way of loan upon the subject. The king accordingly circulated privy seals, countersigned by the speakers of both houses, requiring the loan of particular sums from such persons as lived within places subject to his authority.

As Charles, in all his offers for peace, required nothing more than the re-establishment of the law and constitution, and the same rights which had been enjoyed by his predecessors, every dispute about peace, and every discussion of the terms on which that blessing could be obtained, tended more to

promote his interest; especially as he offered, in order to facilitate so valuable an end, to pass an universal act of oblivion, and to grant a toleration or indulgence to tender consciences. On the other hand, the parliament studiously avoided, as much as possible, all advances towards negotiation; because the terms on which they were willing to conclude a peace were of too exorbitant a nature for a general discussion. They were unwilling to expose to the eyes of the public their pretensions, though they well knew their partizans were blinded with the thickest veil of religious prejudices.

Sensible of their advantages, the parliament at Oxford wrote the following letter to the earl of Essex, the only channel by which it could be conveyed to the commons at Westminster; Charles having declared that they were no longer a free parliament, and consequently entitled to no authority.

“ My lord,

“ His majesty having, by his proclamation, summoned all the members of both houses of parliament to attend him at Oxford; we whose names are underwritten, are here met and assembled, in obedience to his majesty's commands. His majesty was pleased to invite us, in the same proclamation, by these gracious expressions, that his subjects should see how willing he was to receive advice, for the preservation of the religion, laws and safety of the kingdom, and, as far as in him lay, to restore it to its former peace and security (his chief and only end) from those whom they had trusted, though he could not receive it in the place where he appointed. This most gracious invitation hath not only been made unto us, but seconded and heightened by such unquestionable demonstrations of the deep and princely sense which affects his royal heart of the miseries and calamities of his poor subjects, in this unnatural war, and of his most entire and passionate affections to redeem them from that sad and deplorable condition, by all ways possible, consistent either with his honour, or the future safety of the kingdom, that as it were spurs to question the sincerity of them, so were it not want of duty and faithfulness in us (his majesty having declared that he called us to be witnesses of his majesty's, and privy to his intentions) should we not say, and witness to all the world the assurance we give of the piety and sincerity of both. We being fully satisfied of this truth, cannot but confess, that at our highest affections, in the deep and piercing knowledge we have of the miseries and desolation of the country, and those further dangers threatened in Scotland, we are at length erected into some calm and comfortable thoughts, that possibly we may, by God's mercy, if his justice have not punished this nation, for its sins, to total ruin and destruction, hope to be the happy instruments of our country's redemption from the miseries of war, and addition to the blessings of peace.

And we being desirous to believe your lordship, ever engaged, a person likely to be sensibly affected with these considerations, have thought fit to add you to that part in this blessed work, which is capable to repair all our misfortunes, and to support the kingdom from ruin; that is, by consulting by all the obligations that have power upon your conscience, or public piety; that laying to heart as we do, the inward bleeding condition of the country, and the outward more menacing dangers of a foreign nation, upon the very point of being invaded, you will co-operate with us to its preservation, by truly representing to, and faithfully and honestly promoting with those by whom you are surrounded, the following most sincere, and most earnest desire of ours; that, they joining with us in a right

sense of the past, present, and more threatening calamities of this deplorable kingdom, some persons be appointed on either part, and a place agreed upon, to treat of such a peace, as may yet redeem it from the brink of desolation.

“ This address we should not have made, but that his majesty's summons, by which we are met, most graciously proclaiming pardon to all without exception, is evidence enough, that his mercy and clemency can transcend all former provocations; and that he had not only made us witnesses of his princely intentions, but honoured us also with the name of being security for them. God Almighty direct your lordship, and those to whom you shall present these our most real desires, in such a course as may produce that happy peace, and settlement of the present distractions, which is so heartily desired and prayed for by us, and which may make us,

Yours, &c.”

This letter, which was subscribed by the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and forty-three noblemen, was sent by a trumpeter to the earl of Essex. But that nobleman, however disgusted with the furious measures of the parliament, and however desirous of a reasonable peace, was still more resolute to preserve an honourable fidelity to the trust reposed in him. He therefore, in his answer to the earl of Forth, the king's general, observed, that as the paper sent him neither contained any address to the two houses of parliament, nor any acknowledgement of their authority, he could not communicate it to them.

Charles, however, still desirous of making another attempt for bringing about a peace, determined to have recourse to the parliament at Westminster. A safe conduct was accordingly demanded from Essex for two persons to treat upon an accommodation. Essex readily complied, and Charles dispatched a message to the parliament for concluding a treaty of peace.

Various debates arose in both houses on this proposition; but it was at length jointly agreed to reject it. Accordingly, a letter was sent to the king at Oxford, refusing to open any negotiation, unless he would acknowledge them to be the only parliament: and the king, who knew what small hopes there appeared of any accommodation, refused to abandon the pretensions he had assumed, or acknowledge the two houses at Westminster more openly for a free parliament.

The considerable sums of money that had been sent from England to Scotland, and the flattering assurances the Scots had received that they should now be entitled to all the privileges of Englishmen, had the desired effect; and the Scottish army now marched for England with great alacrity. But notwithstanding all these advantages, the rebellion in that country was far from being general. Some of their greatest men were so thoroughly convinced of the good intentions of Charles, that they refused to accept of any command raised against the royal party in England. But the clergy and populace were of a very different opinion: they made no scruple of rushing into the field without provocation, and in a quarrel in which they had no concern.

The Scottish army was in excellent order, and consisted of 18,000 foot, 3000 horse, and 600 dragoons, all of them commanded by their own countrymen. They passed the Tyne on a bridge of boats, and summoned the town of Newcastle, which had been fortified by the care and vigilance of Sir Thomas Glenham, to surrender. They did not, however, make any attempt upon the place, because the marquis of Newcastle lay at Durham with an army of 14,000 men. But at the same time they did not continue

continue idle: they made themselves masters of the castles of Wark and Morpeth; and fortified a small sea-port town called Blyth, for the conveniency of receiving provisions.

In the mean time colonel Bellasis, who had a considerable body of forces, was totally routed at Selby by Sir Thomas Fairfax. This misfortune obliged the marquis of Newcastle to abandon Durham. Fearful of being inclosed between two armies, he retreated to York; and the Scottish general having joined Fairfax, they blocked up that city. But as the combined forces were not numerous enough to invest so large a place divided by a river, they contented themselves with preventing any reinforcement of troops from joining the marquis. Some time before Newcastle's retreat, another party of the parliament's forces, under the command of Meldrum, had besieged Newark, a place of the utmost importance to the royalists, as it kept open a communication between the king's southern and northern quarters. Prince Rupert was, therefore, ordered to attempt the relief of that fortress. Rupert was at Chester when he received the order, but assembling immediately his troops, which amounted to about 7,000 men, he advanced with such expedition to Newark, that he surprised Meldrum's army, and after killing about 500 men, he disarmed the rest, and seized all their cannon, carriages, and baggage. This defeat struck terror into the garrisons of the neighbouring towns, and Gainsborough, Lincoln, Slyford, and several other places were abandoned by the parliament's forces. The prince also relieved Latham-house, which had been besieged by a body of 2,000 men, and gallantly defended for eighteen weeks, by the countess of Derby. He took Bolton by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and marched to Liverpool, which made no resistance. His army was now increased to ten thousand men, full of spirits, and flushed with victory.

While prince Rupert continued at Liverpool, the earl of Manchester made himself master of Lincoln, and joined the Scots and the army of Fairfax before York. That city, though vigorously defended by the marquis of Newcastle at the head of his army, was soon reduced to extremities; and the parliament's generals, after enduring the hardships of a winter's campaign, and suffering great losses from skirmishes with the enemy, flattered themselves that all their labours would now be crowned with success. But they were soon alarmed with the news that prince Rupert was approaching. That intrepid general, having joined Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's cavalry, hastened to the relief of York, at the head of an army of 20,000 men. The combined army immediately raised the siege, and retreated to Marlborough, in order to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert, informed of their intention, approached the city by another quarter, and interpoling the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces with those of Newcastle. The marquis endeavoured to persuade him, that, having so successfully effected his purpose, he ought to be contented with the present advantage, and leave the enemy, now much diminished by their losses, and discouraged by their ill success, to dissolve by those mutual dissensions which had taken place among them. Had Rupert listened to this advice, he had, in all probability, triumphed over the enemy without striking a blow. The Scots had found themselves greatly disappointed during their march, in which they thought to have met with little or no resistance. They had expected the plunder of the richest counties in England, and their generals of nothing less than making the English officers serve under them. In all these particulars they were deceived, and their rough vociferous man-

ners rendered them excessively odious to the English commanders. Their avarice was insatiable, and all their words and conduct shewed that good pay and the hopes of plunder, were the chief motives that excited them to undertake the expedition. When this failed, and when they found that the money granted by the parliament was not so punctually paid as it had been liberally voted, they began to talk of returning to their own country to defend it against the attempts of Montrose, who was then in arms, and acting under the king's commission. They would not have carried this design into execution, had it not been for the hopes of an engagement, when they flattered themselves of acquiring riches by plundering the baggage of the enemy. But when prince Rupert reached York, by taking a different way, they became more sullen than ever. Manchester, Fairfax and Cromwell, were, by no means, in their company, while this morose discontented humour prevailed; they would have thought it dishonourable to have submitted to a generous enemy, than to be insulted by their own needy mercenaries. Newcastle was no stranger to these dissensions among them, and urged the propriety of continuing quiet in their quarters and suffer themselves to perish by their own dissensions. But these arguments were urged in vain; fighting was the cry of prince Rupert. He entertained the most invincible contempt of the Scots; and he had a few days before received a letter from the king, containing little less than a positive command to fight them, upon almost any terms, even after he had relieved York. But the greatest misfortune was a misunderstanding between the prince and the marquis of Newcastle, whose characters agreed only in personal courage and a strong attachment to the king's service. The marquis loved fighting; but hated the fatigue of it; the prince loved both. The marquis had trusted his person only. The marquis trusted greatly to his lieutenant-general; the prince surveyed and rectified every thing in his own person. The prince was fond of state and ceremony; the prince was both; and each was jealous of the greater share, other, with regard to the favour of the king, who equally loved and honoured them both.

As soon as Rupert entered York, he took upon himself the command of the whole army, without the marquis that he intended, the next day he put out the garrison, and gave battle to the enemy. The officers who could take the greatest liberty, the prince used every argument in their power to dissuade him from this resolution; but all their attempts were in vain; the prince continued in his purpose; and the marquis, that he might incur the least imputation of fear, submitted to the order.

The enemy, not suspecting that Rupert would hazard a battle in his situation, were sitting at Tadcaster, Cawood, and Selby, in order to cut off the riding of Yorkshire, and rendering it impossible for the royalists to obtain supplies, when they agreeably surprized to perceive, that the prince's dispositions he was making, intended to fight them. They immediately recalled all their scattered parties, and formed the line of battle. While these dispositions were making in the parliament's army, the garrison of York were so discontented with the behaviour of the prince towards them, that it was with the utmost difficulty the marquis general King persuaded them to march out of the city and join the royal army. This purpose accomplished, the prince formed his line of battle, and himself commanded the right wing, which consisted of five thousand horse. The generals of the

Potter commanded the main body; and Sir Charles Lucas and colonel Henry, the left wing: the whole army consisted of 17,000 foot, 9,000 horse, and a train of 25 pieces of cannon. The parliamentary army were, at least, equal to that of the prince in number. Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert commanded the right wing, in which the Scottish cavalry was posted. His father, the lord Fairfax, and general Leven, commanded the main body; and the earl of Manchester, assisted by Cromwell, the left wing. Before the battle began the marquis of Newcastle and his friends again desired the prince to suspend the action; assuring him, that they hourly expected a reinforcement of three thousand men from the north, and that Montrose was actually on his march, at the head of an army, to join them from Scotland. But the prince was deaf to every argument: he would listen to nothing but that of fighting the enemy immediately.

The battle was begun by prince Rupert, who charged, with his usual fury, the left wing of the parliament army, where Cromwell conducted the choicest troops, trained to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the most rigid discipline. This body stood firm, and charged in their turn with so much impetuosity, that the cavalry of the royalists gave way; and the infantry that stood next to them was also borne down, and put to flight. Newcastle's regiment alone, resolute to conquer or perish, obstinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the same order in which they had first been ranged. Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert also broke through the royalists; and, transported by the fury of pursuit, soon reached their victorious friends, who were also in pursuit of the enemy. But this indiscreet impetuosity had nearly proved fatal to the parliamentary army. Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded in the right wing, perceiving that the tempest was past, restored order to his broken troops, and made so furious an attack on the parliamentary cavalry, that they were thrown into disorder, pushed upon their own infantry, and the whole wing put to flight. Animated with this success, the royalists flattered themselves that the difficulty was over, and were on the point of seizing the carriages and baggage of the enemy, when Cromwell appeared in his return from pursuing the broken forces of the other wing. Both parties seemed astonished when they perceived that another battle must be fought before the victory, which each thought their own, could be obtained. The charge was again renewed with its former fury, and the balance of victory for some time suspended: but after the utmost efforts of courage by both armies, the parliamentary forces prevailed. Rupert's whole army was pushed off the field of battle and his train of artillery taken by the enemy. About 4000 of the royalists were slain, and 1500 taken prisoners, among whom were Sir Charles Lucas, and several other persons of note.

The marquis of Newcastle, enraged at the ill success of the party he espoused, and still resenting the harsh treatment of Prince Rupert, now determined to abandon the cause, and retire to the continent. He accordingly repaired to Scarborough with a few followers, where he found a vessel ready to sail, and soon landed him safely in France. He continued abroad till the restoration; and, though reduced to poverty, he learned to acknowledge the usurped authority of those who assumed the government of England.

Prince Rupert also formed a very precipitate resolution: for though the cavalry of the royalists was, in substance, still entire, and though the greater part of the infantry had escaped into York, he determined to abandon that city, and march his army towards Ox-

ford, which was still in the king's possession. He had no sooner left the city of York, than it was besieged by the parliament's army. Glenham, who commanded the garrison, made a brave defence, but was at last obliged to capitulate on honourable terms. Lord Fairfax was made governor, and a thousand horse were sent into Lancashire to join the parliamentary forces in that quarter.

Essex and Waller, who commanded two of the parliament's armies, received orders to join their forces and march towards Oxford; and if they found the king continue in that city to besiege it, and by one decisive blow put an end to the war. Charles ordered a rendezvous of his forces at Marlborough, and after proroguing his parliament at Oxford, came in person to the camp, and reviewed his army, which consisted of 6,000 foot, and 4,000 horse. As soon as the armies under Essex and Waller began their march towards Oxford, Charles drew his garrison out of Reading, and demolished the fortifications; the place being in no condition to stand a siege, if attacked by so powerful a force. It is not easy to lay what might have been the consequence had the junction between the forces of Essex and Waller been effected, as they amounted to upwards of 20,000 men; but these two generals hated each other so heartily, that they always found means to evade the orders of the parliament. Essex took possession of Abingdon, the place being unaccountably abandoned by the king's forces. Waller, at the same time, marched his forces to Farnham, so that nothing hindered the two armies from joining: for the royalists having abandoned Reading and Abingdon, the parliamentary army became masters of Berkshire, and the king was obliged to retreat to the northward of Oxford.

It was now thought that the condition of Charles was desperate; for Essex having gained the pass of Anflow-bridge, and Waller that of Newbridge, their armies were between him and Oxford, the only place of strength he was possessed of in the southern quarters. Charles retreated to Worcester, and it was expected at London, that the king must either deliver himself up to Essex, or throw himself into the hands of the parliament. Possibly this might have been the case, had a good understanding prevailed between the parliament's generals; but their dissensions gave Charles an opportunity of gaining two days march of Essex, who now ordered Waller to pursue him, and took upon himself to prosecute the western expedition, originally assigned to the other. Waller complained loudly of Essex for usurping his command, and produced his orders from the parliament; but Essex was absolute, and threatened to try Waller by a court-martial, if he refused to obey.

During this contention between the parliamentary generals, Charles had the opportunity of refreshing his army at Worcester; but fearing to be shut up in that city by Waller, who had now reached Exeter, retired with his army to Bewdley, and directed his course towards Shrewsbury. Waller, who expected a large reinforcement, marched forwards extending his quarters by degrees along the east side of the Severn, till he placed himself between the king's army and Shrewsbury. This was the very thing the king desired; for returning upon his own foot steps, he reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, marched, in his turn, in quest of Waller.

At length, after several marches and counter marches, the two armies faced each other at Cropredy-bridge, near Banbury, but were separated by the river Cherwell, which ran between them. On the 20 of June, Waller, who had received considerable reinforcements, drew up his army in order for battle, but in so advantageous a situation, that Charles made a

feint of marching towards Daventry, leaving a party of cavalry to guard Cropedy-bridge. This motion drew Waller from his advantageous post; and perceiving that the king's van was at a considerable distance from their rear, he attacked the party at Cropedy-bridge, at the head 15,000 horse, 1000 foot, and 11 pieces of cannon. The post was soon abandoned by the royalists; but his detachment had no sooner passed the bridge, with an intention to fall upon the rear of the king's army, than they were attacked, repulsed, and pursued with considerable loss. Stunned and dispirited by this blow, the army of Waller melted away by desertion; and the king thought he might safely leave it, and march to the westward against Essex, who had obliged prince Maurice to raise the siege of Lyme, and made himself master of Weymouth and Taunton.

While Charles was marching, he received so many reinforcements, that he now appeared in the field with an army superior to that of the enemy. Prince Maurice hovered round the camp of Essex with a flying army of 4,000 horse and foot, cut off his convoys, and perpetually harassed his rear during his march. Essex now found himself greatly distressed, and knew not what course to pursue: he was incapable of fighting the royal army, and had no place of strength whither he might retreat till he received reinforcements. A council of war was called, when lord Roberts proposed their marching into Cornwall. He observed, that the greater part of the inhabitants of that county was well affected to the parliament, and would join their army as soon as the troops appeared among them; that there was the greatest reason to think the king would not attempt to follow them into Cornwall, because he must by that means be exposed to the danger of putting himself between two fires, as it was more than probable Sir William Waller would soon be in a condition to follow him, and harass his rear. These reasons had the desired effect, and a resolution was taken of marching directly into Cornwall.

Charles immediately pursued Essex, and it was proposed, in a council of war, to attack him in his camp; but Sir Richard Granville being daily expected from the western parts of Cornwall with a considerable body of forces, it was thought more expedient to cut off his provisions, and force him to surrender at discretion. Essex informed the parliament of his danger, and desired that a body of troops might be sent to fall upon the king's rear. General Middleton received a commission to execute that service, but he came too late. The army of Essex, cooped in a narrow corner at Lestithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of success, was reduced to the last extremity. The king pressed upon them on one side; prince Maurice on another; Sir Richard Granville on a third; and Sir Jacob Ashley on a fourth. Essex, Roberts, and some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour, with his horse, passed the king's guards in a thick fog, and got safe to the garrisons of his own party. Skippon, who commanded the foot, had no method of escaping; he was therefore obliged to capitulate; by which it was agreed, that they should deliver up their arms, artillery, baggage and ammunition. This was accordingly performed; and the soldiers being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were dismissed.

The conduct of Charles during this campaign produced him the most distinguished reputation; and indeed it must be owned, that it fell little short of the best generals of that age. After his affairs were, to all appearance, desperate, he had reduced two strong armies of his enemies, commanded by their best officers, to the very situation which he himself had dreaded but a few weeks before. He triumphed over those very persons whom it was thought almost impos-

sible for him to escape. Middleton attempted to intercept the king's provisions, and was, in some attempts successful; but Sir Francis Doddington watched him so narrowly, that, after many bloody skirmishes, he was obliged to retire to Sherborne.

While Charles was in the west, Colonel Gage, one of the royal officers in Oxford, undertook the difficult service of relieving Basing-house, belonging to the marquis of Winchester, which colonel Norton, at the head of a large detachment of the parliament forces, had besieged upwards of three months. Gage had above forty miles to march from Oxford, and his route lay near the garrisons of Abingdon and Reading. He, however, performed the task with great applause; for though his party was not strong enough to raise the siege, yet he found means to throw into the house a large convoy of ammunition and provisions. He afterwards returned to Oxford without suffering any loss. The town of Banbury, and the castle of Dennington, were both relieved; and the king's army, after driving Waller out of Andover, marched unmolested to Newbury.

The repeated successes of the royalists greatly alarmed the parliament; and it was now determined to oppose the king with very numerous forces. They had now armed the subdued forces of Essex, and ordered Manchester and Cromwell to march with their recruited troops from the eastern association. All these forces, joining with those of Waller and Middleton, formed an army far superior to that of the king, and advanced to give him battle. Newbury was a second time the scene of the bloody animosities between the English. In this battle both parties were guilty of oversights. The king quitted his advantageous situation, and drew his army out into Speen-field, situated between Newbury and Dennington-castle, thinking that he could there be attacked only in front. But in a council of war held at Cheveley, it was resolved that Waller, assisted by the London brigade, and the forces of Essex, should take possession of Speen-field, that the earl of Manchester should advance to Shaw, that the former should begin the attack, and the latter on a signal given, force the pass at Shaw, by which the king's dispositions must be broken. This was however, a very dangerous service, as Charles was in possession not only of Dennington, near which Skippon, who commanded Waller's infantry, must pass, but also of Doleman-house, which was fortified, and flanked Manchester's forces. Waller, however, with the officers under him, acted with great intrepidity and success. They made a large circuit to avoid the fire of Dennington-castle, but their rear suffered very considerably by a sally made from the garrison. After escaping this danger, they attacked the king's troops about three in the afternoon on the twenty-seventh of October, and not only drove them from their works, but also took nine pieces of cannon. In this attack the soldiers of Essex, exhorting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge the disgrace at Lestithiel, charged with the utmost fury, and some of the cannon they recovered, being the same they had lost in Cornwall, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. But the earl of Manchester had not the same success in attacking the passage at Shaw: for though he passed the Kennet to the left, and seemed at first to have the advantage, yet Goring, putting himself at the head of Cleveland brigade, drove him back with great slaughter, and another person attempting to take Doleman-house, was obliged to retire with considerable loss. Night, however, coming on before the action on that side could be renewed, put an end to the battle; and Charles, fearing that a second engagement might prove fatal to his army, determined to avoid it. He then left his baggage and cannon in Dennington-castle,

and retreated first to Wallingford and then to Oxford. Soon after his arrival, he was joined by prince Rupert, at the head of a considerable body of cavalry, and a good train of artillery. Strengthened by this reinforcement, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed in the siege of Dennington-castle. Essex, detained by sickness, had not joined the army since his misfortune in Cornwall. Manchester, who commanded in his absence, though his forces were much superior to those of the king, declined an engagement, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of Cromwell, who conjured him not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of putting an end to the war. The king therefore carried off his artillery from Dennington-castle, in the face of the enemy, and by that means sufficiently repaired the honour that had been lost by his retreat from the battle of Newbury. But this was not all the advantage Charles gained by this action; it excited animosities between Manchester and Cromwell, equal at least to those that before subsisted between Essex and Waller, and which had proved so favourable to his majesty.

The battle of Newbury put an end to the campaign, and both armies were soon after distributed into winter quarters. But though the military operations were over for a season, the contests between the different generals increased when they repaired to London: the whole city and parliament were agitated by their mutual reproaches and accusations. These, indeed, owed their rise to a party, which had been some time formed in the parliament, but which the dread of the royal power had hitherto suppressed. This party were called Independents, a sect hitherto blended with the presbyterians, and acquired distinction only from the destruction of monarchy. Enthusiasts by system, infatuated with the idea of religious perfection, and believing that they were all supernaturally inspired, they would admit of neither rites, nor bishops, nor ministers, they pretending that the holy spirit, by its inward communications, placed both poor and rich upon a level, and made the ignorant equal to the learned. They hated royalty less than hierarchy. The object of the puritans was to restrain, theirs to annihilate the prerogative; and adding a profound policy to their absurd revenues, they executed what others thought impossible. Cromwell, who was at the head of the independents, was a capacity adapted to the greatest enterprize: he had the ardour of an enthusiast, the daring spirit of a leader of a party, the dissimulation of a hypocrite, the talents of a general, and the genius and address of a statesman. He declaimed, with great violence in the house of commons, against the conduct of Manchester, whom he accused of not pushing the war with the necessary vigour; especially of neglecting Dennington-castle, the opportunity of totally defeating the royal army. And Manchester, in his turn, accused Cromwell of seditious speeches, calculated to ruin the parliament.

The severity of these disputes alarmed the Independents, they perceived that they must now carry their scheme into execution, or abandon all thoughts of retaining it; and accordingly they formed the resolution of new modelling the army. Their maxim was, that he who drew his sword against the king, should throw away the scabbard. They were for desperate actions, and officers that would not hesitate at enterprize. They were, indeed, far inferior in number, both in the parliament and in the kingdom, to the presbyterian party; but they had address sufficient, in the end, to carry their design into execution. At their instigation, a solemn fast was voted, in order to implore the assistance of heaven. Some of the most famous preachers lamented the dissensions

in parliament, and charged the members with interrelated views. They complained of the perfidious remissness of the leaders, who, instead of putting a speedy end to the war, fought only, by prolonging it, to enrich themselves with the substance of the people. They intreated the Lord to raise up men more worthy to be the instruments of his providence. The day following, these discourses were represented by the independent party in parliament as the manifest inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The necessity of finding some remedy for these disorders was insisted on. The members were conjured to divest themselves of all personal interest and lucrative employments. Cromwell remarked, that since the commencement of the war, a number of able officers had been formed, who were capable of conducting the most dangerous expeditions; that the troops wanted a reform on a new plan, and the success would depend on the extirpation of abuses. These representations produced the desired effect. A committee was appointed to frame what was called the "Self-denying Ordinance," by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few officers who were specified. This ordinance gave occasion to the most furious debates, and, for some time, rent both the parliament and city into factions. It was observed by the independent party, that the discipline of the army did not correspond with the merit of the officers, nor were there any hopes, till the present vices and disorders, which prevailed among the soldiers, were repressed by a new model, that the forces of the parliament would ever be attended with signal success in any undertaking. The presbyterians, on the contrary, represented, that besides the ingratitude of discarding, by fraud and subtlety, so many noble persons by whom the parliament had been hitherto chiefly supported, they would find it extremely difficult to supply the place of men, now formed by experience to command and authority: that the rank alone, possessed by such as were members of either house, prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders; that greater confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain separate views from those embraced by the persons who employed them. But notwithstanding these reasons, which were urged with great force and eloquence, the bill passed both houses of parliament. In consequence of this act, Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and several others, resigned their commissions, and received the thanks of the parliament for their good services; and a pension of 10,000*l.* per annum was settled on Essex.

A. D. 1645. The Self-denying Ordinance being passed, it was agreed to recruit the army to 22,000 men, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. It is remarkable that his commission did not run like that of Essex, in the name of the king and parliament, but in that of the parliament alone; and the article relating to the safety of the king's person was omitted. Cromwell, being a member of the lower house, should have been discarded with the others; but this impartiality would have disappointed the views of those who had introduced the Self-denying Ordinance. He was saved by a subtlety and that political craft in which he was so eminent. At the time when the other officers resigned their commissions, care was taken that he should be sent with a body of horse, to relieve Taunton, besieged by the royalists. His absence being remarked, orders were immediately dispatched for his attendance in parliament; and the new general was directed to employ some other officer in that service. Cromwell feigned a ready compliance

ance, and a day was fixed when he would take his place in the house. But Fairfax having appointed a rendezvous of the army, wrote to the parliament, desiring leave to retain, for some days, lieutenant-general Cromwell, whose advice, he said, would be useful in supplying the place of those officers who had resigned. Shortly after he begged, with great earnestness, that they would allow Cromwell to serve during that campaign: thus the independents, tho' much inferior in number, obtained a complete victory over the presbyterians; it being sufficiently evident that the army could give law to the parliament. For though the command of the forces was, in appearance, conferred on Fairfax, it rested in reality, with Cromwell.

Fairfax, having thus procured the continuance of Cromwell, new-modelled the army by his assistance, incorporating some regiments into others, making a total change in all the military departments, and establishing a new discipline. All this, which at any other time would have occasioned a revolt, now passed without the least opposition.

During these transactions a treaty of peace was negotiating between the king and parliament, but with little hopes of success. Upon his majesty's return to Oxford, after putting his army into winter quarters, the two houses required, and procured a safe conduct for their deputies, with proposals for an accommodation, which they had framed during the summer. Charles, on their being presented to him, required, in his turn, a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond, and the earl of Southampton, who should carry his answer to the two houses. But this favour was not to be obtained, till he had addressed them by the title of the two houses of parliament assembled at Westminster, and also the Scottish commissioners. On this occasion Charles had recourse to an artifice, which does very little honor to his sincerity: he entered in his council-book a secret protest, importing, that though he had called them a parliament, he did not acknowledge them as such.

A treaty, however, being agreed to by both parties, Uxbridge was the place appointed for holding the conferences; and Charles appointed sixteen commissioners, who accordingly met those authorized by the parliament, attended by the Scots commissioners. It was agreed that the Scots and parliamentary commissioners should give in their demands with regard to three important articles, namely, religion, the militia, and Ireland; and that these should be successively examined and discussed, in conferences with the king's commissioners. But it was soon found totally impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to either of these articles.

In consequence of this, the negotiation was broke off, and each party prepared to decide the important contest by the sword. On the 3d of April Fairfax repaired to the rendezvous of his troops at Windsor, where, by the great care and assiduity of Skippon, his serjeant major, he found the army in excellent condition. Cromwell, having joined him from Salisbury, was dispatched with a party of horse into Oxfordshire, to prevent the junction of a large body of cavalry, detached from prince Rupert's army in the neighbourhood of Oxford. He was fortunate enough to meet at Ilp bridge five of the best regiments in the royal army, commanded by the earl of Northampton, and gained a complete victory, took 200 men prisoners, and 400 horses. He then summoned and took Bleehington-house, commanded by colonel Windbank, who was afterwards shot at Oxford, for delivering up the place. His next attempt was against another party of the royalists posted at Brampton-bush, under the command of Sir William Vaughan, whom he defeated and took prisoner, with two hundred of his men.

The town of Taunton was still besieged by the royalists, and the garrison was reduced to such extremity, that they had for some time subsisted on the most nauseous food. It was defended by colonel Blake, and attacked by Goring and Sir Richard Granville: but the latter being wounded, his command was given to Sir John Berkley, whom the troops refused to obey; and a difference happening between general Goring and the council in the west, the siege was raised at the approach of the parliamentary army.

After Cromwell had been so successful in his encounters with the royalists, he summoned Farrington-house to surrender. But colonel Bruges, who commanded the garrison, instead of complying with the demand, sallied out at the head of his troops, and Cromwell was defeated, though he had been joined by a strong party of foot from Abingdon, under the command of Major-general Brown. In the mean time prince Rupert defeated Masley, governor of Gloucester, and joined the king at Oxford; soon after which Goring defeated a body of Cromwell's horse, and brought his forces to the royal camp.

Charles now took the field at the head of his army, which consisted of 6,000 horse, and 5,000 foot. He directed his march towards Warwickshire, in order to relieve Chester, which had been for some time besieged by Brereton: but on the approach of the royal army, he drew off his forces, and marched towards Lancashire. In consequence of this the king changed his rout, and determined to attack the town of Leicester, which was very strong and defended by a good garrison: but by the remarkable bravery of his troops, the place was carried by storm, and the governor, with all his garrison, consisting of 1400 men, were made prisoners of war. Could the king have restrained the excesses of his soldiers, this acquisition would have proved of the utmost importance; but the disorders they committed, after they were masters of the town, did more prejudice to his affairs, than all the plunder they acquired, tho' it was very rich, did him service. Besides the prisoners he took about 1000 horses, fourteen pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition and military stores.

The loss of Leicester greatly alarmed the parliament. They pressed the Scots to quicken their march to the southward, and Fairfax, being now joined by Cromwell and Brown, was ordered to block up Oxford. But those measures were greatly embarrassed by the backwardness of the Scots, who had retreated into Westmoreland, and by the bad conduct of Fairfax's army, after its fatiguing march to the west. Fairfax, however, obeyed his orders, and lay down before Oxford on the 23d of May; though he was apprehensive the king would soon return, and shut him up between his army and the town, which was strong and well garrisoned. On receiving advice that the king was marching to relieve Oxford, Fairfax was ordered to leave the command of the blockade to general Brown, and watch the motions of the royal army; it being strongly suspected, that instead of marching to Oxford, the king intended to fall upon the associated counties. It soon appeared that this opinion was well founded; and a detachment immediately dispatched for raising the blockade of Oxford, and giving the king battle, if he could be brought to advance. Colonel Vermuden, who had been sent to join the Scots, finding they were retreated into Westmoreland, returned to the southward, and kept himself between the royal army and the associated counties. Borthal-house had been for some time besieged by Skippon, but made so brave a defence, that he was obliged to draw off his forces. He joined Fairfax on the 6th of June, and the next

the whole army reached Sherington, in order to defend the associated counties; certain advices having been received that the king had directed his march towards Northampton.

The parliament at Westminster were very uneasy, not from the success of Charles, but from the reproaches of the expelled members, who beheld the progress of the king with infinite pleasure. Goring had now cooped up Welden, who had been detached by Fairfax to Taunton, between his army and the walls of that place, and advice was every hour expected that both Welden and the town had surrendered. Charles had, however, seen his error and repented his having sent Goring into the west; but he still had it in his power to rejoin him, or to retire either to Leicester or Worcester, where he might have recruited and refreshed his army, while that of the parliament was harassed with fatiguing marches.

Had Charles taken these prudent measures, they would, in all probability, have been productive of the most salutary consequences; but, instead thereof, it was unhappily resolved to fight Fairfax. This resolution was principally owing to the ungovernable humor of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full, by urging the many difficulties under which the royalists laboured, and from which they could be relieved by nothing but a victory. The king's forces lay about Daventry in Northamptonshire, where he waited five days in expectation of engaging Fairfax, of whose marches he was totally ignorant. At last certain advice arrived, that the parliament's general, who had now been joined by all his parties, was advanced to Wooton, and that his head quarters was within six miles of that of the king. It was not even now too late for Charles to decline an engagement without any injury to his reputation. He might have taken possession of a strong camp upon Borough-field, where the forces of Fairfax could not have attacked him, and where he might have waited till joined by a party of 1200 horse, detached into Leicester; or even till Goring returned from his expedition against Welden's army. But these advantages were neglected, and the royal army advanced against that of the parliament.

The forces, which on both sides were nearly equal, were drawn up in Naseby-field, the spot on which the bloody contest between the king and his parliament was decided. The right wing of the royalists was commanded by prince Rupert, the left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the main body by the king in person. In the parliament's army, Cromwell commanded the right wing, Heton, his son-in-law, the left, and Fairfax, assisted by Skippon, the main body. The parliament's army had the advantage of ground and situation: their front extended some half a mile farther than the king's; and a party of their horse possessed themselves of some hedges, which prince Rupert's horse. The charge was begun by prince Rupert, with his usual celerity and valour. Heton made a stout resistance; and when he was run through the thigh with a pike, he maintained the combat till he was taken prisoner; but his courage was not sufficient to support the main charge of the prince; his whole wing was broken, and pursued with the most precipitate fury, by the parliament's army. He was even to be seen in the midst of the confusion in summoning and attacking the rear of the parliament, which had been left with a weak guard of infantry. The king led on his main body with great intrepidity, and with all the conduct of a prudent general. The contest was here very bloody. Fairfax and Skippon nobly supported the reputation they had acquired. The latter being

dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to leave the field; but he declared he would continue there as long as any soldier would stand his ground. But notwithstanding all the intrepidity of these two generals, the infantry in the center was broke; and Fairfax's own regiment, commanded by Sir Charles Doyley, was the only body of foot that kept their ground. Fairfax, however, with great presence of mind, brought up the reserve, and renewed the combat. In the mean time, Cromwell attacked the left wing of the royal army with such intrepidity, that they could not support the charge; they were broken, and pursued about a quarter of a mile, when Cromwell, who improved by his prudence the advantage he had gained by his valour, detached a party to prevent their rallying, while he himself turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment only maintained its order unbroken, though twice desperately assaulted by Fairfax. But the third attempt proved decisive; Doyley charged them in front, while Fairfax attacked them in the rear. The gallant regiment was now broken, and partly dispersed. Sensible, when it was too late, of his error, prince Rupert abandoned his fruitless attempt upon the enemy's artillery, and joined the king, whose infantry was now totally defeated. Charles did all in his power to animate this body of cavalry to exert that valour they had already displayed; he called aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But they saw too evidently the disadvantages under which they laboured, to obey even the command of their sovereign. The king was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy.

The number of slain in the parliament's army was greater than that in the king's, the former losing upward of 1000, and the latter not above 800. But Fairfax took 400 officers, and upwards of 5000 men prisoners. He also took 12 pieces of cannon, two mortars, 8000 arms, 40 barrels of powder, and 100 colours, together with the king's equipage, and cabinet, in which were copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be published. In a word, this victory was at once the greatest and most complete of any gained by the parliament during the whole course of the civil war.

Charles had still a fine body of 2000 horse, and 1000 foot, in Wales, under general Gerrard. Goring was at the head of an army before Taunton, little inferior to that the king had lost at Naseby, and the routed horse were every day coming in to some of the royal garrisons. But a flood of misfortunes were now to be poured on the head of this unfortunate prince: his enemies conquered his towns, garrisons and armies, almost as fast as a traveller could pass from one to the other. The lord Loughborough surrendered Leicester to Fairfax, without stipulating any other condition, than that of obtaining quarters for himself and his garrison. But Fairfax being no stranger to the wretched condition of Taunton, sent a messenger to the parliament for instructions concerning his march into the west. In the mean time, he passed from Leicester to Lutterworth, and proceeded, without any interruption, to Dorchester. The miseries of civil discord had, for some time, been so severely felt by the inhabitants of the western counties, especially those of Devon, Dorset, and Wilts, that they had formed a scheme of neutrality, under the title of Club-men. Their declared intentions was to resist either party who should attack them, and to mediate fair conditions between the king and his parliament. This association was now so strong, as to be formidable to both parties, who equally complained of their sufferings from the Club-men. Soon after Fairfax reached Dorchester, Mr. Hollis, a gentleman

of Dorsetshire, with several other leaders of the Club-men waited upon him with the following articles and requests, "That the associates provide arms, set watches, be quiet with those that excite no disturbance, seize all disorderly soldiers and send them to the nearest garrisons: not to deny quarters and contributions proportioned to their abilities: till their petitions be delivered, not to favour either party, nor to protect any not associated. To request the renewal of a treaty, with a cessation of arms, and also that the garrisons in Dorset, Devon, and Wilts, be put into their hands, till the king and parliament agree about their disposal: that they be freed from all charges, except the maintenance of those garrisons: that all laws, not repealed, be in force, and executed by the ordinary officers: that all persons who desire it may be at liberty to lay down their arms; and that others who have absented themselves from their houses may have free liberty to return." The general told them, that he greatly approved of their endeavours to bring about a peace; but not of the cessation of arms, or of disbanding the soldiers; but promised to protect them from being plundered, and required them to discontinue their meetings. Perhaps he would not have dismissed the leaders of the Club-men on such easy terms, had he not been very desirous of prosecuting his favourite scheme, the relief of Taunton, the parliament having consented to his leading the army into those parts, where the royalists were still powerful, and capable of making a gallant resistance.

But feuds and animosities had, for some time, prevailed among the officers, and threatened inevitable ruin to the royal party. Goring was capable of performing all that could be required from the bravest and vilest of mankind. His abilities were sufficient to clothe vice with every advantage; his eloquence to delude caution into ruin. His heart, insensible either to the happiness or miseries of others, laid not a check on his career of wickedness. His profligacy, his intemperance, his riots, his oversights and his negligence, rendered it problematical for what end nature had bestowed her gifts on a person who disgraced them; and why fortune courted a man so ungrateful to her favours. The hopes of victory could not restrain him from debauchery, nor the fear of infamy deter him from treachery. His serving the royal party was not in him the result of principle, but of accident; and when opposed by the king's council, it caused him more pains to disappoint, than it would have done to have executed the excellent dispositions laid down by himself for the service of his master. The ravages and barbarities of his soldiers had rendered him so disagreeable to the royal party in the west, that he knew they had done him ill offices with his master, and was resolved the service should suffer. He was accordingly so negligent in guarding the passages to Taunton, that the besieged received frequent relief from the adjacent country, and even his chief officers were suffered to have interviews with those of the enemy. This at once prolonged the siege, and discouraged the infantry so greatly, that they mouldered away; and when Fairfax advanced to relieve the place, Goring found himself under a necessity, wantonly occasioned by his own negligence, of raising the siege. He retired to Lampport, an open town in Somersetshire, where he was defeated by Fairfax, who killed 300 of his men, and took 1400 prisoners.

Fairfax now sat down before Bridgewater, a strong and important town in that county. The place was defended by colonel Windham, at the head of a garrison of 2,600 men. For some time the besieged made a stout resistance; but the outer town being taken by storm, Windham capitulated, and delivered up the place to Fairfax, by which the whole garrison were made prisoners of war. The taking of Bridge-

water was a dreadful blow to the royalists, because was considered as impregnable; and the king's friends had laid up in it, as a sure repository, their treasure and most valuable effects.

The king was now retreated to Cardiff, in South Wales, where he had leisure to reflect on his fallen condition; and, perhaps, saw it more clearly and felt it more sensibly, than any man of his party. But when he was the sport of fortune, he seemed regardless of her frowns. When his best friends, even those who had been most forward in advancing war, now pressed him to accept of peace on almost any conditions, Charles declared himself of a different opinion. He admitted, indeed, that he had nothing but ruin to himself, his cause, and his family, left in his eyes; but at the same time declared, that he would neither sacrifice his conscience, injure his successor, nor forsake his friends. He told prince Rupert, who was one of the party for peace, that if the case was to be viewed by a politician, it would appear next to frenzy for him to decline any terms; but as a king, a christian, and a gentleman, losing his fortunes were, he would grant no other terms than what were consistent with the honour and dignity of a sovereign.

The Scots, having taken Carlisle, which had for eleven months been bravely defended by Sir Thomas Glenham, marched to the southward, and sat down before Hereford; but they were so disgusted by the treatment they had received in England, that the siege advanced very slowly. They complained loudly of the want of money, provisions and artillery which had been promised them by the parliament, but the promise had never been performed. Charles being therefore in no great pain with regard to the fate of Hereford, directed his course to the northward, and after very fatiguing marches, reached Dorchester, where he was joined by a body of 3000 men; upon the peculiar fate of that prince to acquire more friends by his misfortunes than by his prosperity, required, indeed, all his fortitude to support the shocks of ill fortune by which he was every day assailed. The castles of Scarborough, Shipton, Sandal, and Pontefract, after making a noble opposition, were obliged to surrender to the parliament, and their garrisons joined the royal army.

Charles was now very desirous of pushing his way into Scotland, to join Montrose, who, at the head of a handful of naked, half-armed highlanders, had broken in pieces several armies of regular veterans, and was commanded by officers of experience, and supported by the whole strength of the kingdom. The Scots army before Hereford were alarmed at his first approach, and general Leslie, at the head of all the cavalry and dragoons, marched directly towards Scotland. Immediately after his departure, the earls of Leven and Callender, who commanded at the siege of Hereford, drew up a kind of manifesto, enumerating the difficulties and disappointments they had met with, and urging the necessity of saving their own country from the destruction with which it was threatened by Montrose. They accordingly raised the siege of Hereford, and began their march to the northward. Leslie, informed of the king's intention, marched with so much expedition, that he reached Rothburgh, and secured the pass at Ferry-bridge, before the king was informed of the route he had taken; while parliament, one of the parliament's generals, took post with a strong body of horse, in the neighbourhood of Worcester. It being now impossible for Charles to lead his army into Scotland, he directed his march into the eastern associated counties, with some success, that he took Huntingdon, defeated a small part of the enemy, and returned, with a considerable booty, to Oxford.

In the mean time Fairfax made himself master of Bath and Sherborne castle, and prepared for besieging Bristol; an enterprize which, from the strength of the garrison, and the great reputation of prince Rupert the governor, was deemed of the last importance. But a weaker defence was not made by any town during the whole war. The general expectations were here totally disappointed. The lines were no sooner taken by storm, than the prince capitulated, and delivered up the city to Fairfax. Charles, who, on receiving advice that Fairfax determined to besiege Bristol, had collected all his forces to relieve the city, was astonished at so unexpected an event, which was hardly less fatal to his party than the battle of Naseby. Exasperated at the behaviour of Rupert, he instantly recalled all his commissions, and sent him a safe conduct to pass over to the continent.

Every thing now portended the ruin of the royal party. The king marched to the relief of Chester, which was besieged by Jones, at the head of a strong detachment of the parliament's forces. Poyntz followed him close, and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Chester, attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle. The action was very sharp, and victory seemed to incline to the royalists, till Jones fell upon their troops on the other side, and put them to flight, with the loss of 600 slain, and 1000 prisoners. The king fled, with the remains of his broken army, to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter.

The two generals, Fairfax and Cromwell, having now no powerful army to oppose them, divided their forces. Cromwell, at the head of four regiments, marched to the Devizes, and soon obliged the garrison to capitulate. Berkley-castle was taken by colonel Ramborough; but the garrison, consisting of 300 men, were suffered to march out without their arms. Cromwell's detachment being now strengthened by three regiments of horse, he marched to Winchester, and sat down before the castle, which was defended by lord Ogle, at the head of a numerous garrison; but after a vigorous defence he was obliged to capitulate on honourable conditions. The next expedition was against Basing-house, which, under the brave marquis of Winchester, had already repelled so many desperate attacks of the enemy, that he could not resist the impetuosity of Cromwell; took it sword in hand, put the garrison to the sword, and sent the marquis, with a few of the principal officers prisoners to London.

A. D. 1646. Animated with success, Fairfax determined to make an attack on Dartmouth, which, with the assistance of a squadron of the parliament's ships, under the command of admiral Batten, he took on the eighteenth of January. One hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, 1000 prisoners, 3000 horses, with proportional arms and ammunition, two small ships of war, belonging to the king, fell into the hands of Fairfax. Among the prisoners were the earl of Dartmouth, colonel Mordaunt, and a great number of inferior officers. Dartmouth-castle next fell into the hands of the victor Fairfax; who now laid close siege to Exeter. Lord Hopton, who commanded the royal army, consisting of 8000 men, advanced to relieve the place. The two armies met at Torrington, where Hopton defeated all his foot dispersed, and he himself, obliged to retire into Cornwall. Fairfax followed his victory with so much vigour, that he forced the royalists at Truro, and forced the whole army, consisting of 5000 men, chiefly cavalry, to surrender upon terms. The soldiers, delivering up their arms and arms, were permitted to disband, and each to carry them to their

own homes. Such of the officers as desired it were granted passes to retire beyond the seas; the others, having promised never more to bear arms against the parliament, received a free pardon, on paying compositions proportioned to their abilities.

Fairfax now returned to the siege of Exeter, and after making himself master of that city, which completed the conquest of the West, he marched his victorious army to the centre of the kingdom, and fixed his head quarters at Newbury. The prince of Wales had the good fortune to escape when the royal army was invested at Truro; and, pursuant to the repeated orders of his father, passed over to the Isles of Scilly, from thence to Jersey, and afterwards to Paris.

Charles was no less unfortunate in other parts of the kingdom. Hereford was taken by surprise; Chester surrendered: Lord Digby, who had attempted, at the head of 1200 horse, to force his way into Scotland, and join Montrose, was defeated at Sherborne in Yorkshire, by colonel Copely; his whole force was dispersed, and he himself obliged to fly, first into the Isle of Man, and thence into Ireland. The town and castle of Chepstow were delivered up to the parliament; the counties of Pembroke and Caermarthen were reduced by Langhorne: Shelford and Wyverton houses were taken, and even the undaunted countess of Derby was obliged to surrender Latham-house. And to put a final period to the hopes of the royalists, news arrived that Montrose himself, after the most astonishing success, was totally defeated, and obliged to fly, with his broken forces, into the mountains.

In this situation was the state of affairs when the inclemency of the season put a stop to the rage of war. It would be endless to mention all the smaller actions and skirmishes, the sieges of castles, and the taking of houses, that happened during the whole campaign, so fatal to the royal party. The genius of Cromwell shone in its full lustre; he was the support of the independents; while his amazing success awakened the jealousy of the presbyterians. He flew from post to post with astonishing expedition; the news of one conquest hardly arrived before another was finished; the shouts of victory in his troops were blended with the singing of psalms, and the consultations for battle and destruction were always preceded by the exercises of prayer and preaching. That artful general always took care to keep the minds of his soldiers warm, either by the heat of battle, or the force of enthusiasm: he was at once their martial and their spiritual leader. Every county was a bloody scene of action, and on almost every gentleman's estate encounters happened, which exceeded in fury those of any foreign war. The numbers that fell in the most distinguished battles were inconsiderable when compared with the total that were slain in whole and lesser skirmishes. "To the work of the Lord diligently," was now become the watch word of the independents, and implied, that no quarter ought to be given to the royalists, and that the war should be carried on without regarding the few decencies which had hitherto been preserved toward his majesty and the chief nobility of the kingdom.

Charles now made another effort for negotiating a peace with the parliament, and desired to have a personal treaty with the two houses. He offered to come to London on receiving a safe conduct for himself and his attendants, and to commit the trust of the militia to persons against whom there could be no just exception. But they absolutely refused him access; and even issued orders for seizing his person if he attempted to visit them.

The king's situation was now truly deplorable. Fairfax was approaching, at the head of a powerful

erful and victorious army, to besiege him in Oxford, whence it would be impossible for him, after the city was invested, to make his escape. He could not bear the thoughts of being made a captive, and led in triumph through the streets of his capital, amidst a prejudiced and insolent populace, and a rude enthusiastic soldiery, who hated his person and despised his dignity. The Scots army had now invested Newark, and seemed to open the only asylum to majesty in distress. He imagined that the Scots had not yet lost all attachment to their sovereign; and that, as zealous presbyterians, they would not willingly submit to the independents. Montreville, the French minister, desirous of serving the king, had solicited the Scots generals and commissioners to give protection to their distressed sovereign; and having received many general professions and promises, he transmitted these, possibly with some exaggeration, to the king, who now determined to throw himself into the arms of his Scottish subjects.

The greatest secrecy, however, was observed in this transaction; and that no interruption, sufficient to occasion a discovery, might happen, orders were given at every gate in Oxford to permit three persons to pass without being examined. These precautions being taken, Charles, attended only by Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, passed about midnight thro' the gate that leads to London. The king, in the dress of Ashburnham's servant, with a portmanteau behind him, passed through Henley and Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained some thoughts of entering the capital, and throwing himself into the arms of the parliament; but this design appearing too dangerous, he pursued his first intention; and after passing through many cross roads, reached the Scottish camp before Newark. The surprise of their generals and commissioners was prodigious: they pretended to do him homage, and paid him every external mark of respect, but were determined to make him a captive. They allotted him a guard, under pretence of protection and esteem, but in reality to secure his person.

Newark still made a noble defence against the Scots, who now applied to the king for orders to the governor to surrender the place. He readily obeyed, and the gates were opened to the enemy. Soon after the king's arrival, the Scots had informed the parliament of their being in possession of his person: but hearing that the commons intended to demand him, and that the army of Fairfax was already in motion towards their camp, they thought proper to retire towards the frontiers of their own kingdom, and encamped at Newcastle, a place of great strength. This motion was not disagreeable to Charles; he imagined it was taken merely for the protection of his person; and flattered himself that by the conjunction of his friends with the Scots, he would be once more in a condition of facing the enemy, and possibly of restoring peace to his exhausted kingdoms.

Charles, however, well knew that the Scots would never heartily concur in promoting his interest, unless he could gain the favour of their ministers: he was therefore very attentive to their long and enthusiastic sermons, and seemed very desirous of their instructions. But he soon perceived that the covenanting zealots were by no means his friends. One of their preachers, after bitterly reproaching him, in the harshest terms for his conduct, gave out that psalm, which, in the English translation, begins, "Why boastest thou thyself, thou tyrant, that thou canst do mischief?" The king stood up, and called for that psalm which begins, "Have pity upon me, O Lord, for men go about to devour me." The good natured audience shewed that they were penetrated with the sight of majesty in distress, and sung the psalm called

for by the king. Pity, for once, triumphed over enthusiasm.

The Scottish generals now requested of Charles that he would issue orders to the governors of all garrisons to surrender the places they defended to the parliament. The king readily complied with the request: he perceived he could hope for no effectual assistance from the Scots, and knew that any further opposition would only tend to exasperate still more the party that was formed against him. Fairfax carried these orders into execution, and granted the garrisons honourable terms: he even prevented, as far as in his power, any insults from being offered to the unfortunate royalists. The capital, with all the other forts garrisoned by the king's party in Ireland, were also delivered up to the parliament's officers; and Montrose, after experiencing a great variety of good and bad fortune, threw down his arms, and retired to the continent.

As no farther opposition was now expected on the part of the royalists, it was thought necessary to project some method of settling the distracted state of the kingdom. But this was not easy to be performed. The strength of the independent party in parliament was greatly increased; and the army was at the direction of Cromwell; but both began to entertain jealousies of the Scots. It was therefore voted, "that there is no farther occasion for the Scottish army to continue in England. And, that 100,000*l.* be raised, and one moiety thereof paid to the Scots, on the delivering up all the towns they have garrisoned in England, except Berwick, and the other on the return to Scotland." At the same time, they ordered the Scots commissioners to deliver to the house an account of the arrears due to their army, that they might be discharged according to the treaty between the two kingdoms.

Proposals for establishing a peace were now laid before the king; but they were of such a nature as could only be expected by a captive entirely at the mercy of an inexorable conqueror. When Charles had read them, he told the messengers, that as he intended to introduce the most important alteration in the constitution, it was highly reasonable he should be allowed a proper time for deliberation. They replied, that he must give his answer in ten days. The king complained, that the terms made use of were not defined, and desired to know their meaning. The messengers told him they had no power to debate, and that he must give a positive answer. Upon this the king delivered a paper, in which he complained of the limited powers of the commissioners, and demanded permission to come to London, and treat with his parliament in person.

The parliament's commissioners, not thinking this paper any ways satisfactory, made some difficulty in receiving it. And though it was accepted, yet it produced no effect: the king was given to understand that if he refused to comply with their demands, they would settle the kingdom by their own authority.

But two difficulties still continued to be removed, namely, to prevail on the Scots to deliver up the king, and to settle the payment of the arrears of the army. Both these particulars caused long debates in the parliament. The Scots pretended that Charles was king of both nations, they were equal entitled with the English to vote on the question relative to the disposal of his person; and that were the titles of both are equal, and the subject indivisible, the present possessor was entitled to the protection. On the contrary, the English maintained that as the king was in England, his person could not be disposed of by any foreign nation. But though they differed so widely with regard to the disposal of his person,

person, they agreed in imposing on him such rigorous conditions, that Charles, notwithstanding his deplorable situation, refused to accept them. They did not, indeed, wish that he should recover his freedom; they never intended to blend lenity and tyranny together in so inconsistent a manner. The Scots, however, determined not to deliver up the king to the English parliament, but keep him as a pledge for their arrears, which, in the present distracted state of the nation, they were unlikely to obtain by any other means. According to their own account, the sum amounted to no less than two millions; for, as the parliament had paid them very little money, the contributions they had levied, and the price of their living at free quarters, were all the deductions to be made out of the whole pay due to them ever since they first entered England. This sum was, however, considered as very exorbitant by the parliament; and the demand occasioned very long and severe debates. At length the Scottish commissioners agreed to accept of 400,000*l.* in lieu of all demands; one half to be paid immediately, and the other within twelve months.

A. D. 1647. As the delivering up of the king's person was considered as the principal condition of this infamous bargain, the money was raised with great alacrity. The Scottish parliament had, indeed, voted that the king should be protected, and his liberty be made one of the conditions of the treaty; but they were obliged to retract their resolution on the interposition of the general assembly, who declared, "That as Charles had refused to take the covenant when tendered to him, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortune." This resolution, however, was not sufficient to disturb the tranquillity of the king's mind, so greatly had he profited in the school of adversity. He was playing at chess when he was informed of the final resolution of the Scots to deliver him into the hands of the English parliament; but he continued his game without interruption; nor could any person in company perceive that the letter he perused brought any advice of consequence.

The whole power of the nation was now in the parliament. They had surmounted every difficulty; and as they had nothing further to fear, so they had every thing to hope. Fairfax, the unhappy, the unwilling instrument of the miseries of his country, was at this time in London, and complimented by the parliament in the most flattering terms. These compliments, however, he received with that contempt they merited; but he was not proof against the arts of Cromwell. The army was now modelled in such a manner, that they no longer considered themselves as the servants of the parliament, but rather as their masters; and Cromwell pointed out to Fairfax, with great justice and candour, the distractions that every where prevailed, both in church and state. Scarcely two divines could agree in a standard of faith, or two statesmen on the same theme of measures necessary to be pursued. Hence he concluded that the army was now the sole principle of unity, and the center to which all lines must point. The soldiers, he said, were the chosen people of God, and had within them that unerring light of reason which soared above all sublunary institutions, and corrected all human errors. He meant, however, only those soldiers under the command of Fairfax and himself; for there were besides, two armies, one under Massey, governor of Gloucester, and the other under Milton, in Wales. Massey's soldiers, the miseries of human nature; they were distressed with cold, hunger, and the want of every necessary comfort of life. They therefore presented very strong petitions to parliament, enumer-

ating their services, and asking that relief to which as servants, as men, and as christians, they were so justly entitled. But all their petitions and remonstrances were in vain; they were threatened with being sent to Ireland, and in the mean time suffered to live at free quarters, that the disbanding of them, which was now determined, might appear the less unpopular.

The treaty with the Scots had been strongly opposed by the independents, who were for demanding the person of his majesty at the head of the army, and driving them out of the kingdom by force. Every vote, therefore, in their favour, was strenuously debated; but the presbyterians having, as yet, the majority, carried their point; and the measure for sending the Scots into their own country, by an amicable treaty, was adopted. This being settled, it was voted, that Holmby-house in Northamptonshire, should be the place for receiving his majesty; and a committee of lords and commons, with a party of the army, were appointed to attend him thither from Newcastle; but at the same time they declared, that nothing should be done towards settling the peace, till the Scottish forces had passed the English borders. When the English commissioners arrived in the Scottish camp, and were permitted to kiss the king's hand, he received them with the same grace and cheerfulness as if they had travelled on no other errand than that of paying their court to him. His majesty was allowed only nine servants to attend him; and though he was treated by the commissioners with all the external marks of respect, he was not suffered to have any intercourse with his friends. A few weeks before the king was delivered into the hands of the parliament's commissioners, the earl of Essex paid the debt of nature. This was a severe blow both to the king and presbyterian party. Sensible of the deplorable state of the nation, to which, from mistake rather than design, he had so greatly contributed, he determined to exert all his power to bring about a peace, and restore the tranquillity of the nation; but death put a final period to his design, deprived the presbyterians, or moderate party, of a popular leader, and so greatly lessened the power of the house of peers, that it was almost annihilated.

A. D. 1648. The nation now laboured under a variety of grievances; but the most considerable consisted in the army, which, though there was not the shadow of an enemy in the field, was still kept up, to the great terror of the presbyterian party, who were therefore determined to take the first favourable opportunity of reducing that alarming instrument of the independents. The army had been for some time greatly neglected, and had presented many petitions to the parliament for their arrears, which they not only disregarded, but an order had been made by both houses, that no part of the army should be quartered within twenty five miles of London.

The presbyterians were desirous of dismissing the army, even without rewarding them for their former services. But this was opposed by Cromwell, who observed, that the parliament had nothing to support the authority they had acquired but the army. On the 27th of February a motion was made in the house with regard to the reduction of the forces, which was carried by a majority of two only. It was then resolved to begin with reducing the cavalry, and it was determined that 4000 horse and 1000 dragoons would be sufficient for the service of the whole kingdom. They next proceeded to consider how the forts and garrisons of the kingdom should be disposed of and provided for, and the question was put, "whether there should be a number of foot kept up at the pay of the kingdom, more than will be sufficient for the keeping such garrisons as shall be continued." This

question passed in the negative, notwithstanding the independents exerted all their interest to procure a majority. It was soon after voted, that 5000 horse, 5000 foot, and 1200 dragoons should be sent over to Ireland. But the most violent questions carried against the independents were, "that no officer should command under Fairfax above the degree of a colonel; and that no member of parliament should have the command of any garrison or fort in England." They next voted, "that such persons as shall be employed as officers in the garrisons, or forces that shall be kept up in the kingdom, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, shall conform to the establishment of the church, as agreed to by both houses of parliament."

As these votes were directly levelled against the independents in the army, and who were the most active persons in it, it is no wonder that Cromwell and his party determined to attempt the independency of the army upon the ruins of the parliament. This was no difficult task for Cromwell to perform, by giving the officers a very unfavourable opinion of the house of lords, who were daily sending messengers to the commons concerning the danger of the kingdom from the army. Manchester had, indeed, given the house a very unfavourable opinion of Cromwell's intentions, and the artful methods he made use of to gain an ascendant over the army. The presbyterians in the army equally hated Cromwell, and had already voted that the Scottish forces in Ireland should be sent back to their own country, and that the war in that kingdom should be prosecuted by the English forces only. This vote greatly alarmed the army; they well knew that if they were once sent to Ireland, their petitions and remonstrances would have little weight: the parliament would leave them to earn a wretched subsistence with their swords in opposing the Irish rebels. The arrears due to the army were already very considerable, amounting to no less than 331,000*l*. A petition was therefore presented to Sir Thomas Fairfax, by the officers of the army, in which they enumerated the hardships to which they must be reduced if their arrears were any longer deferred. Fairfax laid the petition before the parliament; but received only a harsh answer. The parliament even threatened to proceed against the promoters of the petition as enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public peace.

This declaration of the parliament tended rather to increase than lessen the mutinous dispositions of the soldiers. They lamented that, having to long exposed themselves to every danger in order to establish the liberty of the subject, they should be deprived of the rights of Englishmen, and even be denied the privilege of representing their grievances. The commons, fearful of the consequences of exasperating the army, sent commissioners, at the head of whom were Cromwell and Ireton, to the head-quarters at Salton-Walden, to make proposals for entering into the Irish service. But instead of yielding, the generality absolutely rejected the terms, and desired an indemnity ratified by the king, for any illegal actions of which, during the course of the war, they might have been guilty; together with satisfaction for arrears, freedom from pressing, relief for widows and maimed soldiers, and pay till disbanded. They did not express any dissatisfaction against Skippon, who was appointed to command the troops in Ireland, but discovered a much stronger desire of leaving under Fairfax or Cromwell.

The commissioners, who were in reality the sole cause of all the discontents in the army, failed not to foment the disorders they were sent to appease. A military parliament, in opposition to that at Westminster, was now formed, consisting of two houses. The

principal officers composed a council, or house of peers; while two private men, or inferior officers chosen from each troop or company, under the name of officers, formed the lower house. This establishment afforded an easy method for the leaders to augment the mutinous disposition of the soldiers, with the least danger of being discovered. At the same time the general humour that then prevailed in the nation for forming plans for imaginary republicanism was, in some measure, gratified. Their first resolutions sufficiently indicated the consequences that would soon ensue from their deliberations. They voted that the offers of the parliament were not satisfactory; that eight weeks pay (which was all, they said, the parliament promised) was but a small part of fifty weeks, which they pretended was their due: that no visible security was given for the remainder; and in having been declared public enemies by the commons, there was sufficient reason to fear, that unless the declaration was recalled, they might be hereafter prosecuted as such. Cromwell, in order to carry on his ambitious designs under the impenetrable veil of hypocrisy, had taken care to repair to London, before these violent resolutions were taken, in order, as he pretended, to lay the increasing discontents of the army before the parliament.

Alarmed at these rebellious dispositions of the soldiers, the parliament determined to make one vigorous effort more, in order to support their authority. They voted, that all the troops that refused to enlist for Ireland should be immediately disbanded in their quarters. But this resolution was hardly passed by the commons, before the new parliament in the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments in order to concert proper measures for supporting their common interests. A plan secretly suggested by Cromwell decided the victory in their favour. Not a moment was to be lost; both the magistracy and the militia of London had declared for the parliament: some of the best officers in England, and even the general himself, were for supporting the parliamentary authority; the sources of money were almost exhausted, and the soldiers had no other alternative than that of subduing the parliament, or submitting uncritically to their authority.

Charles was still at Holmby-house, and guarded by a party of soldiers under the command of colonel Graves, who was supposed to be in the interest of the commons. It was, however, determined to seize the king's person, and conduct him to the army. A party of 1500 horse, commanded by one John Joice, formerly a tailor, but now advanced to the rank of cornet, accordingly marched for Holmby-house. The guard made not the least opposition. Joice came into the king's presence, armed with pistols, and bluntly told his majesty he must go with him immediately. "Whither?" said the king. "To the army," replied Joice. The king asked by what authority he acted, and required to see his warrant. Joice pointed to one of the soldiers he had brought with him, tall, handsome, and well accoutred. "Truly," said the king, smiling, "your warrant is written in very legible characters, it may be read without spelling." In the mean time the parliamentary commissioners, perceiving the guard made no opposition, sent an officer to know who commanded the party upon duty. He was answered, "that they were commanded." The commissioners now came into the room, and asked Joice if he had any order from the parliament? He said, "No." "Have you any from the general?" "No." "By what authority do you act in this manner?" He pointed, as before, to the soldier. "We will write to the parliament," said they, "to know their pleasure." "You may do so," replied Joice, "but in the mean time"

the king must immediately go with me." He added, that he had no design to insult the person of his majesty, but would conduct him with safety to their head quarters.

As all resistance was in vain, Charles, after procrastinating the time as much as possible, stepped into his coach, and was carried to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous on Triplo-heath, near Cambridge. Fairfax, who was totally a stranger to the whole transaction, knew not how to behave on this occasion. No one could be found who gave the orders, which were merely verbal; and while they were employed in tracing them to their source, Cromwell arrived from London, and finished the debate. He justified the conduct of Joice, by asserting that Graves intended to carry his majesty to London the next day, where a treaty was intended to be signed between him and the parliament, and the poor soldiers left to shift for themselves, or perhaps be treated with greater severity. Fairfax was, however, far from being convinced of the propriety of Joice's conduct. He thought he had gone too far; but consented that the king should be carried back to Holmby-house, and reside there under a guard of his own officers and soldiers. But Whalley, a creature of Cromwell, being appointed to command the detachment, conducted his majesty to Newmarket instead of Holmby-house.

When the parliament were informed of this daring insult on their authority, they were struck with the truest astonishment. The city was thrown into the utmost confusion; distraction seemed painted in every countenance. Many of the presbyterian members, terrified at the power of the army, either absented themselves from the house, or joined with the independents in passing such resolutions as might tend to lay the ferment raised among the soldiers. They voted that the army should have their full demands, and that both officers and soldiers should have a reasonable gratuity besides their pay; but, at the same time they voted, that the king should be conducted back to Holmby-house; while the lords pressed strongly that he should be carried to Oatlands. The king, however, put a negative upon both; and Joice openly avowed, in the presence of the king, Fairfax, and Cromwell, that what he had done was the sense of the whole soldiery, and that, though he had undertaken to act in that manner, without a written order from his commander, he had done no more than his duty. Both the council of officers, and house of commons, were wholly moved by the direction of Cromwell, who thus conveyed his will to the whole army. He had conducted himself in parliament with profound dissimulation, and refined hypocrisy, and he even deceived those, who had long made it a trade to deceive others. Whenever any intelligence of disorders in the army arrived, he appeared in the most violent manner with the passions of grief and anger. He wept bitterly; he lamented the misfortunes of his country; he advised the most severe measures for suppressing the mutiny; and by these precipitate counsels, he at once seemed to prove his own sincerity, and inflamed those discontents which he intended to make his own advantage. He appealed to heaven and earth, that his devoted attachment to the parliament had rendered him odious in the army, that his life was exposed to the utmost danger while he continued among them, and that his alleviations produced the desired effect, and had now, by his profound and artful conduct, created a situation, where he could cover his enterprizes from the eye of the public, and by seeming to obey the commands of his superior officer, could to the motions of his soldiers, could, with

ease and secrecy, pave the way to his future greatness.

When Fairfax drew up the whole army on Triplo-heath, the soldiers seemed more dissatisfied than ever; there was not one among them who was satisfied with the last votes of parliament. The presbyterian party were now sufficiently alarmed, and immediately applied to the city for protection. Their request was granted, and two regiments of militia marched to Westminster for that purpose. This imprudent measure served only to increase the ferment already too violent in the army. It was pretended that the parliament itself was under restraint; and that it was therefore necessary for them to march into the neighbourhood, in order to restore liberty to the members. Fairfax, who solemnly disclaimed all intentions of breaking with the parliament, was pleased with what he considered as an instance of the soldiers duty, and gave orders for the army to march towards London. Destitute at once of talents for cabal, and of penetration to discover the cabals of others, Fairfax had given his confidence entirely to Cromwell; who, by the most specious pretences, the appearance of an open sincerity, and a scrupulous conscience, imposed on the easy nature of this brave and virtuous general.

On the 12th of June advice was received in London that the army had advanced to St. Alban's. The city had already armed their militia, drawn out their artillery, posted their guards, and displayed the same warlike appearance as in the beginning of the war against the king. But the enemy they were now to encounter was of a very different kind; and they were so greatly terrified with the names of Fairfax and Cromwell at the head of a powerful and victorious army, that on their approach, the warlike order of the militia subsided: letters full of civility and professions of esteem passed between the magistrates and the general, who still continued to advance, notwithstanding repeated messages were sent by the parliament, enjoining the general not to lead his army nearer than within forty miles of London. The parliament now found it necessary to submit, and endeavour, by complaisance, to stop the fury of the enraged army. Their first indication was their ordering the vote, which declared the military petitioners public enemies, to be erased from their journal-book.

The parliament had exercised such repeated acts of tyranny, that their former popularity was now totally lost: from being once the idol of the nation, they were now become the object of general hatred and aversion. They experienced the measures they had so lately adopted in their usurpation upon the crown. The army rose every day in their demands. One claim was no sooner granted than another still more enormous and exorbitant was made: they seemed determined never to be satisfied. At first they only pretended to petition the parliament for what concerned themselves as soldiers: they next insisted on a vindication of their character: they then thought it necessary that their enemies should be punished, and at last they claimed the right of modelling the government, and setting the nation. In these exorbitant demands, they preserved, in words, the utmost deference and respect to the parliament, while in actions they insulted them in the grossest manner. They did not pretend to accuse the whole assembly; their petitions were levelled against evil counsellors only, by whom they said it was seduced and betrayed.

On the 16th of June they charged the following members with high treason, as enemies to the army, and evil counsellors to the state; namely, Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John

John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, major-general Massey, Mr. Recorder Glyn, Colonel Walter Long, Colonel Edward Harley, and Mr. Anthony Nicholls. These members, who were the leaders of the presbyterian party, they insisted should be immediately sequestered from parliament, and committed to prison. The commons replied, that a general charge was not sufficient for them to proceed to such extremities. It was answered, that such a charge was thought sufficient in the cases of Strafford and Laud. Such is, generally, the case of contending parties, in alternate usurpations of authority; they indulge themselves in the same excesses they had condemned in their adversaries.

The general charge against the eleven members was succeeded by a declaration signed by Fairfax and his officers, asserting their right of keeping their arms, till they saw the purposes for which they first took them up fully answered. The paper was drawn up in a very masterly manner, and contained the following demands: "That both houses be immediately purged of such ministers who ought not to have a seat in that assembly: that those persons who have abused the confidence of the parliament and army, and endangered the kingdom, may be speedily disabled from doing any farther mischief: that some interval of time may be appointed for the continuance of this, as well as of future parliaments, and that new elections be successively made according to the bill for triennial parliaments: that provision be made to prevent future parliaments from being dissolved at the king's pleasure, without their consent, but suffered to sit their proper time: that the right of the people to represent to the parliament their grievances, by way of petition may be vindicated: that the discretionary powers given to country-committees during the war, may be taken away, as they are now no longer necessary: that the people may be satisfied with regard to disbursements of the money levied on the nation: that public justice being satisfied by a few examples of the most exceptionable persons, some course may be taken, by a general act of oblivion, that all apprehensions of a future war may be entirely removed."

The city of London were so terrified at these demands of the army, that they sent a deputation to St. Albans, disclaiming any intention to raise forces for opposing them. This timidity of the citizens greatly intimidated the presbyterian party, which now became contemptible in the eyes of the soldiers. The prosecution against the eleven members was pushed with great violence; and the members themselves, unwilling to give occasion to fresh discords, begged leave to retire from the house; and the army, for the present, seemed satisfied with this mark of submission.

Having thus completely subdued the parliament, and no signs of resistance appearing in the city, the army, at the desire of the commons, retired farther from the capital, and fixed their head quarters at Reading, carrying the king with them. He had experienced much greater lenity since he had been with the army than before: he enjoyed not only his favourite diversions, but his favourite mode of worship, and the conversation of his favourite friends. His children were once allowed to visit him, and passed a few days with him at Caversham house, where he resided. The chiefs of the army seemed to pay their court to him. Fairfax declared he intended to force the parliament to moderate their demands, and to restore him to his just rights. Cromwell and Ireton went still farther; they professed a respect, and even a veneration for his person; and actually imparted to him proposals, to which they promised to procure the agreement of the army, and to which he might assent with little or no violence to his conser-

ence. All the agitators, except those infected with the principles of levelling, made the same professions and were even friendly enough to put him upon his guard against those officers whose sincerity they suspected. The parliament, afraid of his forming some accommodation with the army, addressed him with far more respect than formerly; they even invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance to the settlement of the nation.

Charles flattered himself, that the present scene of distractions, oppressions and terror, would induce the people to reflect on the ancient form of government under which they and their ancestors had so long enjoyed happiness and tranquillity. Courted by both parties, he hoped he should soon be restored to his just rights, and once more hold the scepter of his ancestors. The independents, however, seemed to be most in his interest. He had sufficiently experienced the rigor of the parliament: they pretended wholly to annihilate his authority: they had confined his person. In both these particulars he had received more indulgence from the army. None of his friends were excluded from his presence: and in the proposals sent him by the council or officers for the settlement of the nation, they insisted neither on the abolition of episcopacy, nor on the punishment of the royalists, two points to which the king had the greatest reluctance. They also insisted, that a period should be put to the present parliament; a measure which Charles had extremely at heart. He hoped by granting a few particular men to draw over the whole army to his interest. Accordingly he offered to invest Cromwell with the order of the garter, create him earl of Essex, and give him the command of the army. Ireton was to be lord lieutenant of Ireland. But notwithstanding these favourable appearances, the king was still sensible that they were but ambiguous proofs of the army's affection to his person and cause; he feared they were only intended to procure the countenance of him and his friends to favour their design in effectually humbling the parliament. On the other hand, he reflected, that the independents, being professed patrons of the liberties of the people, could not surely act so contrary to their own principles, as to deny that liberty to their king. What they demanded for their own consciences they could not with the least appearance of reason, deny to his.

The militia of London had lately been put under the command of presbyterian officers, and the army now determined to place it in the hands of the independents. This, together with the unsettled state of public affairs, occasioned petitions to be sent to parliament from all ranks and degrees of people. The different garrisons in the kingdom, neglected and ill paid, began to mutiny, and sent petitions to both houses for redress. The royal forces were actually in arms against the parliament. The northern army had imprisoned Poyntz, a brave, and successful general. Many of the soldiers who had engaged to go to Ireland, retracted their promise, and offered then service to Fairfax. Those who had enlisted under the parliament amounting to several thousands, held nightly meetings to consult the most proper measures to be pursued in this alarming crisis.

These disorders were wholly occasioned by the army of Fairfax, who had engrossed to themselves the money that had been raised. The people no longer paid any reverence to the parliament. Multitudes of young men and apprentices took to the streets with petitions, some for the abolition of militia, and others against it. Some of them speaking in the strain of sycophancy, and others of both the parliament and army had been doing much. The artful Cromwell enjoyed the

which he perceived would soon sweep before it all the obstacles that opposed his ambition. One day the mob of the independents, the next day that of the presbyterians, prevailed. The parliament was no longer guided by those able men who could direct the tumult, and turn confusion to their own advantage: the populace were now masters, and the parliament had no will of its own.

From these circumstances it appeared absolutely necessary for the army to march to London. Accordingly the troops began their march from Reading towards the capital. When they reached Hounslow-heath, they were drawn up, and exhibited a very formidable appearance. They were 20,000 strong; and determined, without any regard to laws or liberty, to pursue whatever measures their generals should think proper. Here they were met by the speakers of the two houses, Manchester and Lenthall, attended by eight peers, and about sixty commoners; who having secretly left the city, presented themselves, with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence exercised by the citizens, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with the greatest demonstrations of joy; and the army, being provided with so plausible a pretence, advanced to chastise the rebellious city, and to reinstate the violated parliament in all their liberties and franchises.

The parliament met, pursuant to their prorogation, on the 30th of July; and it being now absolutely necessary for them either to resign their whole authority, or oppose the violent designs of the army, they resolved upon the latter. Accordingly they chose two new speakers, lord Hudson and Henry Pelham. Vigorous measures were immediately pursued. One of their first votes was to require the general not to advance nearer than thirty miles of London, or, if already advanced, to retire to that distance. They renewed their former orders for insisting troops, and appointed Massey their commander. They ordered the artillery to be drawn out, and the trained bands to man the lines. The whole city was in a ferment; every corner resounded with military preparations. But the terror of an universal pillage, and even massacre, had seized the timid inhabitants: and confusion was painted in every countenance.

The next day the lords and commons voted, "that his majesty be desired to come to London, and there treat with both houses of parliament and the commissioners of Scotland for a safe and honourable peace." But the affairs of the parliament were now in such confusion, that this vote, which was sent to Fairfax, was disregarded, and the army continued still to advance nearer to the capital. Rainborough having been detached over Kingston-bridge, at the head of a strong party, presented himself before Southwark, and was gladly received by some soldiers quartered there for his defence, and who were resolved not to separate their interests from those of the army. It was now absolutely necessary for the city to capitulate, though nothing better than the following dishonourable conditions could be obtained: "That they should desert the interest of the impeached members; recall their declaration lately published; relinquish their militia; deliver up all their forts and line of communication to the army, together with the Tower of London, and all the magazines of arms and military stores deposited in that fortress; disband all their forces, and drive all the reformados out of the line; withdraw all their guards from the houses of parliament, and receive within the lines such forces as the army should think necessary; demolish their works, and suffer the whole army to march through the city."

These terms being complied with, the army accordingly marched in triumph through the capital; but preserved the greatest order, decency, and the appearance of humility. The two speakers were conducted to Westminster, and took their seats without the least opposition. The eleven impeached members, being accused of exciting the late tumult, were expelled, and most of them retired beyond the seas. Seven peers were impeached: the lord-mayor, one of the sheriffs, and three aldermen, sent to the Tower: several citizens and officers of the militia committed to prison; and every act of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the speakers. The lines of communication were levelled; the militia restored to the independents; and regiments were quartered in Whitehall and the Mews.

The army now lay in the neighbourhood of Putney, greatly distressed for want of money, and threatening every moment to break into the city, and become their own pay-masters. Fairfax, who was still the tool of Cromwell, (though his intentions were sincere with regard to the peace and happiness of his country) found the utmost difficulty in restraining the impatience of the soldiers, and the spirit of levelling, which was now diffused among the troops, by means of the agitators. The general council of the army was now applied to in the same manner as the parliament had been formerly; nor did the commons venture to pass any vote of importance without knowing the sense of the officers. The presbyterian party, however, still gave the generals great uneasiness on the popular topic of sending relief to Ireland; and some votes passed for sending seven or eight regiments over to that distressed kingdom, which the officers of the army did not think proper to oppose. Cromwell, however, found a pretence, from the want of money, to render the whole ineffectual for the present. Even that daring commander himself found some difficulty in rendering the resentment of the agitators abortive; he was obliged to chastise some of them with his own hand, and to order others to be tried by a court-martial.

The heads of the army, who now, in reality, governed the nation, conveyed the king to Hampton-court, where he resided, for some time, with all the appearance of dignity and freedom. He possessed so remarkable an equanimity of temper that, during all the variety of fortune which attended him, no change was perceived either in his countenance or behaviour. Though a prisoner in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he supported, towards all that approached him, the majesty of a monarch.

During Charles's stay at Hampton Court, the parliament presented him with conditions for a peace; and the army also offered him propositions of a like nature. The king seemed to prefer the latter, and desired the parliament to take the proposals of the army into consideration, and make them the foundation of the public settlement. But some event, or the ambitious designs of Cromwell, rendered the whole abortive. Several writers have asserted that Cromwell really intended to make a private bargain with the king; a measure which carried the most plausible appearance, both with regard to his own safety and advancement; but that he found insuperable difficulties in reconciling to it the wild humours of the army. Others say, that a discovery made by Cromwell prevented his closing with the king, and determined him to pursue the ambitious scheme he had formed of becoming himself the despotic master of the whole kingdom*.

Be

* In the Memoirs of Lord Broghill we meet with the following story, which deserves some attention, as it agrees very well with

the character of Cromwell. It is related in the following manner by Mr. Maurice, chaplain to the earl of Orery. "Lord

Be this as it may, however, it is certain that the behaviour of the officers of the army was now much altered towards his majesty. Cromwell, indeed, pretended, that he was obliged to act in a very different manner from what he had hitherto done. He said that the agitators had rendered him odious to the army, and had represented him as a traitor, who, for the sake of private interest, was ready to betray the cause of God to the great enemy of piety and religion. At the same time he pretended that desperate projects were formed, and that he feared all the authority of the officers would not be sufficient to prevent these violent enthusiasts from executing their bloody purpose.

These assertions greatly alarmed the king, who justly concluded, that if they were true it would be unsafe for him to continue any longer at Hampton-Court: if they were not true, they could be thrown out for no other reason than that of making him a close prisoner. At all events therefore he determined to attempt his escape before he was deprived of the few remains of liberty he still enjoyed. He was confirmed in this resolution by the looks, the gestures, and the expressions that dropt from the officers and soldiers at Hampton-court, as he walked about the gardens and village. He understood that this alteration was owing to his not embracing the army's propositions without reserve, and his not excluding the Scots and parliament from the negotiation.

Fully resolved to take this imprudent step, and without forming any rational scheme for the disposal of his person, Charles effected his escape from Hampton-Court in a dark stormy night with more ease than could have been expected. He had no other attendants in his flight than Sir John Berkley, Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Legg, all gentlemen of his bed-chamber. The difficulties they encountered on the way, and in passing through the forest in a dismal night, must have discouraged any person, but one in Charles's situation, who thought no danger so dreadful as that he had escaped. Early in the morning he reached Titchfield, a seat belonging to the earl of Southampton, where the countess dowager resided, a woman of great honour, to whom the king knew he might safely intrust his person. But he could not hope to continue long concealed at Titchfield: and it was not easy to determine what measure it was most prudent to embrace. Hammond, a creature of Cromwell's, and who had married a daughter of the famous Hambden, was governor of the Isle of Wight, which

lay in the neighbourhood of Titchfield. Very little surely could be expected from a man devoted to the chiefs of the army; yet, because he was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, it was thought proper to have recourse to him in this alarming exigence. Ashburnham and Berkley were accordingly dispatched, with orders not to inform Hammond where the king was concealed, unless he would promise not to deliver him up to any person whatever; or if he could not protect him, to restore him to his liberty. The very nature of the negotiation itself sufficiently demonstrates that the king was under the greatest anxiety of mind when he sent his servants into the Isle of Wight: for what security could be expected from Hammond? or how could Carisbrook-castle, weak and unprovided with military stores, be sufficient to defend the person of his majesty against the joint efforts of the parliament and army? Notwithstanding this, had Ashburnham, who alone was acquainted with Hammond, acted conformable to the instructions he had received, he might, at least, have escaped the snare into which he fell. But without exacting any promise from Hammond, he treacherously, or at least imprudently, brought the governor to Titchfield; and Charles, distracted and amazed at this wrong step of his servant, passed over with Hammond to the Isle of Wight, and took up his quarters in Carisbrook-castle.

The king's escape from Hampton-Court was not discovered for near an hour after his departure; when some persons, entering his chamber, found on the table several letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer who had attended him. The parliament were confounded at the news of the king's escape, and voted it high-treason, and death without mercy, in any one to conceal his person. But they were soon relieved from their terror, by letters from Hammond, on the receipt of which it was resolved, that the king should be confined in Carisbrook-castle, and that none of his friends or adherents should be either suffered to visit him, or even continue on the island.

Charles being thus in a place of safety, and the parliament incapable of resisting the army, Cromwell applied himself seriously to quell the disorders among the troops, which had been at first artfully fomented by himself, but which were now risen to a height, as seemed to threaten the destruction of all order and government. The members of the republic established in the army thought themselves fully qualified

Orery, in the time of his greatness with Cromwell, just after he had so seasonably relieved him in great distress at Clonwell, riding out at Youghall one day with him and Herton, they fell into discourse about the king's death. Cromwell thereupon said more than once, that if the king had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none but truly servants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a mind to have closed with him, but, upon something that happened, fell off from that design. Orery, finding them in good humour, and being alone with them, asked, if he might presume to desire to know, why they would once have closed with his majesty, and why they did not? Cromwell very freely told him he would satisfy him in both his queries. The reason, said he, why we would have closed with the king was this: we found that the Scots and presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were like to agree with him, and leave us in the lurch. For this reason we thought it best to prevent them, by offering first to come in upon reasonable conditions: but while our thoughts were taken up with this subject, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that very day; that he could not possibly learn what it was, but we might discover it, if we could but intercept a letter sent from the king to the queen, wherein he informed her of his resolution, that this letter was town up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle upon his head, about ten o'clock that night, to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle though some in Dover did. We were

at Windsor, continued Cromwell, when we received this letter, and immediately upon the receipt of it, Herton and I resolved to take one trusty fellow with us, and go in troops to take a man. We did so, and leaving our man at the gate of the town (which had a wicket only open to let persons in and out to come and give us notice when any man came in with a saddle, we went into a drinking-hall. We there continued drinking out of beer till about ten o'clock, when our centinel at the gate gave us notice, that the man with the saddle was come. We got up presently, and just as the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with drawn swords, and told him we were to search all that went in or out there; but as he looked like an honest man, we would search his saddle and saddle him. The saddle was ungirt; we carried it into the hall where we had been drinking, and tipping open one of the seats, where they found the letter we wanted. Having this got into our hands, we delivered the man (whom we had left with our own man) his saddle, told him he was an honest fellow, and bid him go about his business; which he did, pursuing his journey as usual, more ado, and ignorant of the harm he had suffered. We saw in the letter, that his majesty acquainted the queen, that he was courted by both factions, the Scots presbyterians and the army, and that those who bore the fairest for him should have been chosen. He thought he should close with the Scots, for they were the most likely to obtain good terms from the king, and he had vowed his destruction."

to settle the kingdom, and various schemes for that purpose were every day debated by these military leaguers. It was on all hands determined to abolish royalty, and set nobility aside: all ranks of men were to be levelled, and an universal equality of property, as well as of power, was to be introduced among mankind. They said that the saints were the salt of the earth; that an entire equality had place among the elect; and that the most common centinel, if enlightened by the holy spirit, was entitled to the same respect as the greatest commander, and equally capable of executing all the offices of government.

Cromwell found it was high time to put a period to those enthusiastic opinions, which would otherwise destroy his whole ambitious scheme of power. He accordingly issued orders that the meetings of the agitators should be discontinued. But they did not, in this respect, chuse to pay an implicit obedience to their general. They had tasted the sweets of power, and were unwilling to resign it. They secretly continued their meetings, and made no difficulty of asserting, that their own officers, as well as the church and state, stood in need of a reformation. Several of the regiments were so heated with these enthusiastic ideas, that they joined in presenting seditious remonstrances to their general: they even appointed separate places of rendezvous; and every thing seemed to threaten an universal anarchy and confusion. The resolution of Cromwell only was able to put a stop to this alarming appearance of the commencement of the most dreadful disorders. He chose the time of a review for striking terror into the levellers; and as soon as the troops were drawn up in order, Cromwell seized the ring-leaders in the presence of their companions; held a council of war upon the spot; and caused one of the mutineers to be shot directly. Struck with terror at the boldness of the action, the rest of the levellers threw down the symbols of sedition, which they had carried before them, and returned immediately to their duty.

While Cromwell was employed in quelling the disorders of the army, a committee of lords and commons, with the earl of Denbigh at their head, was sent to the king with four bills, to which he was desired to give the royal assent. The first was for settling the militia of the kingdom: the second for recalling all declarations, oaths, and proclamations against the parliament, and their adherents; the third for disabling those lords, created since the great seal was carried to Oxford, from sitting and voting in the house of peers; and the fourth for giving power to both houses of parliament to adjourn themselves as they may think proper. The king was required to give his answer in four days; but the Scottish commissioners presented a strong remonstrance against the four bills, and insisted on a personal treaty with his majesty at London. This occasioned great uneasiness to the independents at Westminster, and several seditious papers passed between them. The Scots reproached the English parliament with having broken all the fundamental articles of the agreement between the two kingdoms. This breach gave great pleasure to the king, and the Scots were indeed now so well disposed to serve him, that they offered, if he would make his escape to Berwick, to support him with the whole force of their kingdom. Whether this quarrel induced Charles to flatter himself that the parliament would be obliged to offer him more reasonable conditions, or whether he hoped that the army would insist upon more equitable terms, is uncertain, but the king thought proper to reject the bills.

Cromwell, having reduced the agitators to obedience, now determined to carry the ambitious scheme he had formed into execution. He did not, however, think proper to intrust the whole of his de-

sign to any but Ireton, and two or three particular favourites. From the suggestion of Ireton, Cromwell called at Windsor a secret council of the chief officers of the army, in order to deliberate on the most proper methods for settling the kingdom, and the future disposal of the king's person. Before the council began, Cromwell poured out divine prayers, when the minds of the members were sufficiently elevated by enthusiastic raptures, the conferences were begun, and the black design of bringing the king to justice, and punishing their sovereign, under the sanction of a judicial sentence, was first proposed, and the execution resolved on by the principal part of the assembly.

When the committee from the Isle of Wight reported to the house, that the king had absolutely refused to pass their bills, insisting that all the terms on both sides should be adjusted before any concessions should be insisted on, the republican party took fire at the refusal: they openly inveighed, in the most virulent terms, against the person and government of the king, whose name, hitherto, in all debates, had been mentioned with some degree of reverence. Sir Thomas Worth had the boldness to move, that the king should be removed, and committed close prisoner to some inland castle; that articles of impeachment should be drawn up against him, he himself deprived of all share in administration, and a new form of government established. This motion was seconded by Cromwell and Ireton with great warmth, in general terms. The former desired them to settle the nation without having any farther recourse to the king, who had rejected all their propositions; promising that the army, who had hitherto defended the parliament at the expence of their blood, would still continue, with fidelity and courage, to protect them against all opposition, in this vigorous measure.

In consequence of this, the question was put, "that no more addresses should be presented to his majesty;" which was carried by a majority of forty-nine. This vote, in reality, dethroned the king, and formally overturned the whole constitution. But it was not enough to resolve on so violent a measure; it was determined to support it by a declaration equally violent. The king was accused of the blackest crimes, however improbable, in order, by blasting his fame, to prevent the populace from uniting in his favour. Not only government, but even society itself, seemed to be overturned. The people looked with contempt upon the parliament, and with execration upon the army. Cromwell enjoyed these national clamours; as his whole scheme depended on preventing the people from uniting against the army.

Hammond now received orders to treat the king with great severity. All his servants were removed, his correspondence with his friends cut off, and no person allowed to visit him. An old, decrepit man, employed to kindle his fire, was the best company he enjoyed during the interval of this rigorous confinement, which lasted several months. At the same time new prosecutions were carried on against his friends. Hollis and Maynard, together with most of the eleven commons lately impeached by the army, had returned their seats in the house, and spoke with great boldness and freedom against the violent measures pursued by the independents. It was therefore necessary to silence these opposers, whose speeches had the most alarming effect among the people. The impeachments were accordingly re-assumed, and a vote passed for rendering them incapable of ever sitting again in that parliament.

A. D. 1649. The mutinies and spirit of levelling, which still prevailed among the soldiers, notwithstanding the attempts of Cromwell to reduce them to obedience, afforded now the only gleam of hope to the royalists.

royalists. The Scots, indeed, who were highly exasperated at the measures pursued by the independents, were proceeding vigorously in their endeavours for invading England; but their late conduct had been so detestable, that very few of the royalists joined them. But amidst this gloomy night of despair, a propitious ray unexpectedly appeared, which seemed to revive the spirits of his majesty's friends. For though Cromwell was master of the king's person, the general, the parliament, the city, and the army, the nation in general thought as freely as ever, and beheld with impatience and indignation the handful of fanatics who held them in chains. But great art was requisite to unite into one common cause so many people differing in their principles, their characters, their actions, and their interests. The greater part of the presbyterians were well disposed to join the royalists, and were headed by the earl of Holland, Sir William Waller, the generals Poyer and Langhorne, and other officers and persons of distinction. General Goring, the earl of Norwich, lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and a few others, directed the royalists, and undertook to raise the southern provinces; while Sir Marmaduke Langdale engaged for the northern, together with Berwick and Carlisle. The Scots were to be commanded by the duke of Hamilton, and the Welsh by Langhorne and Poyer. But the chief dependance of the royal party rested on an intrigue now carrying on for putting the fleet under the command of the prince of Wales. The seamen had been for some time neglected, so that very little art was necessary to prevail upon them to desert a party that seemed to treat them with contempt. Seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and putting Rainborough their admiral ashore, sailed over to Holland, and took on board the prince of Wales.

Langhorne and Poyer were the two first who declared themselves: these having a considerable body of Welch troops under their command, displayed the royal standard, and were joined by a great number of persons. They were already masters of Chepstow, Pembroke, and several other places of strength in that county, and their army exhibited a formidable appearance. Hales, a young gentleman of fortune in Kent, put himself at the head of the royalists in that county with surprising success. Sandwich, Dover, Gravesham, Canterbury, and almost every place of strength in the county, declared for the king. Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle and other gentlemen of fortune, excited commotions in Essex; while the earl of Holland raised forces in Surry. Langdale and Musgrave were in arms, and masters of Berwick and Carlisle in the north; and Pomfret-castle in Yorkshire was surprized by Maurice.

The parliament at Westminster beheld these commotions with terror, and shuddered for the event. The independents in the army quartered in the neighbourhood of London made no secret of their design to plunder the capital as soon as the Scottish forces entered England, in order to prevent the citizens from joining their presbyterian brethren. This declaration struck the wealthy inhabitants with horror. The whole city was in a ferment, and the people so much exasperated, that they attacked and overpowered a party of the trained bands, and advanced in a body to Whitehall, where they were met by Cromwell, at the head of two regiments of horse, who drove them back into the city; but thinking it would be imprudent to pursue the blow, the tumult increased to so violent a degree, that the lord-mayor was obliged to take shelter in the city. The next morning Cromwell persuaded Fairfax to give him leave to enter the city with two regiments of horse. This produced the desired effect. Struck with terror at the

appearance of that victorious general, the people dispersed, and tranquillity was once more restored in the capital. This was the only attempt made by the Londoners in support of the royal cause: the terror of the army kept the citizens in subjection. They were obliged to bear the humiliating yoke of being governed by the dregs of the people; and to see hypocrites exercising iniquity under the mask of religion.

Advice was now received that the royalists were in motion, and that the number of forces in Wales were daily increasing. The establishment of the army at this time was 26,000 men; but by enlisting supernumeraries the regiments were greatly augmented, and in general consisted of more than double their stated complement. Cromwell was ordered to march into Wales, at the head of two regiments of horse and three of foot, to relieve colonel Horton, who commanded in that principality, while Fairfax himself undertook the service in the north. Langhorne, who had formed an engagement with the Scots, declared himself too soon; for before Cromwell reached the borders of Wales, and even before Langhorne had procured arms for his men, Horton found means to put himself between the horse and foot of Langhorne's army. A battle ensued, in which the Welsh forces were completely routed; and major-general Stradling, with 26 captains, 150 subalterns, and near 3000 soldiers, were made prisoners. This defeat, however, did not subdue the whole party; they were still masters of several strong places, and seemed determined to defend them to the last extremity. Cromwell therefore sat down before Chepstow-castle; but finding it too well fortified to be soon reduced, he left a small party to block up the fortress, and marched with the main body of his forces into Pembroke-shire. On the eleventh of June he took the town and castle of Pembroke, and obliged Langhorne, Powel and Poyer to surrender at discretion. These three generals were tried by a court-martial, and condemned to draw lots for their lives; and the fatal chance falling on Poyer, he was accordingly shot at the head of the army.

Cromwell next took Chepstow, by which the principality of Wales was sufficiently reduced, and that intrepid general made dispositions for leading his forces into the north, in order to oppose the Scots and royalists, the insurrections in Kent, Surry, and Suffolk, having prevented Fairfax from marching into that country, as he had first intended.

Petitions from several of the principal counties were now presented to the parliament in favour of the king; and the inhabitants of Surry were so exasperated at not receiving an immediate answer, that they attacked and killed several of the soldiers who were guarding the house. The Kentishmen, who were on their march towards London, in order, as they pretended, to present a petition to the parliament, made choice of the earl of Norwich for their general. The commons were alarmed, and the earl of Pembroke was dispatched with terms to the insurgents. He offered indemnity to all who should lay down their arms, and free liberty to present their petition after they had delivered up the towns, magazines, and stores they had seized. His offers were rejected, and the Kentishmen marched to Blackheath, where they drew up their forces, and prepared to make an attack upon the capital, fully persuaded that the citizens would open their gates upon the first summons. By this time Fairfax had collected his army, and the Kentishmen were informed by the parliament that they must treat with their general. This greatly dispirited the insurgents, and perceiving no motion made by the citizens in their favour, they retreated with great precipitation to Maidstone, where they

was attacked and cut to pieces by Fairfax. The earl of Norwich now thought that a fair opportunity offered of giving the parliament's general the slip, and of advancing again towards the capital; fully persuaded that the citizens being delivered from the terrors of the army, would declare in his favour. He accordingly returned with the main body of his forces to Blackheath, where he hoped to be joined by the inhabitants of Suffex and Surry. But he was deceived in all his expectations; and a sudden panic seizing his soldiers, they deserted their general, and returned to their respective habitations. Upwards of 1000, however, still kept together, and it was determined, if possible, to pass over into Essex, where, they were informed, the county were in arms for the king, under the command of lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and other officers of courage and experience. Not more than a thousand of them passed the river, where they were obliged to cut their way through a regiment belonging to the Tower Hamlets, and afterwards to skirmish with the parliament's forces, during their march to Chelmsford, where they were joined by lord Capel, and the other officers already mentioned. Their army now amounted to three thousand men; but being in no condition to fight Fairfax, they pursued their march to Colchester, and made themselves masters of that place.

In consequence of this, Fairfax crossed the Thames with his army at Gravesend, and marched with great expedition to Colchester, from a persuasion that the town was wholly destitute of fortifications, and that the royalists must surrender prisoners of war. But in this he was greatly mistaken. The enemy made a noble defence: few sieges in history are so remarkable as that of Colchester. Fairfax in person led his troops to the charge, which was at once both brave and desperate; but they were beaten off with loss by the besieged. The charge was again and again repeated, but without success; and Fairfax, unwilling to expose his troops to inevitable destruction, changed the siege into a blockade.

The whole kingdom was now in a blaze, which was very to be quenched only by the blood of its inhabitants. Besides Kent, Essex, Wales, and the northern counties, the Cornishmen were in arms, but were soon defeated by Sir Hardress Waller, who afterwards took possession of Exeter. The inhabitants of Rutlandshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and the neighbouring counties, also took up arms, and were defeated by colonel Wane, near Stamford. John Owen renewed the war in Wales, and besieged Carnarvon-castle, but his forces were routed, and he himself taken prisoner by Colonel Carter. The most determinate enemies of the parliament were those who, in the beginning of the war, had been the most active against Charles. They were therefore considered as apostates by the army, and punished with much greater severity than even the royalists and slaves.

During these troubles in different parts of the kingdom, by which the army was divided, the parliament saved its liberty, and again acted with its wonted courage. The members who had withdrawn through fear of the army returned, and influencing their companions, restored to the parliamentarian party that ascendancy it had formerly enjoyed. The eleven impeached members were recalled, and the vote by which they were expelled was reversed. The vote also of "Non-Addressees" was repealed; and five lords and ten commoners were sent to Newport, in the Isle of Wight, in order to attend with his majesty, who was allowed to have several of his friends and old counsellors, that he might have their advice on this important business.

No fight, perhaps, was ever more moving and mortifying than the situation and appearance of Charles, when he entered the apartment where the parliament's commissioners were assembled. The moment his servants had been removed, he laid aside all care of his person, and had suffered his hair and beard to grow, and to hang dishevelled and neglected. His hair was become almost entirely grey; either from the decline of years, or from that load of sorrows under which he laboured, and which, though borne with almost unexampled constancy, had preyed greatly on his heart. But though he had paid no attention to his person, he had assiduously cultivated the talents of his mind. His faculties were strong and active; his judgment clear and penetrating; his prudence and patience invincible. He suffered not the smallest spark of indignation he felt at his unworthy treatment to escape him. The parliamentary commissioners would not suffer any of his council to be present; they refused to enter into debate with any but himself. He alone, during the transactions of two months, was obliged to support the argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity in both houses, and no advantage was ever obtained over him. This was indeed the scene in which, of all others, he was qualified to excel. His conception was quick, his understanding clear, his elocution chaste, his manner commanding; these accomplishments rendered him capable of triumphing in all discussions of cool and temperate reasoning. The parliamentary commissioners, who were before strangers to the king's abilities, were astonished. "The king is much changed," said the earl of Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick: "he is extremely improved of late." "No," replied Sir Philip, "he was always so: but you are now at last sensible of it."

The first proposition the commissioners presented him was that of revoking all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament and their adherents, and acknowledging that they had taken up arms in their own defence. This was touching Charles in the sensible part. He made no difficulty of granting the former, but for some time opposed the latter with all his strength of reasoning. The king, during the whole course of the war, had asserted, that the parliament and their adherents were fundamentally in the wrong, and had they not obtained from him an acknowledgement that he himself was so, what security could they expect hereafter; as no consequence could be valid from erroneous principles? But Charles was now in their power, nor were the commissioners to be diverted from their purpose by his most pathetic representations of the wounds such a concession must inflict, both upon his judgment and his conscience. But finding that peace could be obtained on no other terms, he yielded to necessity. It was, however, agreed, that no part of the propositions should be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, unless the treaty was finally concluded.

The next proposition was that which regarded the abrogation of episcopacy, and the liturgy of the church of England, and the total alienation of all church lands. This demand brought on a ridiculous dispute between the king and some ignorant presbyterian teachers, with regard to the divinity of episcopal government. Charles, even by his enemies, is allowed to have obtained the victory; but the more important part of the question, the policy, or rather the necessity of it, in the present situation of affairs, was never debated. He at last consented to suspend episcopacy for three years, and, at the expiration of that period, to name twenty divines, who should consult with others named by the parliament, with regard to the future form of church government.

that all who were willing might take the covenant, and use the directory of the presbyterians, provided he himself was at liberty to use the common prayer book in his own chapel; and that money should be raised on the sale of the church-lands, and only old old rents reserved to the owners and their successors.

The next subject of debate was, the future disposal of the militia. The parliament required not only to have an unlimited power of raising what men they thought proper, both for the land and sea-service, and of employing them as they pleased during twenty years, but also that of passing bills to pay them, which were to have the force of laws, even though the king should refuse the royal assent. Charles opposed these exorbitant demands with all the force of reason and eloquence: but all his endeavours were in vain: the commissioners had no power to recede one tittle from their instructions. Even this did not discourage the king from pursuing the work of peace: he granted their demands; but, at the same time, he laid the three following demands before the commissioners, that they might be communicated to the parliament. 1. That he should be restored to his liberty. 2. That he should enjoy his revenue. 3. That an act of oblivion should be passed. These demands were sent to the parliament, where it was voted, that they should be granted, on the king's consenting to the desire of the two houses.

With respect to the other points of the treaty, they admitted of less debate. Charles agreed that taxes should be levied for the payment of the army, and for discharging the debts of the public; that all the chief officers of state should be nominated by the parliament for ten years: that the militia of the city of London, the government of the Tower, and the appointing the chief officers in these departments should be consigned to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London, for ten years; and that the king should receive 100,000*l.* annually, as a compensation for giving up the court of wards.

These debates took up so much time, that the parliament thought it necessary either to break off the treaty, or allow the commissioners a longer time to complete it; several of the king's concessions, particularly that relating to religion, having been voted unsatisfactory. The latter was chosen, and the time was enlarged to fourteen days longer. The parliament now demanded that the earl of Newcastle, the lord Digby, lord Bruen, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Judge Jenkins, Sir Francis Doddington, and Sir John Winter, should be excepted from pardon, both with regard to lives and estates. This was a demand which Charles absolutely refused; he declared he would never agree to give up his friends to punishment. The severe repentance which he had undergone for abandoning Strafford had doubtless confirmed him in the resolution never again to be guilty of a similar error. He, however, consented that the royalists should pay such compositions as they and the parliament should think reasonable; he only begged that they might be as moderate as possible: he also offered that the persons excepted by the parliament should be banished for a limited time.

Although it was so evidently the interest both of the king and parliament to finish this treaty, while Cromwell and Fairfax were employed against the royalists and Scots, yet the fear of the army on the one hand, and of the king's insincerity on the other, continued to have so great an effect on many of the members, that they strengthened the hands of the Independents till it was too late to prevent inevitable ruin. The insurrections were every where quelled be-

fore the treaty was finished; and the army had leisure to carry into execution the violent and sanguinary projects they had formed.

After Cromwell had reduced the Welsh insurgents, he marched with great expedition in order to meet the Scottish army, who, under Hamilton, had entered England, and were advancing forward without meeting with any opposition. But religious disputes rendered their expedition abortive, and destroyed that cause they entered England to support. They refused to join the royalists, because they had not taken the covenant; so that the two armies pursued the same route, but at some distance; nor could even the approach of the parliamentary army under Cromwell oblige the bigotted covenanters to consult their own safety, by a close union with the royalists. The two armies, commanded by Hamilton and Langdale, amounted to twenty thousand men; yet these not being joined, Cromwell ventured to attack them at the head of eight thousand only. He fell upon the royalists by surprise near Preston in Lancashire, and though they made a brave resistance, were almost entirely cut to pieces. Cromwell had now an opportunity of taking vengeance on the Scots, whom he had long detested. He attacked Hamilton, put his army to the route, and pursued the fugitives to Eborac, where the Scottish general surrendered himself prisoner. No forces now remained in the field to oppose the progress of Cromwell, who, pursuing his victory, marched into Scotland, and having joined Argyle, and suppressed the earl of Lanerc and Munro, he placed the power in the hands of the violent party among the presbyterians.

The siege of Colchester was now drawing to a crisis. The garrison, after enduring the utmost extremity of famine, were at last obliged to capitulate. No terms, however, could be procured from Fairfax: he insisted on their surrendering at merey; and gave such an explanation of that term, as to reserve to himself the power of putting them all to the sword if he thought proper. The officers of the garrison were very unwilling to surrender, unless they were promised that their lives should be safe, and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to make one more attempt on the enemy, and either cut themselves a passage, or sell their lives as dear as possible. But they had suffered too much during the siege; to that this proposal, which would, perhaps, have been embraced with alacrity, was now refused: and they surrendered the town to Fairfax.

At the instigation of Ireton, to whom Cromwell had consigned over the government during his absence, the passive Fairfax was persuaded to take an unmanly revenge on the principal officers who made so noble a defence; though that circumstance should have recommended them to the regard of every lover of military greatness. Accordingly Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were seized, and ordered to be shot immediately. Exasperated at so atrocious an action, lord Capel reproached him with this unmanly behaviour in the boldest terms, and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the same honourable cause, to execute on all the traitors the same vengeance. Lucas was first shot, and was killed; being intimidated, that he gave, himself, no time to fire, with the same alacrity as if he had been at the head of his own platoon of soldiers. He then killed the dead body, and then presented himself in the breast with the same undaunted resolution. The earl of Goring, Capel and Loughborough, with the other officers of distinction, 8 lieutenant-colonels, 30 captains, 65 gentlemen, 72 lieutenant-colonels, 183 serjeants, and 3067 private men were sent to different prisons.

After the siege of Colchester, Fairfax led his

troops back to St. Alban's, and renewed his complaint to the parliament of the want of pay for his soldiers. The army also renewed their cabals, and almost every corps petitioned the general that justice might be executed upon criminals. Ireton's regiment, in particular, demanded, that the same fault might have the same punishment, from the king to the commoner; and that all such might be proceeded against as traitors, who should speak in behalf of the king, till he was acquitted of the charge of innocent blood. These demands so plainly indicated the dreadful catastrophe which soon after followed, that all who withed well to his majesty, both in and out of parliament, advised him to make his escape, which was conceived to be very easy: But Charles having given his word to the parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the treaty, and three weeks after, he could not be prevailed upon to hazard the reproach of violating his promise.

On the 20th of November colonel Ewer, at the head of seven other officers, presented a remonstrance from the council of the army to the parliament. It began with a demand that the treaty with the king should be laid aside, and that the prince of Wales and duke of York should be declared incapable of government; that the army be satisfied out of the estates of the delinquents; that justice be done to the capital causes of the war; that a period be put to the present parliament; that there be a more equal representation of the people in the house of commons; that all who had borne arms for the king should be disabled either for voting or being elected to serve in parliament; that the supreme power of government should be vested in the representatives of the people, among whom there should be a liberty of entering dissent; that all future kings should be elected by the people, but without any negative voice; that all matters of general settlement should be established by the general contract of the people; but that none should have a share in it who should oppose the matter of this remonstrance.

Though the parliament well knew they were in no condition to withstand the force of the army, yet they were determined to oppose them to the utmost of their power, and rather bring on a subversion of government, than give their consent to such sanguinary measures. They accordingly resolved to pay no regard to the remonstrance of the army. But this opposition tended only to hasten the execution of the plot formed by the counsel of officers. Hamilton received an order from Fairfax to attend him, and to resign to colonel Ewer the custody of the king's person. In this emergency Charles consulted his friends, who were permitted still to remain about his person, and all of them advised him to make his escape, which was still very practicable. But Charles, from a delicacy in point of honor, thought himself too far engaged, that he refused to consider, and still continued under the fatal delusion, that preservation of his person was necessary both to parliament and the army. But the earl of Lindseigh, with great judgment, replied, "Take heed, lest you fall into such hands as will not flee by the rules of policy. Remember Hampton-court, where your escape was the best security." Charles, however, continued obstinate, and the next morning a detachment of the army, detached for that purpose, broke into his apartment, and carried him over to Black-hall, where he was again a close prisoner, and none of his friends suffered to visit him.

When the parliament were informed of this transaction, they voted that the seizing the king's person should be without their knowledge and consent, and that a message to the general, to know by what authority such an enterprise was undertaken. They also

issued orders that the army should not advance any nearer to London. They next voted, "That the answers of the king to the propositions of both houses are sufficient ground for the house to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom." It was also proposed by Hollis, the present leader of the presbyterians, a man of the most unconquerable intrepidity, that the generals and principal officers of the army should be deemed traitors to their country by the parliament, for their disobedience and usurpations."

These spirited proceedings of the parliament soon brought matters to a crisis. Fairfax marched the army to London, and placing guards at Whitehall, the Mews, St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, surrounded the parliament. The next day, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a dray-man, blocked up the passage to the house at the head of two regiments; and being directed by the lord Gray of Groby, he seized in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room, which passed under the denomination of Hell, whence they were afterwards carried to several inns. Besides these, above 160 members more were excluded, and none suffered to enter the house but the most furious and most determined of the independent party, which was so small, that their number did not exceed sixty. This egregious invasion of the rights of parliament was generally known under the name of "Colonel Pride's Purge;" so ready were the people to turn into ridicule the dethroning a party who had governed the nation with a rod of iron, and overturned the constitution of their country.

The secluded members having published a paper, containing a narrative of the violent manner in which they had been prevented from entering the house, together with a protestation against all acts, which since that moment had been transacted by the commons, the paper was voted to be false, scandalous, and seditious, tending to destroy the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom, and therefore ought to be suppressed. While the commons were employed in passing this vote so contrary to what every member in the house knew to be true, the army presented a scheme of government in consequence of their former declarations and remonstrances. But it was so wild and impracticable, and was so strongly tinged with that fanatical spirit so prevalent throughout the kingdom, that it is probable Cromwell suffered them to form so ridiculous a scheme, merely to keep them in employment.

The only difficulty Cromwell now had to surmount, in order to bring on the catastrophe of his detestable plot, consisted in disguising its horrid form from Fairfax. The force that had been laid upon the parliament, and the army continuing almost single, in opposition to the whole nation, together with some tenderness for the king, startled Fairfax. He began to fear he had gone too far; nor could all the arts of Cromwell quiet the fears with which his breast was agitated. The soldiers themselves proved awkward executioners of Cromwell's vengeance; they had suffered several of the secluded members to escape; and about fifteen of them were set at liberty by Fairfax. This seemed to be a kind of apology for the force put upon the house: but Cromwell prevented him from going any farther, by procuring a multitude of addresses from the independents residing in various parts of the kingdom.

In the mean time the king was ordered to be brought under a strong guard to Windsor, by colonel Harrison the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the whole army. Charles himself was now convinced, that the period of his life was approaching;

proaching; but could not be persuaded that they intended to proceed against him by a formal trial, and make him fall a victim to what they called the stroke of justice. He every moment expected a private assassination, a catastrophe so frequent with dethroned princes: there was not an instance to be found in history where a sovereign was put to death by the laws of his country. Harrison assured him that his fears were groundless, and that whatever was intended against him would be done before the sun. On his arrival at Windsor, all symbols of sovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to treat him in no other manner than that of a private gentleman.

On the 25th of December the commons appointed a committee to bring in a charge against the king, and other capital offenders. This committee was empowered to take informations with regard to facts, on which the charge against the king was to be founded; and on the twenty-eighth an ordinance for trying the king was brought into the house of commons by Scot an independent member. This ordinance met with very little difficulty in the house. Some speeches were indeed made against it, but they seemed rather calculated to save appearances, than prevent it from receiving the sanction of the commons.

The ordinance, having almost unanimously passed the commons, was, on the 2d of January, carried up to the peers by lord Gray, of Groby. The upper house had long been considered as of little weight in the legislature, and since the king's imprisonment had become totally contemptible. It happened however to be fuller than ordinary when the ordinance was presented: sixteen of the peers were assembled, and they all expressed the greatest anxiety to know the contents of the charge, which was conceived in the following terms: "That Charles Stuart had acted contrary to his trust in departing from his parliament, setting up his standard, making war against them, and thereby been the occasion of much bloodshed and misery to the people, whom he was set over to protect; that he had given commissions to Irish rebels, and was since the occasion of a second war; that he had invaded the rights of the subject, and endeavoured to destroy the fundamental laws and liberties of this kingdom." The peers looked upon each other with astonishment, and seemed deprived of the power of speech. The earl of Manchester first broke the awful silence, in a speech at once pathetic and constitutional. He affirmed it to be a palpable absurdity to say, "that the king could be a traitor against the parliament." The earl of Northumberland declared that the greater part of the people of England were far from being satisfied whether the king or parliament were the just aggressors; and that even if it should be granted that the king first began the war, there was no law in being that declared such an action to be treason; and for the parliament to declare it treason before the matter of fact was proved, and without any law to countenance such a proceeding, would be highly unreasonable." All the rest of the lords were of the same opinion, and the vote of the lower house was rejected without one dissenting voice. They also adjourned themselves for ten days, hoping, by this means, to restrain the furious proceedings of the commons.

But so small an obstacle was very insufficient to divert the independents from their purpose. They voted to proceed in trying the king, and establishing all other measures, without the concurrence of the lords, and accordingly passed the following votes, which sufficiently indicate the purposes they were calculated to serve:

"Resolved, that the commons of England in

parliament assembled do declare, that the people are, under God, the original of all just power.

"That the commons of England, in parliament assembled, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation.

"That whatsoever is enacted or declared for law, by the commons, in parliament assembled, hath the force of law; and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the concurrence of the king and the house of peers be not had thereunto."

These votes being passed, the ordinance for the trial of the king was read, and assented to unanimously. Nothing less could be expected; the balance of government had been long destroyed, and the quarrel now was only about its spoils. The parliament had before declared, that they had a right to impose laws without the consent of the king; and the army had just as much right to give law to the poor remains of a parliament that now assumed the legislative power.

The fate of Charles was now to be precipitated on many accounts. The army might feel remotion; the fervors of fanaticism were suffered to subside. The people might recover from their consternation. The Scots might interpose. Foreign nations might declare in the king's favour. The states-general had already named an ambassador to negotiate a peace between his majesty and the parliament. The court of France appeared to be deeply concerned at the fate of Charles; the king of Denmark was fitting out armaments for his relief; and all Europe beheld his fate with pity and indignation. Cromwell knew this, and sat late every night in consultation with his officers. He had too sound a judgment to think of entering upon any vindication of the late proceedings; he knew they would not stand the test of reason; and thought it would be more easy to justify the blow after it was given than before.

On the 6th of January information was brought to the house, that the king might easily make his escape; and Fairfax was ordered to come, but more closely, and not to suffer any of his friends to visit him; and on the thirteenth of January was voted to leave the king's name out of all public papers. Nor was the government of the city of London less unhinged than the constitution. The independent faction, in the name of the common-council, presented an address to parliament, without the consent of the lord-mayor and aldermen, who most of them absented themselves. The address was however, voted to be regular, and the thanks of the house were accordingly returned. No man was found intrepid enough to oppose these proceedings. Cromwell having made no secret of his intention to expel every one who voted against the measure proposed. The whole kingdom beheld these proceedings with silent horror. The queen wrote to parliament in favour of her husband, and desired leave to attend him, but this letter was immediately thrown aside by the commons.

The only man in England that dared to face the flames of sedition was Pym, who had suffered deeply by the tyranny of the star chamber. He had been elected a member of parliament, and was honest as to speak, vote, and write, agreeable to his own opinion, and had been, with other members, excluded from his seat in the house, and kept prisoner a common man. But though his person was confined, he wrote strongly in defence of the proceedings he professed. He appealed to the public against the proceedings of the independent faction, and he printed a pamphlet, intitled, "A brief narrative of the present unparliamentary juncture to depose and execute Charles Stuart, their lawful king." This pamphlet gave so much offence to the party, that it

mittee was appointed to demand of Prynne, whether he would own it. Prynne readily replied, "I will not answer till I am commanded by a lawful authority." The presbyterian members approved this answer, and made another weak attempt to try their strength with the army, but were defeated.

It required no great length of time to adjust the necessary preparations for the trial, and to constitute what was termed "The High Court of Justice." This court consisted of 133 persons, as named by the commons, but never more than seventy met: so difficult was it found, notwithstanding the blindness of prejudice, and the allurements of interest, to prevail upon persons of any name or character to engage in so criminal a measure. It may, perhaps, be thought strange, that as a great number, nearly the majority, of the commissioners, who were empowered to act on this occasion, detested the guilty designs of the court, they did not attend, and endeavour to prevent the sentence. But the truth is, they were intimidated by the fierceness of the army. They knew, that if any difficulty occurred in completing this sanguinary measure, the independent faction among the officers would purge the court, as it had already done the parliament. The twelve judges were at first appointed in the number; but on their affirming, that it was contrary to all the ideas of English law to try the king for treason, by whose authority all accusations for that crime must necessarily be conducted, their names, as well as those of some peers, were afterwards struck out. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, were judges, together with a few of the members of the lower house, and some citizens of London. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president; Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England; and Dorilaus, Steel and Aske, were named assistants.

Fairfax now seemed as one awakened from a lethargy, and startled at the guilt that was every day emanating under the sanction of his name. He never, knowingly to himself, had professed independence, though he had in fact been the tool of Cromwell to establish it. His wrong notions, with regard to the army, occasioned all his miscarriages. He was persuaded that the profession of a soldier ought to be governed by severer maxims and principles of honour than those that fell within any civil station; and was always jealous of government, because he feared it wanted to make a property of the army. After he was made general in chief, he considered himself as answerable to the soldiers, with regard to their treatment from the parliament. Such notions, greatly augmented by religious fanaticism and fervour, rendered it very easy for Cromwell to mould Fairfax to his purposes; and it happened that in some particulars, he had justice on his side. The parliament had, for instance, violated several articles of capitulation granted by the army, which Fairfax considered as highly criminal. They were undoubted truths; and Cromwell persuaded Fairfax, that the hardships of the soldiers proceeded from the notorious avarice and wicked policy of the parliament. The former induced them to evade all demands of money; the latter to abandon the soldiers, so that they were obliged to live upon free quarters, whereby they were become hateful, and an insupportable burden to the people.

Fairfax, being once convinced of these truths, was led to believe every thing that was reported of the parliament, and his ill opinion was increased on seeing the conduct of their committees, when he touched upon the city, more money than could have been sufficient to quiet the clamours of the soldiers. But when his troops were fatigued, and

his presbyterian friends laid before him the consequences that must result from the scheme formed by the army, he was struck with horror at the prospect, and would fain have prevented the dreadful effects of that power he had been so instrumental in promoting.

The High Court of Justice for trying the king sat in Westminster-hall; and, at their first meeting, an incident happened of the most remarkable nature. Lady Fairfax, the daughter of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury, having been seduced by the violence of the times, seconded all the ardour of her husband against the royal cause; but being now convinced of her error, she joined with her husband in bewailing the miseries which threatened her country, and, with the friends of Fairfax, dissuaded him from being present at the trial. Curiosity, however, prompted her to attend; and when her husband's name was called in reading over the list of commissioners, a voice was heard from one of the spectators, saying aloud, "He has too much wit to be present." And when the charge was read against the king, in the name of all the people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "Not a tenth part of them." On this orders were given to Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, to fire into the box whence the voice proceeded; but the soldiers being informed that it was their general's lady, they refused to obey. This circumstance sufficiently proves, that Fairfax was now convinced of his having been abused, and that Cromwell was then considered as the hypocrite, who had instigated the army to insist on this detestable trial.

It is almost impossible to conceive a more affecting scene than was now exhibited in the High Court of Justice: the delegates of a free people sitting in judgment on their supreme magistrate, and trying him for his mis-government and breach of trust; and the pomp, the dignity and the ceremony were equal to the conception.

The charge against the king was read by the solicitor, in the name of the commons; in which it was declared, "That Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and intrusted with a limited power; yet, nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect an unlawful and tyrannical government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people, whom they represented; and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth."

Charles, even in this hour of distress, lost not the majesty of a king. On the president's telling him, that the court expected his answer; he asked by what authority he was brought thither? The question had been expected by Cromwell, and the president, by his direction, answered, "In the name of the commons of England." The king denied the authority of the court, and refused to submit to their jurisdiction. He observed, that being born then lawful hereditary king, all his subjects united could have no power to bring him to a trial; that having often exposed his life in defence of the liberties and fundamental laws of the kingdom, he would not now desert them, but was ready, in this last and most solemn scene, to seal with his blood those precious rights for which he had so long, though in vain, contended: That in the court which pretended to sit in judgment on his actions, he could not perceive the least appearance of the upper house, so essential a member of the constitution; and had learned from sufficient authority, that the commons, with whole power the court pretended to be invested, had been subdued by lawless force, and entirely deprived of their liberty: That those who arrogated the power of being his judges were born his subjects, and subjects of those laws which declare, "That the king

can do no wrong ;" but that without having recourse to that general maxim, which screens even the worst of princes, he was ready to justify his conduct by the evidence of reason : and that if he were called upon in another manner, he should be desirous of demonstrating to them, and all the world, the justice of that war he was unfortunately, and contrary to his inclinations, engaged in his own defence : but in his present circumstances he must not enter on the apology he was so desirous of making, lest, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he should be considered as the betrayer of that constitution he was so desirous of establishing even by his blood."

This answer had no effect. Bradshaw, in the most atrocious and insolent language, told him, that the court over-ruled his objections, and derived their authority from the people, the only source of genuine power. Thrice was Charles brought before the court, and as often denied their jurisdiction. The commissioners therefore proceeded to examine some witnesses, who deposed, that the king had appeared in arms against the troops of the parliament. Upon which, after another insolent speech made by Bradshaw, the following sentence of death was passed on the unfortunate prince:

" That he, Charles Stuart, king of England, having been convicted and attainted as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, should be put to death, by severing his head from his body." This sentence was signed by the whole court, except nine members.

The king, during his last appearance before the court, seemed very desirous of being admitted to a conference with the two houses of parliament ; but this was denied. The independents intended not to gratify any request he might make ; they had already determined to abolish the power of the house of peers, and it would have been dangerous on this occasion to acknowledge them as a branch of the legislature. Their denial was accompanied with the most brutal insolence. The soldiers were suffered to use every mark of disrespect, and some of them even spit in his face. But even this insult could not shake the tranquillity of his soul, a sentiment of piety was the only effect it excited. He was more nearly affected by the ardent prayers and wishes offered up for his safety by the people who thronged about him, and which even the rod of lawless power was not sufficient to restrain.

The ambassadors of France, Holland and Scotland interposed to stop these horrid proceedings, but in vain. Every nation in Europe exclaimed against this example as the most egregious insult on law and justice. But all their exclamations and interpositions had no effect : the fate of the king was fixed and irrevocable. Four of the chief and most illustrious friends of his majesty, Richmond, Holland, Southampton and Lindley, repaired to the house of commons, and represented, that, in quality of his counsellors, they alone were guilty of the measures imputed to him as crimes ; and desired to save, by their own punishment, that precious life, which the commons themselves were so much interested to defend. This generous offer had no other effect than that of increasing the animosity of the court. For the more bad men see their conduct reproached by the virtue of the good, the more eager they are to consummate their base designs.

Three days only were allowed the king between his sentence and execution, during which short interval he chiefly employed his time in meditation and prayer. All his family that remained in England were allowed to visit him. The duke of Gloucester was little more than an infant ; but the advanced judgement of the

princess Elizabeth, notwithstanding her tender years, rendered her sensible of all the miseries she was doomed to suffer. The king, after giving her the most prudent advice, and endeavouring to fortify her mind with pious consolations, charged her to tell the queen, that he had never, during the whole course of his life, failed in conjugal fidelity towards her, not even in thought ; and that his tenderness for her should only end with his life. Holding the duke of Gloucester on his knee, he said, " Now they will cut off thy father's head." So unexpected a sentence seemed greatly to affect the child, who looked stedfastly upon him. " Mark ! child what I say : They will cut off my head, and perhaps make me a king : But mark what I say : Thou must not be a king, as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off thy brothers heads when they can catch them ! And thy head too, they will cut off at last ! And therefore I charge thee do not be made a king by them !" The prince replied, fetching a deep sigh, " I will be torn in pieces first." The king's eyes were filled with tears, and admiration at hearing so determined an answer from one of such tender years.

Fairfax, overwhelmed with grief, used all the interest, which he yet retained, to prevent the execution of the fatal sentence ; and even employed persuasion with his regiment, though none else should obey him, to rescue the king from his murderers. Cromwell and Ireton, being informed of his intention, endeavoured to convince him, that God had rejected the king ; and exhorted him to seek by prayer for directions from heaven on this important occasion. The fanatic Harrison was ordered to join with him in this pious office, and he took care to prolong the farce, till a person came and whispered him, that the king was no more. Then rising with the air of a prophet, he assured Fairfax, that the lord had heard their prayers, and made known his holy will in a very marvellous manner.

On the 30th of January, which was the day appointed for the tragic scene, the king rose early, and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, bade him employ more than usual care in dressing and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity. He received the sacrament from the hands of bishop Juxon, and continued in his devout exercises, when he drank a glass of wine and ate a bit of bread. Immediately after this he went through the banquetting-house to the scaffold, which was erected in the street directly opposite to that building, and intended, by making choice of a spot adjacent to his own palace, to display, in a more evident manner, the triumph of popularity over the power of royalty.

As soon as the king came upon the scaffold, he held the apparatus of death with great composure, and asked if there was not a higher block : he then dressed himself to the colonels Tomlinson and others, and some other persons on the scaffold. He protested his innocence, but, at the last, he acknowledged that his death was just in the eyes of the Supreme Being, and that he was punished for having opposed an unjust sentence (meaning, technically, that of Strafford.) He forgave all his enemies, even the chief instruments of his death ; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to their allegiance, and acknowledge his son and lawful sovereign. While he prepared for the block, bishop Juxton said to him, " Sir, but one stroke more, which, though it is painful, and troublesome, is yet a very short one. Consider it will soon carry you a great way, it will carry you from earth to heaven ; and there you will find, to your great joy, the prize to which you are now bound, a crown of glory." " Yes," replied the

king. "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." Then delivering his George to the prelate, he said, "Remember." and laying his head on the block, he stretched out his hands as a signal, when, at one blow, his head was severed from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner. Another, in the same disguise, held up the head streaming with blood, and exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor." The spectators testified their sorrows in sighs, tears, and lamentations; and several attempted to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood of their murdered king.

The body was put into a coffin, covered with black velvet, and removed to an apartment in Whitehall, where it was embalmed, and then exposed for several days at St. James's. But at length the duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, obtained permission to bury it in the church of Windsor.

Thus fell Charles I. by the murderous decree of his own subjects, and the ignominious hand of a common executioner. The character of this prince is strongly delineated through the whole course of his reign. Every impartial judge will own, that his virtues greatly out-balanced his imperfections. Aiming at more power than the constitution allowed, was the first cause of his misfortunes; but it may be pleaded, in his defence, that the precedents of many former reigns favoured strongly of despotism, and he unapplyingly followed those examples. Every step he took to put a stop to, only served to encrease the disorders of his people, and his own misfortunes; owing to the fury of a bigotted faction, and the lasting interest of parties violent and furious in their opposition to each other; and to these he fell a sacrifice, in the 24th year of his reign, and 49th of his age.

Charles, by his queen Henrietta, had nine children, four sons and five daughters, viz.

Charles James, who died an infant. Charles, prince of Wales, who succeeded him. James, duke of York, and Henry duke of Gloucester, who died after the restoration.

His daughters were, Mary, who married William of Nassau prince of Orange. Elizabeth, confined by the regicides in Carisbrook-castle, where she died of grief. Ann and Catherine, who died in their infancy, and Henrietta Maria, who married Philip duke of Anjou and Orleans.

A few days after the execution of Charles, a book was published, intitled, "Icon Basilike," said to have been written by that prince. This work, so full of piety, meekness and humanity, published at so critical a juncture, excited, in a most remarkable manner, the compassion of the people for the murdered prince. The sale of it was so rapid, that it passed through fifty editions in less than a year. Some have not even scrupled to ascribe to that work the subsequent restoration of the royal family. It is related, says Milton, like the will of Cæsar, when read by Mark Antony to the tumultuous Romans, was, doubtless, the best prose composition in the English language at the time of its publication. Some have denied the composition to have been the prince's, but the arguments brought to prove that these great meditations really flowed from the royal pen are much stronger; and it is now the general opinion that they were actually written by that unfortunate prince.

The only remarkable occurrences that happened during this king's reign were the following:

In his second year a proclamation was issued commanding the inhabitants of London and Westminster

to preserve their urine for one year, in order to make salt-petre.

In his tenth year a law was made, whereby every British subject, who was desirous of travelling to foreign parts, was obliged to purchase a license for that purpose, the money arising from which was paid to the crown.

The most distinguished person in literature who lived during the time of James and Charles I. was Ben Jonson, who was born at Westminster in 1574. He was first educated at a private school in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, from whence he was removed to Westminster school, where the famous Camden was master. His mother, who married a bricklayer to her second husband, took him from school, and obliged him to work at his father-in-law's trade; but being extremely averse to that employment, he went into the Low Countries, where he distinguished himself by his bravery. On his return to England he pursued his former studies, and was admitted into St. John's College Cambridge, where he continued for some time. On his leaving the university, he entered into an obscure playhouse, where he acquitted himself with some reputation as an actor. Shakespeare is said to have first introduced him to the world, by recommending a play of his to the stage, and at the time when one of the players had rejected his performance, and told him it would be of no service to their company. His first dramatic performance was a comedy, entitled "Every Man in his Humour," acted in the year 1598, which being soon followed by several others gained him so high a reputation, that in October 1619, upon the death of Mr. Samuel Daniel, he was made poet laureat to king James I. and on July 19, the same year, he was created master of arts at Oxford, having resided for some time at Christ-church in that university. He once incurred his majesty's displeasure for being concerned with two others in writing a play called "Eastward-Hoe," wherein they were accused of having reflected on the Scotch nation. On the accession of Charles I. he wrote a petition to that prince, craving, that as his royal father had allowed him an annual pension of 100 marks, he would make them pounds. In the year 1629 Ben fell sick, and was then poor and lodged in an obscure alley; his majesty was supplicated in his favour, who sent him ten guineas. When the messenger delivered the sum, Ben took it in his hand and said, "His majesty has sent me ten guineas because I am poor and live in an alley; go and tell him that his soul lives in an alley." He had a pension from the city of London, from several of the nobility and gentry, and particularly from Mr. Sutton, the founder of the Charter house. In his last sickness he often repented of the profanation of scripture in his plays. He died the 16th of August 1637, in the 63d year of his age, and was interred three days after in Westminster abbey, where there is now a monument to his memory; in the front of which is the following concise inscription:

"O RARE BEN JONSON!"

He wrote above fifty several pieces, which may be ranked under the species of dramatic poetry. But the most remarkable are, "The Alchymist," "The Fox," and "The Silent Woman;" these have been oftener acted than all the rest of his plays put together, and have been always received with universal applause.

During the above period likewise flourished those distinguished painters, Rubens and Vandyke; as also that unparalleled architect Inigo Jones, who has left standing monuments of his ingenuity in several parts of the metropolis.

This great man was born in 1572 in London, where his father was a citizen and clothworker. His natural inclination leading him to the study of the arts of drawing and designing, the earl of Pembroke took him into his patronage, and sent him, at his own expence, into Italy, and other polite parts of Europe. He spent many years in completing his education, and resided a considerable time in the city of Venice; from whence Christian IV. king of Denmark sent for him, and appointed him his architect-general. He returned home in 1606, and was made architect to prince Henry; soon after which the king gave him the reversion of the place of surveyor-general of his works. In 1612 he made a second tour to Italy, and continued some years there till the surveyor's place fell to him. A short time after his arrival, the office of works being found several thousand pounds in debt,

he voluntarily gave up his own dues, and pressed with the comptroller and paymaster to do the whereby the whole arrears were entirely cleared. In 1620 the king ordered him to take a survey of a surprising group of stones on Salisbury Plain, commonly called Stonehenge, and to draw up an account of it. The same year he was appointed one of the commissioners for repairing the cathedral of St. Paul, London. He formed that stately and elegant palace the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, which was designed for the reception of foreign ambassadors. To him also we owe the church and piazza of St. Martin's, as well as several other buildings in the parts of the capital. He suffered in his last years for his loyalty to his royal master Charles I. He died in 1652, and was interred in the chancel of St. Martin's, Paul's Wharf, London.

B O O K XII.

The REPUBLIC, or COMMONWEALTH, containing a period of Eleven Years from the Death of Charles I. to the Restoration of Charles II.

THE death of Charles was not more destructive to his family than to the constitution. For several days, even before his condemnation, the commons were employed in preparing acts for abolishing monarchy, and erecting a republican government on its ruins; and on the very day of his execution they published the following proclamation:

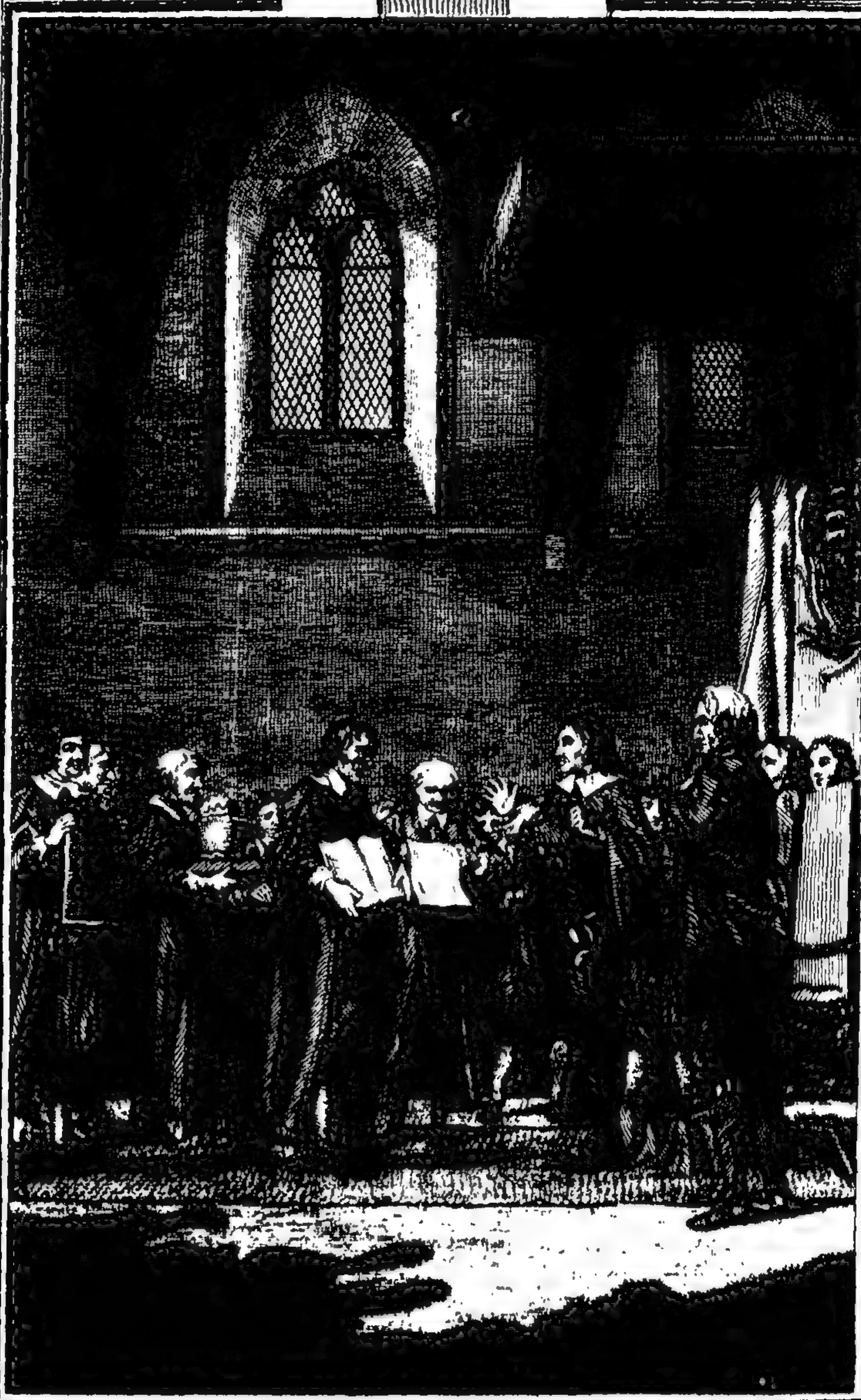
"Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, being, for the notorious treasons, tyrannies and murders, committed by him in the late unnatural and cruel wars, condemned to death; whereupon, after execution of the same, several pretences may be made, and claims set on foot to the kingly office, to the apparent hazard of the public peace; for prevention whereof be it enacted and ordained by this present parliament, and by the authority of the same, that no person or persons whomsoever do presume to proclaim, declare, or publish, or any ways promote Charles Stuart, the son of the said Charles, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other person, to be king, or chief magistrate of England, or of Ireland, or of any of the dominions belonging to them, or either of them, by colour of inheritance, succession, election, or any other claim whatsoever, without the free consent of the people in parliament first had, or signified by a particular act or ordinance for that purpose; any statute, law, usage, or custom to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

"And be it further enacted and ordained, and it is hereby enacted and ordained, that whosoever, contrary to this act shall proclaim, publish, or any way promote the said Charles Stuart the son, or any other person to be king, or chief magistrate of England, or of Ireland, or of any of the dominions belonging to them, or to either of them, without the said consent in parliament signified as aforesaid, shall be deemed and adjudged a traitor to the commonwealth, and shall suffer the pains of death, and such other punishments as belong to the crime of high treason. And all officers, as well civil as military, and all other well affected persons, are hereby authorized and required to apprehend all such offenders, and to bring them in safe custody to the next justice of

peace, that they may be proceeded against accordingly."

The house of peers continued yet sitting: the commissions of the judges were determined by the king's death, they sent to the commons for conference about that and other matters relating to the safety of the government; but the commons would not take the least notice of their message. A few days passed a vote, by which they declared the kingly office to be unnecessary and burdensome. Another vote was likewise passed, that they would make no more addresses to the house of peers, nor receive any more from them; and that that which was useless and dangerous, and was therefore to be abolished. But that they might not be entirely excluded from government, it was declared that they were capable of being elected into the house of commons. The lords, enraged at this insult, published a declaration in the name of all the peers and barons of the realm, in which they protested against all such acts and orders of parliament, that should be made during their exclusion. This made little impression on the commons; and, to prevent the violence of the lords, they set a guard upon the commons house; after which they passed an act for the abolition of the royal line, and the abolition of monarchy, by which it was decreed, that the people should be henceforth governed by the laws made by the people, under the form of a commonwealth. But this subversion of the constitution was not agreeable to the people in general, and to prevent the thinking it necessary to give them some satisfaction, they published a declaration, in which they set forth to shew the reasons of their proceedings. Several plausible pretences were urged, among which was made a promise of deliverance from the yoke introduced by the Norman conquest, and of maintaining the ancient laws, which they called the excellency and equality, adding, that these laws did not consist with the present government, and that upon some easy alterations of form, the substance entire, and reforming the abuses, they also promised the establishment of a

Engraved for *Russet's*
History of England.



The Inauguration of
OLIVER CROMWELL

safe peace; the advancement of the true protestant religion, and the liberal maintaining of a godly ministry; the settling of treaties and alliances with foreign princes and estates; the encouragement of the manufactories, for the increase and flourishing of trade, and the maintaining of the poor in all places of the land.

To render the model of their government perfect, they abolished all the ancient forms of sovereignty in the style and tests of writs, commissions, and other public instruments; and ordered for the future all of them to be issued, "in the names of the keepers of the liberties of England, by authority of parliament." They then formed a new great seal, having on one side a red cross and harp quartered, as the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription, THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND; and on the other, the representation of the house of commons assembled, with this legend, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, MDCXLVIII. And, as another ensign of their power, they appointed that all the money, which from that time was to be coined, should, instead of the impression, bear the cross and harp, with this motto, GOD WITH US. The clauses in the first of Elizabeth, and the third of James I. which enjoined taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to the king and his successors, were now repealed, and a new oath called the Engagement, was enjoined to be taken by all who were put into places of public trust "to be true and faithful to the government established, without king or house of peers." The ancient, judicial and legislative power of the king and both houses of parliament they assumed to themselves, but the executive part of government they committed to a council of state consisting of thirty-nine persons; to these all addresses were to be made, and by these orders were given to all generals and admirals; and they digested all business before it was introduced into parliament.

The landmarks of the constitution being thus removed, no man knew upon what foundation his property stood; and most of the judges, together with many of the sheriffs and justices of the peace, refused to act under the new government. Cromwell was not displeased at their refusal, because it enforced the necessity of keeping up a numerous army, and of proceeding by martial instead of municipal law. Hewson, one of the colonels, very properly observed, that soldiers could hang twenty with less difficulty than magistrates could hang one. This introduction of military law rendered Cromwell absolute in the government: he took possession of the king's rooms of state in Whitehall; he disposed of civil property by warrant; and he had his officers always at command, to present to the house such forms and alterations, both in the civil and military departments in government, as he thought proper; and whatever he ordered to prescribe was always approved of by the commons and the council of state. He met, however, with a very strong opposition from lieutenant-general Lambert, a very abusive and turbulent man, who was sent immediately to prison. The women of the militia troops, and demanded his enlargement. They were told to take care of their families, and leave the government of the state to the men. The abolition of the peers, and the secluded members of the opposition, and filled the kingdom with the most severe invectives against the new government, and some had even the boldness to disseminate a proclamation the prince of Wales to be proclaimed under the title of Charles II. The only way by which we must now distinguish

In the month of March came on before the High Court of Justice, (of which Bradshaw was president) the trials of the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Norwich and Holland, the lord Capel, and Sir John Owen; when they were all found guilty, and received sentence of death. Hamilton and Capel made their escape, but were retaken: the former might have saved his life, but was honest enough to refuse it, as it was only offered at the expence of his honour. Great interest was used to save them all. Capel had joined early in opposition to the king. Hamilton had served the parliament; and Holland had been, by turns, the friend and slave of the faction: the other two had no merits to plead; yet the three former suffered, while the two latter were saved. Hamilton died because he refused to betray his friend, Holland, on account of his apostacy in deserting the cause he had so long defended; and Cromwell frankly said, Capel had so many virtues, that his life was incompatible with the safety of the new government.

During the divisions of the state, after the death of the king, the Scotch commissioners had entered a strong protest against the proceedings of the commons, with regard to the trial of their late sovereign, and they now received orders to quit England, without taking leave of the faction. In consequence of this, they wrote a spirited letter to the commons, who voted, that it was a scandalous and reproachful libel against the just proceedings of parliament, intended to lay the foundations for a new and bloody war; and that all who supported them should be considered as traitors and rebels to their country. But Cromwell, willing to avoid, if possible, a rupture with Scotland, at that critical juncture, procured a vote in parliament, that the commissioners should be sent to Scotland under a guard. The fate of that kingdom was now deplorable. Rent with factions, and distracted with fanatical enthusiasm, no measure founded on reason and the rules of policy could be taken. The body of the people abhorred the English faction, who had put their king to death, and were unanimous for proclaiming his son, and placing him on the throne of his ancestors; but they differed with regard to the terms on which the sovereignty should be offered. The violent presbyterians, headed by Argyle, were for obliging him to observe every article of the covenant, and even previous to their sending any invitation, to oblige him to sign it, to submit implicitly to their church censures, to renounce the sins of his father's house, the iniquity of his mother, and to submit to several other mortifications that even a private gentleman would have refused. The covenanting royalists, as well as the episcopalians, were for proclaiming the king without obliging him to sign any conditions. The earls of Lauderdale and Lanerc, now duke of Hamilton, were at this time with Charles at the Hague, where he kept up the appearance of a court, though his affairs were in a desperate condition. The prince and princess of Orange withheld well to his interest, but the selfish maxims of the Dutch republic rendered it impossible to serve him effectually.

The highest expectations were formed of Charles, who was now about nineteen years of age. He had behaved with the utmost tenderness towards his father and his family; he had, with a prudence far above his years, concurred to his service all the different members of his council; and had shewn great spirit on all occasions, as well as a close application to business. He had hitherto enjoyed very few opportunities of improving himself by reading, and the persons intrusted with his education by his father were but ill qualified to improve him by their conversation, and still less by their instruction.

Intimation had been several times given by the states-general, that their affairs would not permit them to come to a rupture with the ruling powers of England; and Charles knew not where to retire for protection. During this disagreeable suspense, the gallant marquis of Montrose appeared, with magnificent equipages, and a small number of chosen friends, at the court of Charles. His sentiments were very different from those of the other counsellors. He thought all treaties with rebels to be dishonourable; that the king ought to throw himself upon the friendship of his brother monarchs and the affections of his loyal subjects; undertaking himself, with very small assistance, to seat him on the Scottish throne. The great actions Montrose had already performed, his majestic deportment, and his unmerited sufferings for the royal cause, inspired all who approached him with impressions of awe, of love, and of pity. Though he was almost single in his sentiments, none ventured to oppose him; and his own countrymen regarded him as the genius of injured majesty.

Farther intimation being given to Charles that it was the desire of the states-general he should leave the Hague, it was resolved in council that he should retire to France, as he might from thence, with the greater facility, pass over into some part of his own dominions. He accordingly left Holland in the month of April, and proceeded to St. Germain, where his mother then resided. He was received with great politeness in all the towns of Flanders through which he passed, and with as much state by the young king of France, as if he had been actually in possession of the English crown. But these civilities flowed entirely from a commiseration of his misfortunes, which was so strong with the public, that cardinal Mazarine, and the queen regent of France, did not think fit to restrain them. No effectual assistance, however, could be obtained; an asylum was the only protection that could be expected by the fugitive monarch.

The affairs of Ireland seemed to display a dawn of success to the royal cause. The marquis of Ormond was at the head of a considerable party devoted to Charles; and though the Irish, at the instigation of the pope's nuncio, had again taken up arms against the English, they were now sincerely united with the royalists. Had Charles appeared at the head of his army, there is no doubt but the whole kingdom would have declared in his favour; but the want of his presence and money were great obstacles to the success of Ormond. That spirited general, however, made himself master of Drogheda, with other considerable garrisoned towns, and laid siege to Dublin, where Jones, the general of the parliament's forces, had been obliged to shut himself up.

The English government was now sufficiently alarmed, and Cromwell, at his own request, was appointed to command the troops intended to be sent against the royalists in Ireland. Prince Rupert, ever since the fleet deserted to the prince of Wales, had commanded a considerable squadron, and taken several rich prizes. Dunkirk and Ostend also swarmed with privateers that acted under commissions granted by Charles. The natural remedy for this evil was to fit out a superior fleet; but it was not easy to determine who should command it. At length, after various debates and consultations, it was resolved to give it to Blake, Popham and Deane. The navy was soon in so respectable a condition, that the English channel was cleared of those privateers that had so greatly obstructed the commerce of the kingdom; and prince Rupert himself was blocked up in the harbour of Kinsale, by a squadron under the command of Blake and Deane.

It appears rather strange that Cromwell should undertake to head the expedition against the Irish in person, before the affairs of government were settled on a solid basis. But his conduct was directed by wise maxims. He knew that power could only be maintained by the same measures by which it had been acquired. The dangerous spirit of levelling was far from being destroyed in the army; and this, with all other cautions, could only be cured by finding full employment for the soldiers. Cromwell promised himself great advantages from the spirit and temper of his soldiers returning from foreign conquest, when they had lost all tenderness for their mother-country, and regarded no will but that of their general. He was sensible that it was absolutely necessary to reduce Ireland, as it lay very convenient for receiving assistance and supplies from the Roman catholic powers, particularly from Spain, whose friendship the parliament had as yet great reason to distrust. Besides these motives, Cromwell flattered himself with extending the fame of his military achievements, and of revenging himself on the marquis of Ormond, and other royalists in Ireland, who had accused him of being the sole cause of the king's death.

Before, however, Cromwell led his troops against the Irish, he was determined to destroy that spirit of levelling which was now so prevalent in the army, and which, if not crushed in the bud, must undermine the basis of his authority. One Thompson, a bold, intrepid trooper, headed the levellers, who appointed their rendezvous to be held at Banbury in Oxfordshire. Some of the regiments that had been appointed to go to Ireland mutinied about the same time, particularly those commanded by Ireton, Skippon and Reynolds. Thompson soon found himself at the head of two hundred horse, and expected daily to be joined by so large a body of mutineers, as would enable him to set the government at defiance.

The artful Cromwell prevailed upon Fairfax to accompany him in the disagreeable service of reducing the levellers. They reached Banbury soon enough to prevent the mutineers from uniting into a body, and Fairfax, directing his march to Burford, made good of them prisoners. This success rendered the whole design of the levellers abortive, Thompson himself being killed in the conflict.

The mutiny being quelled, the parliament passed an act, declaring it treason in any one "to assert that the present government is tyrannical, unlawful, or that the commons in parliament are not the supreme authority; or to endeavour to alter the present government; or to assume the name of council of state; to contrive the death of the king or lieutenant general of the army; to raise mutiny among the soldiers; to join with those who invade England or Ireland; to level war against the parliament; to counterfeit the great seal; or to be any member of parliament, judge, or minister of justice."

About the middle of May the army under Cromwell was ready to embark for Ireland. The news of this expedition determined the king, who was at that time heartily tired of the court of France, to retire to Jersey, the only spot he now inherited of his large paternal dominions, and where he had also been proclaimed by the loyal governor Sir George Carteret. This was, doubtless, placing his safety on a very slender foundation; but it was the only measure he could pursue in this critical conjuncture, when the courts of France and Spain, notwithstanding all their pretended detestation of the rebel proceedings, only sought to make the best advantage they could of them being possessed of his person. The king of Denmark, and a few of the great

princes, were, indeed, sincere in their endeavours to save him; but they wanted money sufficient to fit out a fleet to face the English.

The marquis of Ormond had carried on the siege of Dublin with great vigour, and the garrison was now reduced to the most abject distress. Cromwell knew the importance of saving the capital, and sent over immediately 3000 of his best troops, who landed under the favour of a squadron commanded by Sir George Alkew, just at a time when Jones was going to capitulate. This reinforcement, together with a large quantity of provisions and stores landed at the same time, animated with new vigour the parliamentary garrison. They made a furious sally upon the royalists, drove them from their trenches, and obliged them to retreat over the river with great precipitation.

Ormond now fortified his camp, and resolved to wait the arrival of some reinforcements he every day expected. But the fortune of Cromwell bore down all opposition. Being invested with the sole command, both civil and military, in Ireland, the very magic of his name brought thousands of soldiers to his standard; so that in a few days after his coming to his camp, he found himself at the head of a large army of veterans, from whose courage and experience he promised himself a plentiful harvest of glory. His military chest was well furnished with money, his soldiers with arms, and his camp with artillery, stores and provisions; while the confidence of the soldiers in the abilities and intrepidity of their general rendered them almost invincible.

Cromwell embarked his forces at Milford-haven; but for want of a sufficient number of transports, he was obliged to leave three regiments behind him. He landed at Dublin, after a short passage, at the head of 15,000 men, and immediately dispatched a letter to England for a reinforcement.

Ormond had made Sir Arthur Aston, who formerly commanded at Reading, governor of Drogheda, one of the strongest places in Ireland, and stationed the place with the flower of his troops, supposing it would be able to hold out for a month at least; during which he proposed to march his army from the neighbourhood of Dublin, in order to rejoin his forces. But before Ormond could assemble his different divisions, Drogheda was invested with an army of 12000 men. Cromwell knew that the safety depended chiefly on the defence of this place, and therefore exerted all his power to take it. The garrison made a very obstinate defence, but the place was at last taken by storm, and every one that bore arms put to the sword. This success was owing to the personal courage of Cromwell, perceiving his men disheartened by the gallant defence of the garrison, and the death of colonel Aston, one of their best officers, repaired to the attack, and led his troops to the attack with so much valour that the Irish were seized with a panic, and with a despondency that would have dishonoured any army; they made no farther resistance, but tamely submitted themselves to be put to death by the swords of the English, who considered it as impiety to suffer them to live. The whole war, indeed, was carried on with a cruelty which reflects eternal dishonour on the victors: the Irish were treated with inhumanity; no quarter was given them, either in the field or in the town; and they were generally executed out of treaties and capitulations.

The royalists were so intimidated at the loss of Drogheda, that they abandoned Lism and Dundalk. Wicklow was taken by storm; Wicklow submitted; Cromwell marched his army into Munster, where he met with very little opposition. The dreadful news at Drogheda struck all his opposers with

despair. Lord Inchiquin's officers and soldiers deserted in great numbers; and the city of Cork was basely surrendered by the governor at a time when Cromwell was in no condition to have undertaken a siege.

But notwithstanding Cromwell's success, a very strong ferment was excited against his principles in the English parliament. Fortunately for him, the marquis of Ormond, by forming a kind of coalition with the Irish papists, and taking many of them into his service, rendered the royal cause in Ireland unpopular, even among the English presbyterians, and tended to increase the importance of Cromwell's success. They, however, took advantage of his absence to pass some votes in parliament for moderating the excessive severities proposed against the delinquents. The army remonstrated strongly against these proceedings, but in vain; even their threats were disregarded.

The loyalists still continued under the impression that they should yet be able to restore the king to his rights, and place him on the throne of his ancestors. They were even weak enough to imagine, that the spirit of levelling, which still continued in the army, might be useful to their cause; and accordingly dispersed themselves in different parts of the nation, joined the levellers, and spirited them up against the government. The effects of this preposterous conduct were some childish insurrections, in which several of them perished for a cause they, in their hearts, detested.

Colonel Pride, who had been remarkably active in all the mad, fanatical actions of the times, now became the head of a party, who insisted that to put any man to death for theft alone was absolute murder. This ridiculous opinion was carried to such a height, that they presented petitions to the council of state against all executions of that kind; and such regard was paid to their intercessions, that the lord mayor and his independent brethren were impowered to change the sentence of death into that of banishment, and many felons were accordingly sent to the American colonies.

A. D. 1650. The Scots, from a retrospective view of the distractions that had prevailed in England since the captivity of the king, were very desirous of being again governed by a prince descended from their ancient kings. The demerits of the first Charles were almost forgotten, and his son had done nothing to induce them to believe he inherited his father's inflexibility with regard to religion. Even the marquis of Argyle, and his violent covenanters, were not averse to monarchical government, provided the king embraced their tenets of religion. Argyle well knew that the restoration of Charles was incompatible with the engagements he had entered into with Cromwell, on whom he chiefly depended for protection against the several factions formed in his country: but he hoped that if Charles was restored he would be nothing better than the shadow of a king, a mere name without authority; or that some incident might happen to prevent his landing in Scotland notwithstanding the pressing invitations he had received from the inhabitants of that kingdom. The spies maintained by Cromwell at the court of Charles informed him thoroughly of the state of parties formed among the king's friends; and that he wished rather to be restored by Montrose, and the episcopal royalists, than by either the presbyterian or independent party.

Charles, convinced that Ireland could now afford him no assistance, turned his whole thoughts towards Scotland, as the only part of his dominions where he could hope to be protected. The terms offered by the rigid covenanters were, indeed, highly disagreeable; but he thought proper to open a conference with

with Winram, who had been sent from Scotland to Jersey with the following propositions:

1. That the king should sign the covenant, and pass an act for giving liberty to all that pleased to sign it, and for ratifying all that had been done in Scotland on that subject.

2. That he should give the royal assent to several acts which had been ratified in the two last sessions of the Scottish parliament; and that the kings of Scotland should, for the future, have no negative voice in that assembly.

3. That he should recall his commissions given to Montrose, for raising forces to be sent into Scotland, and put a final stop to his proceedings.

4. That he should put away all papists from about his person, and let known protestants only have seats in his council.

5. That some place, either in or near Holland, should be appointed to treat with commissioners from the states of Scotland, who would be sent thither, where every thing be provided necessary for him in a legal manner.

6. That a speedy answer should be given to these desires.

This is the mildest form of the Scottish conditions; for they were afterwards loaded with many odious particulars against the friends of the royal family in both kingdoms, and with many intolerable indignities to the person of Charles himself. In matters of religion, the young king was the very reverse of his father. He considered the different forms of worship and church-government among christians as so many different fashions of the same cloak. He was, indeed, fondest of episcopacy, but merely because he thought it better adapted to monarchy. His education had not greatly contributed to fix his principles with regard to any one sect. During his infancy, he had been chiefly instructed by the persons about the queen, who treated the church of England with more contempt than even presbytery itself. They ridiculed, in private, the most celebrated divines of the church of England: while the pomp of their own worship, and their irregularity of their lives, implanted prejudices in the mind of Charles which were never obliterated, though they seldom carried him farther than to prefer the form of worship practised in the Roman to that used in the English church. But though he was not strongly prejudiced against any religion, yet every thing contributed to give him the greatest aversion to the covenant. He, however, determined to receive the Scottish commissioners, and the city of Breda was appointed for that purpose.

During these transactions the marquis of Montrose hastened his preparations for landing in Scotland, and determined to exert all his power to place the king on the throne of his ancestors, without his signing any conditions. He had been encouraged by great promises of assistance from the courts of Denmark and Sweden, where many excellent Scotch officers, well affected to the king, had served with great reputation; but his impatience and loyalty would not suffer him to remain any longer inactive; and he landed, in the beginning of April, in the northern parts of Scotland, accompanied only by a small number of German soldiers. He had flattered himself with being joined by a number of his countrymen, but he was disappointed; no forces appeared to join his standard, and he was soon after surprised and taken prisoner by his countrymen. The fanatical Scots looked upon this great man only in the light of an impious excommunicated person, who was a rebel to the covenant. He suffered the most horrid indignities, and was condemned to be hanged. The sentence ran, that his head should be nailed to the

door of the prison, his legs and arms fixed up in the four principal towns of the kingdom, and his body interred with malefactors, unless his repentance induced the Scotch divines to take off the excommunication. "I am more proud," said he to the presbyterian ministers, "to have my head nailed to the place mentioned in the sentence, than I should to have my picture hung up in the king's chamber. Far from being disturbed at having my legs and arms sent to the four principal towns of the kingdom, I wish I had limbs enough to disperse through all the towns in Christendom, in testimony of the cause for which I am condemned." In the evening he put these sentiments into verse, and died, as he had lived, like a hero. He was in the flower of his age when the jaws of fanaticism snatched him from his king and his country.

While these things were transacting in Scotland, conferences were opened at Breda. Charles disputed every proposition offered by the Scottish commissioners, till he was informed of the defeat and death of Montrose, when he no longer made any opposition, but agreed at once to all their demands. The treaty being thus concluded, Charles embarked on board a small squadron of ships, and pursued his voyage towards Scotland. Before they reached their destination, the Scottish commissioners produced several articles, by which they insisted on still greater terms than any Charles had hitherto made. This gave Charles so much uneasiness, that he threatened to land in Denmark, rather than make such degrading submissions. His wisest counsellors were, however, of a different opinion; and Charles, fearing he might be intercepted by some of the parliament's ships, pursued his course, and landed safely in an obscure part of Scotland.

Charles was immediately given to understand that he must expect no assistance in that kingdom, and he signed the covenant, and dismissed from his presence all persons who were obnoxious to the parliament. Charles was obliged to comply. The Scottish covenanting royalists retired from the storm. Some of the English fled back to the continent, and others were lodged in the houses of the king's friends, but at a distance from his person. Buckingham alone was suffered to be with him. Notwithstanding all precautions, the people in general shewed a turbulent alacrity for his service; they flocked to his standard in every part of the kingdom. Argyle was careful that Charles should want nothing of the respect and attendance that had been paid to his ancestors, and endeavoured to give him just notions of his own interest; but, at the same time, suffered him to exercise no personal acts of power, nor to have any voice in the management of public affairs.

All parts of England were now filled with reproaches against the conduct of parliament, and some places insurrections actually happened, which were not suppressed without difficulty. Charles, before he left Holland, had signed many commissions for officers and agents to act for him in England. These were so active, and their endeavours so evidently bold, that the council of state thought it must be lost in recalling the general from London. Cromwell had by this time so fully established his reputation, that he made no difficulty in accepting the invitation, and, having made Hector his deputy, returned to England. He was received by the parliament with all the honours due to his eminent services, and as no time was to be lost in the affairs of Scotland were immediately taken into consideration. The presbyterian party had made several attempts to establish a correspondence with their brethren in Scotland, but their messengers had always been intercepted.

the troops who were stationed on the confines of the two kingdoms.

Fairfax had still great interest, both in the army and parliament, but Cromwell was unwilling to trust either his principles or ambition in the Scottish war; and he accordingly procured a vote in parliament, that both himself and Fairfax should command against the Scots; and that Fairfax should receive a new commission from the house for that purpose. In the mean time the council of state received orders to prepare every thing necessary for the immediate march of the army. Fairfax, however, thought proper to refuse the offer, and to resign his commission. This was, in reality, what Cromwell wanted; he had now no superior in the army, and he feared no opposition in parliament. He, however, thought proper to publish a declaration in order to remove the scruples of the presbyterians, who loudly exclaimed against the pretended invasion of Scotland. This paper declared, that though it was intended to carry the English arms into Scotland, a defensive war only was designed; and that this method was taken merely to prevent an invasion of England.

On the 29th of June Cromwell left the English capital and directed his march towards Scotland: he had no doubt of beating the Scotch if he could induce them to fight, but he thought the whole difficulty consisted in bringing on a general engagement. But though he looked with contempt upon the forces of Scotland, he knew that it was absolutely necessary to drive Charles out of that kingdom; because while he resided there in a royal capacity, his party in England continued to increase, and others were preparing to raise an insurrection in England as soon as his army should pass the borders.

As the royal party were strenuous for the restoration of the king, Argyle knew that such a measure would be inconsistent with his own safety, unless the king greatly reformed his disposition. He therefore endeavoured to give Charles right notions with respect to government, and to his own interest; but the heart of the young king was already debauched, and his prejudices against the covenanters had taught him to consider them only as a company of mad enthusiasts. The king was, indeed, charmed with the politeness of Argyle's behaviour, his elegant manners, and instructive conversation; but he could not digest his confinement; nor did Argyle think it prudent to trust him with the management of himself. But the mortifications he met with from Argyle were nothing when compared to those he was obliged to suffer from the rebels. The general assembly, and afterwards the committee of estates, together with the army, who were entirely governed by the assembly, published a declaration, in which they protested, "That they did not espouse any malignant quarrel or party, but fought merely on their former grounds or principles; that they disclaimed all the sins and guilt of the king and his house; nor would they sanction him or his interest, other wise than with a submission to God, and so far as he owned and prosecuted the cause of God, and acknowledged his sins of his house, and of his former ways."

No annotations were necessary to this declaration. The king knew he was entirely at their mercy, and was obedient to every thing they proposed. He issued a declaration in the very terms they required; he gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of providence, by which he was recovered from the snare of evil counsels, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the covenant, and was induced to commit himself and his interest wholly upon God. He declared to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's following evil counsels, opposing the covenant, and the work of reformation,

and shedding the blood of God's people in every part of his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house: a matter of great offence, he said, to all the protestant churches, and a great provocation to him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children. He professed that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he detested all popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism and profaneness; and was resolved not to tolerate, much less to countenance, any of them in any part of his dominions. He declared that he would neither love nor favour any who have so little conscience as to follow his interests, in preference to the gospel and kingdom of Jesus Christ. And he expressed his hope, that whatever ill success his former guilt might have drawn upon his cause, yet having now obtained mercy to be on God's side, and to acknowledge his own cause subordinate to that of God, the Divine Providence would crown his arms with victory.

The pride of the king being thus vanquished, and the crown placed in subordination to the altar, the Scottish clergy pointed their spiritual instruments against the invaders of their country. They represented Cromwell as an incarnate devil, and his soldiers as so many monsters of blood and cruelty, who were ordered to put all the Scots to the sword without any regard to age, condition, or sex. This had the desired effect. The southern parts of Scotland were in an instant depopulated, the inhabitants flying to the northward for shelter and protection. Cromwell was astonished when he passed the borders to find he was going to enter a desolate wilderness, where it would be impossible to procure provisions for his army. He was, indeed, attended by a fleet, but supplies from them were difficult and precarious. The only method that seemed to offer success was to publish a declaration, that he was not to come to desolate the country, but to support them in their civil and religious rights and privileges. He also was very careful to treat all the Scots that fell into his hands with unusual kindness. But all his attempts to gain the favour of the inhabitants were in vain: they fled from him, as from a pestilence, and he advanced towards Dunbar under infinite difficulties. For by this time a considerable party of Scots had put themselves between his fleet and army, so that he saw himself in danger of perishing by famine.

The English army consisted of about 18,000 men; and that of the Scots, which was commanded by general Lesley, of about 20,000, besides a great multitude of irregulars. The Scots were possessed of Edinburgh, and their army posted so advantageously near that city, that it could not be attacked. Cromwell saw this and was fearful for the event; he perceived only but a dismal prospect of famine; for the stormy weather prevented him from receiving any provisions from his ships. He still endeavoured by acts of humanity to the Scots who fell into his hands, and by doing justice to his own soldiers, who were fond of plundering the country, to make a party among the enemy, but without success; and then preachers began already to triumph from the pulpits, that the English army was on the point of being destroyed.

Cromwell now advanced towards the Scottish camp, and endeavoured, by every expedient, to provoke Lesley to a battle, but that general well knew, that though his army was much superior in numbers, his forces were far inferior to the English in discipline and experience, and therefore carefully kept himself within the intrenchments of his camp. He however, endeavoured to confirm the spirits of his soldiers by small skirmishes with the enemy, and was generally successful. His army increased daily both in number,

and courage. The king came to the camp, and having exerted himself in one of these rencounters, gained extremely on the affections of the soldiery, who were far more desirous of serving under a young prince of spirit, than a committee of preaching gownsmen. This produced a fatal effect, they caused the king to leave the camp, and at the same time purged the army of near 4000 malignants, whose zeal for the royal cause had led them to attend their prince, and were all of them soldiers of credit and experience. They said they had no need of the assistance of the ungodly, their army being entirely composed of saints, who could not be conquered by the arm of flesh.

Finding there was no likelihood of bringing the cautious Lesley to a battle, Cromwell retired to Dunbar. Lesley immediately followed him, and encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. The English general hoped he should now be able to accomplish his purpose of forcing the Scots to leave the heights; but he soon perceived that this was impossible, and that Lesley had taken possession of all the difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick. These discoveries almost drove Cromwell to despair. His army was in the utmost distress for want of provisions, and he was on the point of forming a resolution of embarking all his foot and artillery, and of breaking through with his horse the different posts possessed by the enemy in his route to Berwick. But the madness of the Scottish ministers prevented him from putting this resolution into practice; and of losing at once all the honours he had acquired in so many campaigns.

The Scottish ministers now fancied they had obtained the victory. They said, Revelations had been made them from heaven, that the sectarian and heretical army, together with Agag, their leader, would be delivered into their hands. The soldiers caught the flame of enthusiasm, and forced their general, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, and gather the laurels of victory promised their ministers by the voice of heaven. Cromwell could hardly believe his eyes when he first perceived the Scottish camp in motion, and ventured to foretell, without any revelation from above, that the Lord had delivered his enemies into his hand.

The battle began in the morning of the 3d of September, and soon became general; but the dispute was unequal. The Scots, though much more numerous than the English, were so far from standing the shock of Cromwell's veterans, that they suffered themselves to be cut to pieces, almost without resistance. One regiment of Highlanders only behaved with resolution; they were very little affected with the enthusiasm of their brethren, and did not rely on the miraculous interposition of heaven for assistance. They exerted their whole power, and for some time stopped the career of the English. But being abandoned by their friends, they were obliged to submit to superior force, and leave the field of battle to the enemy. Upwards of 4000 Scots were slain, and 10,000 taken prisoners; together with all their arms, ammunition, tents and baggage.

Cromwell, having thus obtained a complete victory, pursued his advantage, and took possession of Edinburgh and Leith; while the remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling. But the approach of winter, and an intermitting fever with which he was seized, prevented him from advancing farther into the kingdom.

A. D. 1651. While Charles continued at the head of an army in Scotland, his servants and ambassadors abroad were treated with respect, and all the language of foreign courts, especially that of France and Spain, expressed their detestation of the English rebels and regicide. But in reality, these two courts

neither wished nor endeavoured his restoration. The grand duke of Mulcovy, at once more barbarous and more generous, received Colepepper as an agent from Charles, and supplied him with a large sum of money. The duke of Lorrain, though he had not a foot of land he could call his own, supplied Charles and his family with considerable sums. The prince of Orange continued to be his faithful and useful friend, and a few of the German princes threw their mites into his treasury. The king of Denmark assisted him to the utmost of his power, but his kingdom was poor, and being insulted by the Swedes, he was obliged to live in a precarious dependence on the Dutch. Christiana queen of Sweden, who cherished the most distinguished passion for every thing that was extraordinary either in war or literature, was now so charmed with the exploits of Cromwell, that she entertained a kind of Platonic passion for his person, and recommended it to her council, and to the prince she intended for her successor, to avail themselves of the friendship of England.

The English fleet was still commanded by Blake, Dean and Popham, and was increased to more than double its former number; but the parliament was very uneasy that prince Rupert and his squadron had found a kind reception in the harbours of Portugal. The truth is, the Portuguese had at this time several very rich ships coming from the Brazils, which they were afraid might be intercepted by the fleets of the English parliament. The ships under the command of prince Rupert therefore promised to be of signal service to the Portuguese, and he had actually been invited thither before he left Ireland. In his passage he lost two or three of his best ships in a storm; but he took a great many rich prizes, which he sold, and generously remitted the money to Charles. Vane, who resided at the court of Portugal, as agent from the English parliament, made vigorous remonstrance on this subject; but they were not much regarded and, at last, the court of Portugal declared itself a friend to Charles. Upon this the parliament ordered Blake to sail immediately, with a strong squadron, to the coast of Portugal, and demand that the fleet of prince Rupert should be given up, as they were nothing better than rebels and pirates, and consequently entitled neither to protection nor neutrality. If this was denied, Blake had instructions to destroy them where he could find them. On his arrival at the mouth of the river of Lisbon, he demanded the fleet of prince Rupert; but the court of Portugal was so far from complying, that the king declared he would suffer no more English ships to enter his port or harbours, and Blake found himself in no conduct to force his entrance. He was soon after joined by Popham; and the Portuguese finding themselves unable to support the prince any longer, orders were sent to him for quitting the Tagus, and he was fortunate enough to make his escape. Blake revenged the disappointment on the king of Portugal, by taking several ships of his Brazil fleet; and it was not without great difficulty, and making many submissions, that he obtained a peace with the English republic.

Though Cromwell had obtained a complete victory over the Scots, and had publicly ridiculed the Scottish ministers, yet they were far from being cured of their fanatical madness. They had been very open in declaring that they had taken up arms in defence of the covenant, not for the crown, and were therefore equally hated by the royalists and independents. Those jarring dispositions had fatal effects on the royal service. It was now intimated, even that the covenanters neither could nor would resist the king; and the best officers he had to depend on were royalists, who disdaining the means and the insufficiency of the Scotch presbyterian, refused to

submit to their discipline. The marquis of Argyle, would he have trusted the royalists, might have retrieved the late defeat; but the longer he conversed with Charles, the more reason he saw to distrust him, and to keep a very watchful eye over his conduct. Charles had in his conversation something bewitchingly soft: he talked to the Scots in their own language: his address was easy and insinuating: his person beautiful, and his understanding far superior to what Argyle expected. But the marquis was convinced that he both despised and hated the covenanters; that all he did was from convenience or necessity; that he was unctured with arbitrary principles; and that the misfortunes of his family had only taught him the art of dissimulation, in order to re-establish his power. Argyle could not avail himself of the assistance of either the episcopal or presbyterian royalists: his bloody proceedings against Montrose and his friends, who acted under the king's commission, had struck all mankind with horror. He saw the consequences of his conduct, and trembled for the event, whenever the king should be intrusted with the powers of royalty. He therefore treated Charles with more condescension, and removed several particulars which had rendered him very uneasy.

Charles was not insensible of the causes that produced this relaxation, and began to exert some power with regard to his own affairs. His principal resource lay in the affections of his friends: for when the revenues of the kingdom of Scotland were stated, they amounted to no more than 17,600*l.* to defray all the charges of his court and government. This poverty was owing to the rapaciousness of the Scots themselves, who, ever since the accession of the Stuart family to the crown of England, had been in a manner quartered on the royal revenues, and had raised both fortunes and families from what they had extorted from the crown. But this was no time for resumption; and Charles, at present, enjoyed a decent state, and had about him the proper officers of the Scottish court. Charles now ventured to propose, at the council-board, proper persons for commissions in his army; and several of the counsellors, knowing the king's inclinations, resumed courage sufficient to second him, even without applying to Argyle for leave.

This coalition rendered the conquest of Scotland a work of more difficulty than Cromwell before imagined, considering the complete victory he had obtained at Dunbar. The castle of Edinburgh still held out. Charles was in possession of the pass at Stirling, and behind him lay the most populous and best cultivated counties in Scotland; while the country where Cromwell lay had been eaten up, and the inhabitants upon his men as infernal demons. The king's arms were going on with great success, and there was no doubt but he would soon be at the head of a much stronger army than that which had been defeated at Dunbar. These circumstances, and the universal aversion of the country towards his army, rendered Cromwell infinite uneasiness. He endeavoured to conciliate the people to his person, by treating them with uncommon humanity in his marches. He sent messengers to the governor of Edinburgh castle, urging the preachers to take again possession of their pulpits, provided they meddled not with the civil affairs of the kingdom in their sermons. This invitation was rejected with disdain; and they treated his messengers with the most distinguished contempt.

While these things were transacting in Scotland, a independent faction at Westminster were extremely careful to make every success, either of their arms or councils, a kind of test for discovering their enemies. They ordered a thanksgiving to be observed for the advantages gained over the Scots at Dunbar.

Many of the presbyterians refused to observe it, and on that account were persecuted with great severity; but they were unfortunate in their prosecutions; hardly a jury could be found that would bring in their verdict, guilty. Another High Court of Justice was therefore established for the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and the Isle of Ely. Orders were also issued, by Cromwell's direction, for raising new bodies of horse and foot in every part of the kingdom: The pay of the officers and soldiers, both by sea and land, was augmented; and the greatest industry and punctuality observed in procuring supplies both for the fleet and army.

In consequence of these augmentations it became necessary for the parliament to increase the revenues of the kingdom, and contributions were accordingly levied on the public to the amount of 100,000*l.* per month. They encouraged the importation of bullion: they imposed a tax, called *An Engagement*, upon all the people who lived under their government; by which they were obliged to swear fidelity to the commonwealth, as constituted without a king or house of lords. They also passed several other acts, all of them tending to encourage their friends, and terrify their enemies.

During these transactions in the English parliament, Cromwell was but very indifferently situated in Scotland. He was unable to attack Charles, whose army lay beyond the Forth, and who still continued to keep possession of Stirling. Cromwell's men began to be sickly, he himself was in a very indifferent state of health, the country round him was a desert, and he had no opportunity of performing any remarkable action, that might revive the drooping courage of his soldiers.

Charles and the royalists had now attained a great ascendancy in Scotland, and he had been crowned at Scone, with as much magnificence as the temper of the times and the impoverished state of the revenues would admit. The marquis of Argyle still shewed great respect to his person, and had assisted at his coronation where the king was obliged again to take the covenant, and to listen to many long speeches and prayers from the pulpit. The duke of Hamilton was, however, now admitted to court; and both the parliament and general assembly declared that in a time of such imminent danger, there should be no exception of persons. This gave encouragement to the royalists, who now flocked from all quarters to the English standard. The duke of Hamilton commanded under Charles, Lesley was lieutenant-general, Middleton major-general of the horse, and Marley general of the English.

Cromwell, finding the royal army still increasing, ordered colonel Overton to cross the Forth at the head of 1600 foot and 300 horse. These were followed by major-general Lambert and colonel Okey, with another body of 1500 foot and 800 horse; while he himself marched towards Stirling, in order either to bring the Scots to a battle, or force them to divide their army. But when he came in sight of the Scottish camp, he found it too strong to be attacked, and their officers too cautious to be drawn from their situation.

While both the main armies thus lay in sight of each other, an engagement happened in Fife between the forces that had passed the Forth under Lambert, and a strong detachment of the royalists, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter, five of their regiments of foot, and the same number of horse, being cut to pieces, and 1500 taken prisoners. Cromwell had foreseen great advantages from Lambert's passing the Forth: it was, indeed, one of the most masterly actions he ever performed; for he had imperceptibly strengthened Lambert's party to seven thousand men, by

by which he not only secured all the passes on the Forth, but put himself between the king and the northern provinces, on which the royalists chiefly depended.

The only alternative Charles now had was that of fighting Cromwell, or marching into England. He thought proper to chuse the latter; by which means Cromwell became, as it were, master of Scotland, and his conquests in that kingdom were rapid and important. He made himself master of Perth, with all the adjacent country, and detached Lambert to hang on the rear of the king's army. But he thought the march of the royalists into England of too much importance to trust the management of the war to any but himself; and accordingly, leaving general Monk to command in Scotland, he began his march in pursuit of the king, at the head of the main body of his army.

The king's best friends now entertained very melancholy presages of the consequences that would probably attend this march; and, from an excellent letter wrote by the duke of Hamilton to his niece, it appears to have been considered as a desperate step, and that the royalists daily deserted from the army. But the presbyterian party at Westminster either considered, or affected to consider, this matter in a very different light. The conduct of Cromwell was blamed; he was accused of forcing an enemy into the bowels of England, and of having trifled away his advantages in Scotland, till it was too late to retrieve them. Cromwell paid little regard to these calumnies; he left his actions to speak for themselves. His absence, however, gave some advantage to his enemies; and they made great interest to save Love, a presbyterian preacher, who had for some time continued under sentence of death for being engaged in the service of the king. But Cromwell, who well knew that one instance of severity would have more effect upon the presbyterians than twenty of lenity, refused their request, and Love was accordingly executed. This severity increased the hatred of the presbyterians against Cromwell, and several warm speeches were made against him in parliament, for suffering the royal army to enter England. Ignorant of the effect these prepossessions might have on the parliament, Cromwell, in his letters, very freely owned, that he had suffered the king to march into England, from a persuasion, that if the parliament did their parts in defending the most tenable passes, his whole army must be ruined; whereas a winter campaign in Scotland might have ruined that of the parliament.

Charles had flattered himself with obtaining considerable reinforcements on his entering England; but he now found himself greatly disappointed. Terrified at so dangerous an enterprize, the Scots lost their usual courage, and deserted in great numbers; while the English presbyterians, having received no intelligence of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him. This measure was full as unexpected to the royalists; nor were they very desirous of joining the royal standard, as the Scottish ministers, even in this desperate extremity, had issued orders not to admit any who refused to take the covenant. The earl of Derby had exerted all his interest to raise troops for the king's service; but before he was in a condition to march, his recruits were dispersed by a party of the parliamentary forces; so that when Charles reached Worcester, he found his army no more numerous than when he first left Scotland.

In the mean time Cromwell pursued the king with the utmost expedition; and being joined by the militia of the different counties through which he passed, he invested Worcester with an army of 40,000 men. On the third of September he attacked

the royalists, and the engagement soon became general and very bloody. Charles led on his men in person, with an intrepidity which amazed even Cromwell himself; while the Scottish infantry behaved so gallantly, that they obliterated the mean opinion that usurper had always entertained of their courage. By this time Cromwell had brought up some field-pieces, to make good the passes he had gained; but these were attacked with so much impetuosity by the duke of Hamilton's regiment, that the artillery was, for some time, in the power of the royalists. Charles endeavoured to improve this advantage, and charged, at the head of some of his battalions, with so much spirit, that Cromwell was obliged to bring up his veterans, whom he had hitherto spared. The dispute was now no longer equal; for Lesley, the Scottish general, remained in the city with his horse, as if they had been unconcerned spectators of the engagement. The parliamentary army now made a general attack on all the posts of the royalists, and were every where successful. The brave duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded. General Massey was also wounded and taken prisoner. Charles, however, still made a noble defence: he had two horses killed under him but he was always foremost in every post of danger. Had Lesley done his duty, Cromwell must have purchased his victory very dear; but he continued totally inactive, notwithstanding the dreadful carnage of his countrymen. The king made another effort to lead his broken troops to the charge; but neither his actions, his words, nor his presence, could prevail. The tide of victory became irresistible, and Cromwell entered Worcester sword in hand; nor could Charles prevail on the Scottish cavalry, who were still unbroke, to make one attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day. The king must now have fallen into the enemy's hands, had not the brave colonel Drummond, and a few battalions of foot, stopped the victor at Sudbury-gate, while Charles made his escape through the gate of St. Martin's, in the dusk of the evening. He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Shrewsbury, Cleveland, and Derby, and about sixty horse.

The loss which Charles sustained by this defeat was in some measure compensated by the pity, the esteem and the tenderness that now touched the hearts of the people. The English seemed to be ashamed of their own triumphs; and some who had been remarkable forward in opposing his progress, were now the first in commiserating his misfortunes. His unmerited sufferings, his courage, his constancy, were the general topics of discourse; while his escapes from the unmitigated vigilance of his inveterate enemies, were considered as so many miraculous indications that he was destined to sway the English sceptre.

It was not reasonable to imagine that the king, attended by so many of his friends, could long elude from his pursuers; and it was therefore thought prudent that he should seek for that protection and which was despised of with his companions. At their arrival at Kidderminster, Charles, pursuant to the advice of the earl of Derby, retired to Boleston, a lone house on the borders of Staffordshire inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. This man was an unshaken friend to the royal party; and his death was denounced against all who concealed the king, and a large reward promised to any who should betray him. Penderell preserved an incorruptible integrity. He had, indeed, a dignity of sentiment superior to his condition; and was more pleased to have it in his power to conceal his royal master, than to have enjoyed all the advantages Cromwell was able to bestow. He had four brothers equally true with himself, and these all joined in assisting their distressed sovereign. The king was clothed in the



of a peasant, and carried into the woods with a bill in his hand, where they pretended to be employed in making faggots. Colonel Careless only, of all his attendants, was now his companion, except the five faithful Penderells. He sometimes lay on straw in the house, and sometimes in the fields. But even this manner of life was exposed to the utmost danger. Two strangers continuing some time at Boscobel could not be concealed from the servants, and parties of the parliament's army were dispersed all over the neighbourhood in search of his majesty. It was therefore thought prudent that the king and Careless should continue constantly in the woods; and, for the better security, they mounted up a large oak, the leaves and branches of which sheltered them from the sight of the enemy. While they continued in this retreat, they saw several soldiers pass by in search of the king; and some of them expressed, in their hearing, their earnest desire of seizing him. This tree was, for many years after, held in great veneration; and, for having concealed his majesty from the sight of his enemies, was called, The "Royal Oak."

Though these precautions had hitherto proved successful with regard to the preservation of his majesty's person, yet it was now found impossible to conceal him any longer at Boscobel; and it was proposed by lord Wilmot, who had now joined him, to repair to the house of Mr. Whitegrave, a catholic gentleman, who lived at some distance from Boscobel, and where lord Wilmot had, before he joined his royal master, been concealed. They accordingly passed thither with the five Penderells, and met with a very kind reception. During the whole time, the parliament's officers were very assiduous in their enquiries after all strangers that lately arrived in these parts; and, perhaps, all security of his friends would not have been sufficient to have saved him, had not the houses, whither he retired, generally belonged to Roman catholics, and contained several secret hiding-places in the walls and garrets, where they concealed their persecuted sects, when their houses were searched by the officers of justice.

At a place called Bentley, a few miles from Whitegrave's house, lived colonel Lane, a zealous loyalist, who was now made acquainted with the king's retreat, and the necessary precautions were taken for bringing him thither. But his majesty's feet were so sore by walking about in heavy boots, or countryman's shoes, which did not fit him, that he was forced to mount on horseback; and in this manner he travelled to Bentley, still attended by the five Penderells, his faithful companions. After some consultation, it was resolved that the king should repair to Bristol, where it was hoped a ship might be found to carry him to the continent; and, in order to prevent any delay being made during the journey, it was proposed to make use of a pass that had been procured from Mrs. Jane Lane, the colonel's sister, for herself to visit Mrs. Norton, a near relation, who lived within three miles of Bristol. Charles was accordingly dressed in the habit of a servant, and rode with the lady, lord Wilmot, with a hawk on his arm, passing for a stranger who had joined them by the way.

On arrival at Norton's house, Mrs. Lane presented her servant had been taken ill on the road, and desired that he might have a private room, where he might be quiet. In this chamber Charles was concealed; but he was known by one of the butler, at his first entering the house. He, however, prudently concealed the discovery, but took the opportunity of throwing himself on his knees before the king, and praying for his life and preservation. The incident greatly alarmed Charles, who immediately ordered the butler to keep inviolably the

secret, which he faithfully promised, and punctually performed.

After Charles had been a few days at Norton's house, his friends were informed that no ship was expected to sail from Bristol either to France or Spain in less than a month. This rendered their scheme abortive; and it was agreed that the king should intrust his person to colonel Windham of Dorsetshire, a gentleman who had always been a zealous partizan of the royal family. Before he received the king, Windham asked leave to intrust the secret to his mother, his wife, and four servants, on whose fidelity he could depend; and not one of them proved wanting either in honour or discretion. Here the king continued nineteen days, and all his friends in every part of Europe were kept in the most anxious suspense with regard to his safety. It was indeed generally imagined that he was dead, and this notion prevailing strongly among his enemies, operated greatly in his favour, by relaxing their diligence. After leaving Windham's house he repaired to Charmouth, where he was in the utmost danger of being discovered by the sagacity of a blacksmith, who declared that the horse on which his majesty rode had been shod in the north, and not, as he pretended, in the west of England. This intelligence of the smith rendered it necessary for Charles to leave the place immediately, and he was fortunate enough to reach Windham's house, before the neighbourhood was informed of the discovery.

The friends of Charles now determined that he should pass into Sussex, where it was hoped a vessel might be found to carry him over to the continent. He accordingly went to Hale near Salisbury, and thence to Brighthelmston, where he continued till a ship could be provided for his passage. This was at last accomplished, and on the fifteenth of October he embarked in a small vessel at Shoreham, and was landed at Fescamp, in Normandy, after having been concealed no less than two and forty days in England. His escape was truly wonderful, and some of the royalists even termed it miraculous. But the most extraordinary part of the whole is, the inviolable attachment which all, who either discovered him, or to whom he discovered himself, expressed for his person. Tho' no less than forty persons of both sexes were intrusted with the secret, and though every method was used by Cromwell for discovering where he was concealed, yet not one of them ever wavered in their affection, though their vanity sometimes got so much the better of their loyalty, that all his party in the neighbourhood knew the house where he was sheltered.

The destruction of the royal party was completed by the great success of Monk in Scotland. He took the strong castle of Stirling, where he found forty pieces of cannon, five thousand stand of arms, the regalia and records of Scotland, and other rich booty. He afterwards surprized and made prisoners the earls of Leven and Crawford, with the principal nobility and gentry, whom he either knew or supposed to be enemies to the English parliament. He stormed Dundee, and put the governor and garrison to the sword. The plunder of this town was very considerable. Whitlock says the common soldiers had five hundred pounds to their share; fifty sail of ships were taken in the harbour, and thirty pieces of ordnance in the town.

These distinguished conquests, joined to the victory obtained by Cromwell at Worcester, rendered that general absolute master of the kingdom. He called the destruction of the royal army at Worcester, his "crowning mercy;" and was so elated with his success in that decisive battle, that he intended to have conferred the honour of knighthood on two of his

generals, Lambert and Fleetwood, in the field: and it was not without great difficulty that his friends dissuaded him from exercising that act of regal authority. His power and ambition were both too great to brook submission to the empty name of a republic, which subsisted merely by his influence, and was supported by his victories. According to Whitlock, he now communicated to his most intimate friends the views he had formed on the crown itself; and expressed a desire of assuming the regal power, which he had so long and so effectually laboured to abolish. He well knew that the members in parliament, who at present governed the nation, were despised by the people, and their views too much confined to qualify them for legislators. Their whole attention was engrossed by selfish aims and fanatical bigotry. Their rigid austerity was carried to the greatest height; and they had hardly made any progress in the important work of fixing a new plan of government.

These circumstances were favourable to Cromwell's scheme of power: the army was at his devotion, and he had no competitor in authority. The only person that seemed capable of making any opposition to his ambitious scheme was Ireton, who commanded the troops in Ireland; but he soon after died of the plague, and left Cromwell at full liberty to prosecute the plan he had formed.

A. D. 1652. The parliament, no longer fearing any opposition either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, now turned their thoughts towards the affairs of the continent; and the Dutch were the first who felt the vigour of their arms. The states had observed an exact neutrality with regard to the civil wars of England, during the life of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange; but after his death, when his son William, who married an English princess, succeeded him in power, they were accused of betraying an inveterate prejudice against the English parliament, and of assisting the royal party. After the death of William, which was attended with the depression of his party, it was hoped that a kind of coalition might be effected between the two republics, and St. John, lord chief-justice, was sent to the Hague for that purpose. But he soon perceived that the states entertained a contemptible idea of a government whose measures were so obnoxious to the people. They offered indeed to renew the former alliances with England, but refused any nearer connection.

Disgusted with this refusal, and incensed at many affronts offered him with impunity, the haughty St. John returned to England, and exerted all his interest to excite a war between the two republics. He had a great ascendancy over Cromwell, and by that means soon accomplished his designs. He represented to the parliament, that the Dutch sought nothing so much as to dispute with England the government of the seas; that in all their papers they mentioned Charles II. which was a tacit recognition of his authority; that in all their professions they were insincere, and that it was necessary for the English to depress those, whose friendship they could not gain. These representations had the desired effect, and under pretence of providing for the interest of commerce, the parliament embraced such measures as they knew would sufficiently disgust the states. They formed the famous act of navigation, which prohibited all nations from importing into England in their own bottoms, any commodity not the growth and manufacture of their own country. Though the terms in which this statute was conceived were general, yet the Dutch were principally injured; because their country produced few commodities, and they subsisted chiefly on being the general factors and carriers of the world. Several merchants complaining of injuries they pre-

tended to have received, obtained letters of reprisal against the states, and about eighty of their merchant ships were taken by the English.

The States were so alarmed at these proceedings that they immediately dispatched ambassadors to London, in order, if possible, to renew the treaty of alliance that had been broken off by the abrupt departure of St. John. They represented that famous republican as a person whom it was impossible to please; and that they either granted, or were willing to grant, every thing that he had asked. But the parliament giving credit to St. John in preference to the Dutch, all necessary preparations were made for commencing hostilities, and carrying on a brisk and vigorous war.

A short time after this an English man of war sailing in with a fleet of Dutch fishermen, demanded the usual acknowledgement, which being refused the captain sunk one of the Dutch vessels, and the whole crew perished. All negotiations were now suspended. The Dutch followed the example of the English, by issuing letters of reprisal, and in a few days appeared before Portsmouth with a fleet of 45 sail.

The English marine was not immediately in a condition to resent this insult, but their motions were watched by commodore Brown till Blake's squadron was in a condition of meeting them on the open sea. This required no great length of time; such discipline was used in the different departments, that in less than six weeks Blake sailed with a considerable fleet. About the middle of May, he discovered the Dutch squadron commanded by their celebrated admiral Van Tromp, and immediately made a signal for paying respect to the English flag. The signal being disregarded, Blake, though his squadron consisted only of twenty-six ships, formed the line of battle, and advanced towards the enemy. Before he came within gun shot he was joined by eight ships, and after the action began with great fury, and lasted eight hours, put an end to the battle. Blake's ship being considerably a-head of the rest, was exposed, for some time, to the whole fire of the enemy, but his other ships coming up, the attention of the Dutch was divided. One of the Dutch ships was taken, and another sunk by the English, who lost only fifteen men in the engagement. The next morning the Dutch fleet appeared at four leagues distance, steering towards the coast of France; but as neither of the admirals gave orders to fight, except from necessity, they did not think proper to renew the engagement.

It was pretended by the Dutch, that their admiral Van Tromp had exceeded his commission, and that he had been forced upon the English coast by the force of weather. But the English parliament affected to disbelieve their most solemn assurances, and voted a letter of thanks to Blake for his behaviour. Cromwell himself repaired to Dover, and encouraged Blake and the seamen, by assuring them that nothing but the want of vigour on his part induced them to act with so much assiduity and vigour in the defence of their country.

The Dutch now found themselves greatly mistaken in the notions they had formed with regard to the English commonwealth; and Paw, their ambassador extraordinary at London, received orders to employ all his power for putting a stop to hostilities, by his endeavours were in vain. The parliament in the mean time behaved with politeness both towards Paw and his masters; but at the same time redoubled their exertions to encrease the power of their navy. George Apsche received a commission independent of Blake, and soon after destroyed about 100 sail of the St. Ube's fleet, while Blake, in the meanwhile, a month sent upwards of forty sail of men prizes to the Thames. He now stood to the northward,

der to assert the right of his country to the British fishery. This service he nobly performed; he took their whole convoy of 12 men of war, one only excepted that was fortunate enough to escape. He might also have destroyed all their fishing vessels, but he suffered them to continue their occupation on their promising never to return to the English coast without leave, and on their paying him one tenth of all their fish.

Though Blake's expedition was attended with the greatest success, yet it had nearly proved fatal to the squadron of Sir George Ascue, who was left in the Downs: for Van Tromp, whose fleet was far superior to that of Ascue, was then at sea, and attempted to take advantage of Blake's absence. He stood accordingly towards the English coasts, but was overtaken by so dreadful a storm, that he was obliged to return to Holland to repair the damages his ships had received. His fleet was now increased to 150 sail, and his appearance so formidable, that it was thought necessary to erect a platform and mount it with cannon, between Deal and Sandown-castle, and to line the shore with militia. Ascue lay as near as possible to the Strand, but his whole squadron, which consisted only of 15 ships, must have been destroyed had not the wind immediately changed, and prevented the Dutch from reaching the English shore; and the Dutch merchant ships being impatient for a convoy to the northward, Van Tromp took them under his protection, hoping he should be fortunate enough to meet with Blake in the north sea. He was, however, disappointed, but greatly distressed the English trade to Newcastle, while Blake took two of the Dutch East India ships. The weather proving extremely tempestuous, Tromp found it impossible to keep the sea, and accordingly returned once more to Holland with no more than 40 ships, some being lost, and the remainder dispersed.

In the mean time Ascue sent some of his ships to convoy home a rich East-India fleet, while he himself cruised between Dover and Calais, where he took ten French ships, and forced twenty to run ashore. The famous de Ruyter was now appointed to command a squadron of about fifty Dutch men of war, and sent to convoy home a large fleet of merchantmen. Ascue, whose squadron amounted only to 38 ships, fell in with this convoy on the 16th of August; and though his force was so far unequal, he attacked de Ruyter, and destroyed several of the Dutch ships: but some of his captains not seconding the attack of their leaders, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after the fight had continued with the utmost fury near four hours. Captain Peck, who acted as rear-admiral, was mortally wounded, and most of the ships that charged the enemy were greatly shattered. Ascue, however, renewed the attack in the morning, but with no better success. He made another effort on the third day, but his ships were so shattered in their rigging that he was again obliged to desist, and he returned to Plymouth in order to repair the damage he had sustained by these fruitless attempts.

Though Ascue had done the public more eminent service than even Blake himself had hitherto performed, yet the council of state, from some unknown reasons, thought proper not to employ him again in service. They, however, presented him with 5000*l.* in money, and settled on him an estate in Ireland of 3000*l.* per annum.

The English parliament were not ignorant that the Dutch were soliciting all the princes in Europe to join against the English. At the same time, they saw the Dutch had above 100 sail of ships ready to sail, and had reason to think the French would assist them; but notwithstanding this, they would not be shaken by any reasons for putting an end to hos-

ilities. Elated with the numerous successes they had obtained over their domestic enemies, they were persuaded that nothing could stand before their victorious arms. Blake, who was now returned from the north, carried his fleet into different harbours to refit; and as soon as every thing could be got ready, he was ordered to put to sea, and take or destroy all the Dutch or French vessels he met with in his cruise.

A. D. 1653. The whole naval power of the Dutch was now at sea, under the command of de Wit and de Ruyter; and Blake used his utmost endeavours to bring them to a decisive engagement. But the Dutch admirals, having a rich fleet of merchantmen under their convoy, avoided a battle, which they knew must be fatal to some of their ships. They had, however, no sooner secured their convoy, than they stood towards the English, drawn up in a line of battle. Blake, though his fleet was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, advanced to engage them. He divided his ships into three squadrons; the first commanded by himself, in the *Sovereign*, the largest ship in the English navy; the second by Penn, and the third by Bourn. He began the battle himself; but there being a sand-bank between the two fleets, the *Sovereign*, the *Resolution*, and the *St. Andrew*, all first rates, struck upon the shoal. Persuaded that these three ships were now rendered unserviceable, the Dutch admirals stood farther off to sea, in order to bring on a closer engagement. The largest ship in the Dutch fleet, followed by two more, bore down upon the *Sovereign*, on board of which Blake's flag was hoisted, and attacked her with the utmost fury. But they had soon cause to repent of their temerity. The first broadside of the *Sovereign* sent the headmost ship to the bottom; and the others, intimidated by the dreadful incident, retreated back to their fleet. Night at last put an end to the engagement, but not before the Dutch rear-admiral was taken. De Wit took the advantage of the night to bear away from the English, whose ships were so shattered in their rigging, that they could not follow him.

Van Tromp now sailed with a fleet sufficiently numerous to recover the honour the Dutch had lost in this engagement. It consisted of 110 sail of men of war, besides 17 which joined him a few days after, from Zealand. The English had unwisely conjectured, that as Van Tromp had been laid aside since his engagement with Blake, he would not be any more employed during the war; and that it would be impossible for the Dutch to fit out a fleet of any great strength that season. In consequence of this opinion, Blake had detached twenty sail of his ships to convoy the colliers from Newcastle; twelve were laid up at Plymouth, and fifteen sent up the river Medway to fight. The admiral had, therefore, only thirty seven sail of ships with him in the Downs when Tromp appeared in the English channel. He had under his convoy a great number of merchantmen; but he had no sooner conducted them to a place of safety, than he stood directly for the Downs, with a fleet of 80 sail of men of war. Blake perceived the Dutch admiral advancing towards him in the morning of the 30th of November; and though his squadron was so far inferior to that of the enemy, he determined not to refuse the engagement. The fight accordingly began about eleven in the morning, and lasted till six in the evening, but with infinite disadvantage to the English. The great force of the engagement fell upon Blake's own ship, the *Triumph*, and two others, the *Victory* and the *Vanguard*, which were attacked by twenty of the Dutch ships, and fought them all for a considerable time before any other ships could come to their assistance. Towards the evening, the *Garland*, commanded by Captain Batton, and the *Bonadventure*, com-

commanded by captain Hookston, attacked Van Tromp's own ship, and would have taken her, had not several of the Dutch fleet come to her assistance. They, however, paid dear for their attempt; they were both killed, and their ships taken. Blake, desirous of saving these two ships, pushed forward, and by that means brought himself into so desperate a situation, that it was with the utmost difficulty he was saved by the assistance of the Vanguard and the Sapphire. Fortunately for the English, night soon after put an end to the engagement: two hours longer of day-light would have proved the destruction of their whole fleet. Blake retired first to Dover, and then to the mouth of the Thames, having lost, besides the two ships already mentioned, the Hercules, and two merchantmen. Blake himself was dangerously wounded; and a great number of his men, and several of his officers, killed. Tromp was so elated with this victory, that he fixed a broom at his main-top-mast-head, intimating, that he intended to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels.

But this defeat only tended to animate the English to wipe off the disgrace. The utmost efforts were made to fit out a fleet sufficient to recover the losses sustained in the late engagement. Among other encouragements, the pay of the seamen was increased; a larger share of the prizes taken from the enemy was allotted them; and Monk, at Blake's particular request, was sent for from Scotland to assist him in the command. The true reason for this seems to have been the death of Popham, who was buried with a profusion of honours, and the necessity of having a land officer on board the fleet to command the soldiers in time of action, but without any separate command at other times. So much expedition was used, that by the 11th of February, Blake was at sea, with a fleet of sixty sail of men of war. Several of his ships were new, and all of them much better manned than before. That nothing might be wanting to encourage the seamen and soldiers, hospitals for the reception of their sick and wounded were erected all along the coasts; and Blake's fleet was so stationed off Portland, that Tromp, who had upwards of 150 merchantment under his convoy could not avoid an engagement.

About eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th of February, the fight was begun by Blake in the Triumph, seconded with about twelve other ships; among which was the Fairfax, commanded by captain Lawton, and the Vanguard, by captain Mildmay. The impetuous courage of Blake had its usual consequence; it exposed him to the most imminent danger: for this small squadron bore the whole fire and fury of the Dutch, till the rest of the fleet could come up to their assistance, which was not till some time after. This battle far exceeded all that had been hitherto fought between the two republics. Amazed and confounded with the strength, the order and the discipline of the English, the Dutch exerted all their force to destroy Blake's fleet; while Blake, stung with his late misfortune, collected all his force to be revenged on the Dutch. The sea was covered with wrecks, and the fire from the ships so quick and violent, that, for some time, there was a dead calm. In the mean time, the fury of the combatants was astonishing; they bore down close to one another, and received the whole of every broadside: it seemed as if the dispute had not been for victory, but which should first go to the bottom. The Triumph bore the whole fury of this dreadful fire; and must have been either sunk or taken, had she not been relieved by Lawton. Blake was wounded in the thigh; Mildmay in the Vanguard, and Ball in the Triumph, were killed. The admiral's secretary was killed by his side. The Prosperus, a 44 gun ship, was boarded by the Dutch,

but saved by the Merlin frigate. The Assistance and the Advice were both disabled, and obliged to go into Portsmouth. The Fairfax lost 100 men, the Triumph as many; and captain Batten, in the Sampson, after sinking one of the enemy's ships, found it impossible to keep his own above water, and was obliged to go, with his crew, on board other ship. But this was far from being equal to the loss sustained by the Dutch. Three days was the battle continued with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, obtained not more honour than Tromp who was vanquished. He made so skilful a retreat, that he saved the greater part of his convoy, which was very large, thirty only of his merchantmen falling into the hands of the English. He, however, lost 11 ships of war, had 2000 men killed, and near 150 taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were dreadfully shattered, lost only one. The slain were not much inferior to that of the enemy, but they gained the immortal honour of filling the rival republic with the terrors of their power and valour.

The success of the English was in a great measure owing to the size of their ships; an advantage which all the skill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compensate. But the misfortunes the Dutch met with in battle were small in comparison of those which their trade suffered from the English. Their whole commerce by the channel was cut off; and even that with the Baltic suffered greatly by the English privateers. Their fisheries were totally suspended. Above 1600 of their ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Nor did this distress arise from any public interest or necessity; but from vain points of honour and national resentments.

Though these triumphs of the parliament highly pleased the people in general, yet they operated in a very different manner on the mind of Cromwell. The remembrance of his exploits was now but faint, and one farther step to glory must have placed the republicans superior to every thing but envy. He knew not how soon his soldiers, infected with a passion for increasing the glory of their country, might declare for the parliament; and should that happen, one single vote would be sufficient to destroy at once his greatness and his power. No time had yet been fixed for the dissolution of the parliament; and while he was a subject, and consequently accountable, it was the same to him whether the presiding power was a monarchy or a commonwealth. He indeed commanded the army, and the troops were at present at his devotion; but these triumphs at sea seemed greatly to diminish their regard for their favourite general; they desired to share in the honours of their countrymen. On the other hand, the zealous republicans let up a fleet in opposition to the army, and celebrated uncommon demonstrations of joy, the last of which was the necessity of diminishing the number of the troops, which they represented as no longer necessary to support the domestic peace of the nation.

Cromwell now plainly saw that the republicans entertained a jealousy of his power, and ambitious designs, and were resolved to render him subordinate to their authority. But this he determined to prevent, and the only method of effecting it was, by dissolving the parliament. He accordingly summoned a great council of officers, and soon found that they were ready to join him in any attempt he might think necessary. Most of them were his own creatures, and their advancement entirely to his favor, and dependent on him for their future preferment. Some of them, indeed, were men of principle, but guided by notions so fanatically extravagant, that they were easily deluded into the most violent and criminal measures.

The first step taken by the council of officers was, to vote a remonstrance to the parliament. It began with complaining of the arrears due to the army; and after applauding the parliament for their zeal and enterprises, represented to them, that it was now time to resign their seats, and leave to other members of the commonwealth the cares of government; and that they would now, by establishing a free and equal administration, perform the promise they had long since made to the people.

The parliament was at once alarmed and exasperated at these proceedings of the army; and after a violent debate, a sharp reply was returned to their remonstrance. This perfectly answered the wishes of Cromwell, for as the harsh answer of the parliament gave the highest offence to the council of officers, so he found it more easy to inspire them with those sentiments that might effect the completion of his long-concerted project.

While the council of officers were engaged in consulting what methods to pursue, colonel Ingoldsby entered the apartment, and informed Cromwell, that the parliament had just voted not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the house by new elections; and that the manner of carrying this expedient into execution was the subject on which they then were deliberating. Exasperated at this intelligence, Cromwell left the council of officers; and taking with him 300 soldiers, repaired to the house, leaving some of his men at the foot of the stairs, some at the entrance of the lobby, and some at the door. He advanced to his seat, and told his friend St. John, that he was come to do an act which grieved his very soul, and had besought the Lord, with prayers and tears, not to impose it upon him, but that the glory of God, and the good of the nation, rendered it absolutely necessary. He, however, sat still, and listened to the debates for some time; and then told colonel Harrison, that he thought the parliament was now sufficiently ripe for a dissolution. Harrison warned him of the danger that might attend a step of that nature, and desired him to consider the consequences before he attempted it. Cromwell accordingly sat still for some time longer; but when the speaker was just going to put the question, he started from his seat, accused the parliament, in the most opprobrious language, of tyranny, ambition, rapine, and injustice. Then stamping violently with his foot, the signal he had given the soldiers for entering the house, he cried out, "Get you gone for shame, give place to honest men, to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a parliament; the Lord hath cast you off; he hath chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Then taking Martin by the cloak, "Thou art a whoremaster," said he. "To a second, 'Thou art an adulterer.'" "To a third, 'Thou art a drunkard and a glutton.'" And to a fourth, "Thou art an extortioner." The speaker, fond of his power and dignity, seemed unwilling to leave the chair, and kept his seat till he was in a manner pulled out of it by Harrison. Cromwell, pointing to the papers that lay on the table, said to one of the soldiers, "Take away that fool's bauble." Then turning him back to the house, he said, "It is you that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord, night and day, with strong prayers and tears, that he would either slay me than put me upon this work; but he would not hear me." The soldiers soon cleared the house, and it was sufficiently evident, from the tumultuous manner in which Cromwell behaved, that he would, in case of opposition, have put every man of them to death. Sir Peter Wentworth and Sir Henry Vane were the only members that had the courage to upbraid him with his conduct, which they did in

the severest terms, accusing him of ingratitude and treachery. He took no notice of what was said by the former, but interrupted the latter, by crying out with a terrible voice, "O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" As soon as the soldiers had cleared the house, Cromwell seized all the journals and public papers, ordered the doors to be locked, and carried the keys with him to Whitehall.

Thus, by one bold effort of power, Cromwell in a few minutes effected a work, which would have cost a common plodding politician his whole life to have brought about, and perhaps in the end might have fell a victim to his own intrigues. But Cromwell alone was capable of properly forming and executing so bold a design. At first he intended to have been the sole dispenser of justice himself, and not to share his power with another; but, upon more mature reflection, he determined to satisfy the expectations of the people by governing them under the appearance of a republic. He accordingly summoned one hundred and twenty-eight Englishmen, six Irish, and five Scots, to meet at London. To each of these he sent a written order, requesting them to come and take upon them the sovereign power, and to govern the nation. The manner and form of this order, or writ, was as follows:

"Forasmuch as, upon the dissolution of the last parliament, it became necessary that the peace, safety, and good government of this commonwealth should be provided for; in order whereunto divers persons, fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, are by myself, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated, to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed, and having good assurance of their love to and courage for God, and interest of his cause, and of the good people of the commonwealth:

"I Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander in chief of all the armies and forces raised, and to be raised, within this commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you (being one of the said persons nominated) personally to appear at the council-chamber in Whitehall, on the 4th day of July next ensuing the date hereof, to take upon you the said trust, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a member for the county of —; and hereof you are not to fail.

"Given under my hand and seal the 6th day of June, 1653.

Oliver Cromwell."

This assembly met agreeable to the above summons, when Cromwell delegated to them, during fifteen months, the legislative authority; after which they were to transfer it to one hundred and thirty-four others, to be chosen by themselves.

On the dissolution of the late parliament, the Dutch had flattered themselves with the hopes of succeeding in their negotiations for a peace, and it must be owned that Cromwell was far from being averse to put a period to hostilities. But several reasons prevented him from putting his design into execution. He knew that nothing could render him more popular than carrying on the Dutch war with vigour, and the English were now more capable of disputing the empire of the sea with the enemy than they had ever been before. This was, in a great measure, owing to the friendship of Sweden, by which, notwithstanding all the opposition of the Dutch and Danes, the English had been furnished with materials for ship building.

The Dutch, finding the English determined to prosecute the war, fitted out a powerful fleet, which sailed from Holland about the middle of June, under the command

command of Van Tromp, de Wit, and de Ruyter. Blake, with his division of eighteen sail of ships, had stood to the northward, and not yet joined the fleet commanded by Monk and Dean. But his absence did not prevent the English from advancing against the enemy. Their fleet consisted of ninety-five men of war, and five fire-ships; and the Dutch of ninety-eight men of war, and seven fire-ships. The engagement began in the morning of the second of July, soon after which, Dean, one of the English admirals, was killed. Monk, with great prudence and presence of mind, concealed this misfortune from the seamen, by immediately dropping his cloak over the dead body of that able officer. The fury of the contending fleets seemed to be increased in proportion as the officers had learned experience. Lawson, the English rear-admiral, charged with the blue squadron, consisting of 40 ships, through the whole Dutch fleet with amazing execution, and would have taken de Ruyter's ship, had he not been relieved by Van Tromp, who, in his turn, was charged by Monk, and the battle continued to rage with the most violent fury till three in the afternoon, each party ignorant of the loss they had sustained, both fleets being involved in an impracticable cloud of smoke. At last the Dutch fury gave way to the well directed courage of the English. The flashes of their fire gave the first intimation of their loss, and the wind being favourable they withdrew from the engagement; but were cannonaded in their retreat by the lighter ships of the English. Van Tromp performed all that could be expected from the bravest and most experienced commander. He endeavoured to keep his ships in a line of battle; but three or four of them being sunk, and one of his flag-ships blown up, his whole fleet was thrown into confusion, and he was obliged to retire from the English. This engagement happened off the north Foreland, and during the night Blake joined Monk with his division. The next morning the attack was renewed; but the Dutch were so disheartened by the preceding engagement, that it was with the utmost difficulty their admirals could prevail upon their men to fight. But the contest was now unequal. Tromp was twice boarded by vice-admiral Penn, but disengaged by de Ruyter and de Wit. Six capital Dutch ships were sunk, two blown up by fire-ships, and eleven taken. The whole was now a disorderly flight; nor could the Dutch captains, either by persuasions or menaces, be brought to face the English; and the remainder of them that must have been inevitably destroyed, had they not taken shelter on the flats between Dunkirk and Calais, where it was dangerous for the English to follow them.

When the news of this defeat reached Holland, it not only threw the states, but all ranks of people into the utmost consternation. They now saw that fleet which but a few days before, they thought invincible, blocked up in their harbours by a victorious enemy, which was every moment running their trade, on which their very being as a maritime power, depended. Tromp, in his letter to the states, complained bitterly that his ships were not sufficiently supplied with powder and ball, and that his whole misfortune ought to be imputed to his want of ammunition. The common people, from whom these complaints were not long a secret, were enraged to the highest pitch of fury. They said, that a design had been formed to betray their fleet into the hands of the enemy, that the republic might be under the necessity of making peace upon their own terms. The states were alarmed, and pursued the only method in their power to silence the clamours of the people; they used the utmost diligence and expedition in repairing and refitting their fleet, they re-

called their ships from the different stations, in order it possible to wipe off the disgrace of the late defeat.

The English were so animated at their repeated conquests, that they would not listen to any terms of peace, unless the Dutch would agree to disarm their ships, pay all the expences of the war, and make full satisfaction for the damages the English merchants had sustained. Cromwell, however, hinted to the Dutch ambassadors, that peace might be concluded on much easier terms, but did not think it prudent to explain himself farther at present on so delicate a subject. He was, however, persuaded, that if the Dutch were totally ruined, he should never be able to obtain the summit of his wishes, the supreme power in England, which perhaps he would have been glad to purchase even by a defeat at sea. To this persuasion the Dutch owed their safety. The late victory however complete, was not prosecuted with all the vigour that might have been expected. The enemy were incapable of sending five men of war to sea, their admirals refused to act, and a rich East-India fleet was every day expected. Yet no advantage was taken of this distressed state of the enemy. Blake, indeed, continued cruising on the coast of Holland; but he made no attempt on their harbours, and the East-India fleet arrived in safety.

In the mean time the Dutch were exerting all their efforts to repair and increase their navy. Notwithstanding their attempts in vain; their fleet was soon in better condition than ever, both with regard to the largeness of the ships, and the number of men. Van Tromp, de Ruyter, and other famous admirals, had now no longer the least pretence for abandoning the public service. Young Tromp, who had taken an English man of war in the streights, was ordered home with his squadron, and some very large East-India ships were converted into men of war; so that about the latter end of July, Van Tromp's squadron consisted of ninety stout ships, manned with able seamen, and well provided with ammunition and stores.

Van Tromp left Holland on the 30th of July, and immediately sailed to the Texel. Here he was joined by de Ruyter and de Wit; and by this junction the whole fleet amounted to 120 sail. The English fleet, which was commanded by Monk, Lawson, and Penn, amounted only to 90 sail; but they were determined to give the enemy battle. The engagement accordingly began on the 31st of July, morning, with the utmost fury. The Dutch beheld all the disadvantages under which they fought in their former engagements; they wore their ships with wonderful address, and fought with the most surprising resolution. Monk, on the other hand, gave his orders with that calmness and resolution which characterises the consummate commander. The battle continued to rage with the same violence till near noon, when the brave admiral Van Tromp was killed with a musquet ball, as he was encouraging his men. As soon as his death was known, the Dutch retired towards their own coasts with the most precipitation. They lost in this action 24 of their men of war, about 4000 of their men were killed, and 1000 taken prisoners. The English lost three men of war, six captains, and 1000 men; eight hundred were dangerously wounded, and the whole fleet so shattered, that they were obliged to turn home.

The parliament chosen by Cromwell had now sat about five months, during the greatest part of which time they had had been exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the public. Among the friends who composed this assembly was a very active member remarkable for long prayers, sermons and harangues.



He was a leather-seller in London, and known by the name of "Praise-God Barebones," a ridiculous appellation formed by some poet to express the meagre figure of so strange a person. The populace were pleased with the thought, and gave the assembly itself the name of "The Barebones Parliament."

Though this assembly had received all their authority from Cromwell, they now began to pretend they had been favoured with supernatural power, and that they should act in conformity to so distinguished a commission. The friends of Cromwell perceived that they meant to pursue measures contrary to his interest, and therefore determined to put a period to this ridiculous parliament. Accordingly, they met early at the house; and one of them moved, that the sitting of this parliament any longer would be of no service to the nation. This motion was carried almost unanimously, on which they immediately hastened to Cromwell, with Rouse, their speaker, at their head; and, by a formal deed, resigned back into his hands that authority which they had so lately received from him.

In consequence of their resignation the machine of government was once more stopped; and it was now proposed in a council of officers, to introduce a new scheme of administration, and to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a single person, who should be distinguished under the appellation of Protector. Lambert, one of the creatures of Cromwell, accordingly produced a paper, called, "The Instrument of Government," containing the plan of this new legislature; and as it was supposed to be approved of by the general, it was readily agreed to by the council.

This Instrument of Government consisted of forty-articles, the chief of which were in substance as follow: A council of state was appointed, which was not to consist of more than twenty-one, nor less than thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and in case of a vacancy the remaining members were to name three, out of whom the protector was to chuse one. The protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the commonwealth: in his name all justice was administered; from him all magistracy and all honours were derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, except murder and treason; and to him the benefit of assuetudes devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance, was vested in him; but with regard to these particulars, he was to act entirely with the advice and consent of his council. The power of the sword was vested in the protector, jointly with the parliament, while it was sitting, or with the council of state in the intervals. He was obliged to summon a parliament every three years, and to allow them to sit for six months, without adjournment, prorogation or dissolution. The bills they passed were to be presented to the protector for his consent; but if within ten days it was not obtained, they were to have the force of laws by the authority of the parliament. A standing army for England and Ireland was established, consisting of ten thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and funds were established for their pay. These were not to be diminished without the consent of the protector, and in this article alone he had a negative voice. During the intervals of

parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the first meeting of the parliament. The chancellor, treasurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief justices of both benches, were to be chosen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life; and on his death the place was to be filled by the council.

Such was the Instrument of Government enacted by the council of officers, and sworn to by Cromwell, who, on the 16th of December was installed into that high office, by the title of "His Highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland;" and the principal persons that attended were, the judges, the council of state, and the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London.*

Cromwell's first care was to nominate a council of fifteen persons. This council was composed of such men as he knew were entirely devoted to his service; and at the same time they were so very opposite in their opinions with regard to the principles of civil and religious liberty, that there was not the least danger of their uniting against the interest of their master.

The government being thus settled, the new council immediately published the following proclamation:

"Whereas the late parliament dissolving themselves, resigned their power and authority; the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a lord protector, and successive triennial parliaments is now established. And whereas Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of all the forces of this commonwealth, is declared lord protector of the said nations, and hath accepted thereof; we have therefore thought it necessary (as we hereby do) to make publication of the premises, and strictly to charge and command, all and every person or persons, of what quality or condition soever, in any of the said three nations, to take notice hereof, and to confirm and submit themselves to the government so established. And all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. are required to publish this proclamation, to the end that none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf."

Thus did a private gentleman, by an amazing conjunction of courage and hypocrisy, rise to the kingly power, though under another name. Cromwell was near 55 years of age when he attained the sovereign power, 42 of which he had passed without having had any employ, either civil or military. He was hardly known in 1642, when the house of commons, of which he was a member, gave him a commission of horse in the army they levied against the king. From this beginning he rose, by the steps we have seen, to be master of that house; and, after having humbled and subdued Charles I. and his son, he now stepped into the royal seat, and without being king, reigned more absolute and fortunate than any king had ever done.

The Dutch, overwhelmed with the expences of the war, and mortified by their defeats, now pushed the negotiations for a peace with the utmost assiduity. It was known that the greatest obstacle to a pacification consisted not in any animosity conceived by the Eng-

lish

* Six days after the installation, the corporation of London, in order to do with them at Grocer's hall, were assembled, he was received by the citizens with all the pomp and splendour of a royal entry. The city companies in their bands lined the streets when he passed, and he was met and attended by the lord-mayor and aldermen, the former of whom carried the sword

before him bare headed, and the latter rode on horseback in their formalities. Before his departure from the hall, he, in virtue of his sovereign character, conferred the honour of knighthood on the lord mayor, and thanked the citizens for their distinguished marks of respect shown to his person and government.

lish against the Dutch, but in a desire of a close union and confederacy. Cromwell had formed the commercial scheme of a coalition with the United Provinces; a total conjunction of government, privileges, interests, and councils. It is no wonder that a scheme built on so delusive a foundation should appear absurd to the States-general: they were astonished that any man in his senses should entertain such romantic notions, and absolutely refused to enter into any negotiations on so impracticable a scheme of accommodation. At length, however, a peace was made, and signed by Cromwell, the principal conditions of which were these: That the Dutch should pay him 300,000*l.* sterling: That the ships of the States-general should pay the compliment to the British flag: and that they should never restore the young prince of Orange to the office of Stadtholder.

A. D. 1654. The peace with the Dutch brought great credit to Cromwell's administration. Most of the powers in Europe sent ambassadors to court his alliance; and an incident that happened about this time sufficiently evinced his intentions of governing with spirit and justice. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, and joined with him in the same commission, thinking himself affronted in the streets of London, repaired the next day to the Exchange, and seeing a merchant, whom he thought resembled the author of the injury, he immediately killed him, and took shelter in the house of his brother, who had connived at this base action. Cromwell paid no regard to his asylum; he sent a company of soldiers, who took Don Pantaleon from his brother's house, and committed him to prison. He was soon after tried, and being condemned, was executed on Tower-hill, * notwithstanding his brother, and all the foreign ambassadors then in London used their utmost endeavours to obtain a pardon. The situation of Portugal at this time was such, that they could not resent this transaction; and the ambassador soon after signed with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the English commerce.

On the third of September, according to writs issued by Cromwell for that purpose, the parliament met at Westminster. He went in great state, and opened it with a speech, in which he informed them of the steps he had taken for modelling the new government; assured them of his upright intentions; recapitulated what he had done for the nation; told them that he had convoked a free parliament, and that he did not pretend to be their master, but their fellow-labourer.

The parliament, having with great attention listened to his speech, and, by Cromwell's recommendation, chosen Lenthall for their speaker, immediately entered into a discussion of the Instrument of Government, and of that authority which Cromwell, under the title of protector, had assumed over the nation. They arraigned his new dignity with the greatest freedom, and even his personal character and conduct did not escape without censure. The protector, enraged at this refractory spirit in the parliament, sent for them to the painted chamber, and with an air of great authority inveighed against their proceedings, telling them, that nothing could be more absurd than for them to dispute his title, since the same instrument of government which made them a parliament, had invested him with the protectorship; that some points in the new government were supposed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretence, to be

altered or disputed; that among these were the government of the nation by one person and a parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the succession of new parliaments, and liberty of conscience; and that with regard to these particulars, there was reserved to him a negative voice, to which in the other circumstances of government, he confessed himself in no wise entitled. When the members returned to the house they found a guard at the door, which would not suffer any one to enter till he had first signed a recognition, by which he promised to be faithful to the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that he would never consent to a change in the government established under a protector and parliament. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this condition; but retained the same refractory spirit, which they had discovered in their first debates. The Instrument of Government was examined article by article, with the most scrupulous accuracy. The general approbation of the house was given those who advanced the freest topics; and during the whole course of the transactions, they neither took any notice of the protector, nor sent him a single bill for his approbation.

Cromwell was highly disgusted at this behaviour of the parliament; and being informed that many of the members had joined in a conspiracy with the discontented officers of the army, he determined to dissolve an assembly so dangerous to his power. According to the Instrument of Government, six months were allowed every parliament to sit before it could be dissolved; but Cromwell pretended that a month contained only twenty-eight days; and the full time, according to this method of reckoning being elapsed, they were again ordered to attend the protector in the painted chamber, where, after a long and angry harangue, he dismissed the assembly.

The meeting of a discontented parliament is always a sure sign of a discontented nation: the late and abrupt dissolution of such a parliament never fails to inflame the discontent to a higher degree of malignity. The members of this assembly returning to their several counties, carried along with them the spirit of dissaffection which they had discovered in the house. The royalists seeing this took advantage of it, and could no longer be held in subjection: they rashly imagined that every one who was dissatisfied must, like them, have adopted the same views and interests. This false notion urged them on to practices which, in the end, subjected them and their friends to the severest vengeance.

A. D. 1655. In the beginning of this year a conspiracy was formed in various parts of the kingdom, and a day for a general rising was appointed. Cromwell was informed of the design. Charles, his secretary had spies in every part of the kingdom, and the protector's government was extremely vigilant. Many of the royalists were apprehended and taken into prison. Others, as the day appointed approached, were seized with terror, and abandoned their project. In one place only the conspiracy broke out into action. Penruddock, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen in the west, entered Salisbury at the very time when the sheriff and judges were holding the assizes. There they made prisoners, and seized the king. But, contrary to their expectation, finding the people not disposed to join them, they marched farther westward, and being pursued by a troop of horse, they were defeated, and most of them taken

* On the same day (July 10, 1654) were executed two gentlemen of the name of Gerard and Vowel, who had been condemned for high treason in conspiring the death of the protector.

The former was beheaded on the same scaffold with the Portuguese ambassador's brother, and the latter was hanged at Meuse Gate.

prisoners. The leaders of the conspiracy were put to death; and the rest were sold for slaves, and transported to Barbadoes.

The failure of this attempt of the royalists only tended to establish the power of the protector; the people were fearful of opposing a man, who was so constantly attended with success. Cromwell even regarded the insurrection itself as a fortunate event; because it demonstrated the reality of these conspiracies, which his enemies always represented as mere fictions, invented solely to varnish over his severities. It served another purpose: it enabled him to extort large sums from the royalists, under pretence of making them pay the expences incurred by their mutinous dispositions. He issued an edict for exacting the tenth penny on all their estates: and in order to correct an imposition at once so oppressive and iniquitous, he instituted ten major-generals, and divided the kingdom into so many military jurisdictions. These men, assisted by commissioners, were empowered to lay any person they pleased under the tax of decimation, to levy all the imposts settled by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person whom they should suspect to be enemies to the government. Nor was there any appeal from their arbitrary judgment but to the protector himself in council. Despotism now appeared openly to preside over the English; the very mask of liberty was thrown aside. Vested with such unlimited power, these major-generals became so many tyrants, and oppressed the people to such a degree, that Cromwell thought proper first to restrain, and afterwards totally to abolish them; but not till they had fully answered his purpose on the royalists, not one of whom durst openly avow his principles.

While Cromwell was thus reigning absolute in England, the royal family suffered the utmost distress at Paris. The queen had, indeed, a moderate pension assigned her; but it was so ill paid, and her credit so low in that capital, that she complained one morning to cardinal de Retz, that her daughter, the Princess Henrietta, was obliged to be a-bed for want of a fire to warm her. Cromwell, desirous of humbling the pride and power of France, pretended to grant the protection which the royal family received in that kingdom, though surely such treatment deserved not his anger: it must have excited pity in an generous breast. Cromwell, however, thought otherwise, and the merchants having complained that some of their ships had been stopped and searched by the English, he issued letters of reprisal; and Blake with a whole fleet of merchant ships, loaded with goods and stores for Dunkirk, then beleagued by the Spaniards.

The court of France were greatly alarmed at these proceedings; and in order to remove every source of complaint, they treated Charles with such civility that he thought it prudent to withdraw, in order to prevent the indignity of being detained in the kingdom. He first retired to Spaw, and afterwards to Cologne, where he resided two years on a pension paid him by the king of France, and the subscriptions sent him by his friends in England. Some friends and confidants were Sir Edward Herbert, lord chancellor, and the marquis of Newcastle. This pusillanimous behaviour in the court have produced at last the desired effect, and the English court had paid every submission to the Spanish court, and even endeavoured to form an offensive and defensive, with the protector, but failing in the attempt, endeavours were made to make a breach between England and France.

There was no stranger to these intrigues, but the complaints to Cardenas, the Spanish minister.

A powerful fleet was, however, fitted out, and all Europe were held in suspense with regard to its destination. The Spaniards seemed not the least alarmed; they never suspected that it was intended to attack their settlements in the New World. At last two strong squadrons sailed from England, one commanded by Penn, and the other by Blake. The former was destined to the West-Indies, the latter to act in the Mediterranean. And what is still more remarkable, Blake had orders to assist the Spaniards in Europe, and Penn to distress them in America.

When Blake arrived in the Bay of Cadiz, he undertook to serve the Spaniards against the duke of Guise, who then threatened to make a descent on Naples, and was fortunate enough to escape the English fleet.

Blake soon after directed his course towards Africa, in order to demand satisfaction from the piratical states of Barbary for the insults and depredations they had committed on the English. On his arrival at Tripoli, he detached several frigates to block up the Tunifine ships at Porto Farino. Terrified at the appearance of Blake, the Dey of Algiers desired to make a peace with the protector, and agreed to restrain his piratical subjects from committing any farther violences on the English. But he was treated in a very different manner by the Dey of Tunis. On presenting himself before that port, and making the same demands, the Dey, pointing to the castles of Porto Farino and Goletto, dared him to do his worst. The courage of Blake needed not this bravado to rouse it into action: he laid the broadsides of his ships almost close to the castles, and soon tore them in pieces with his artillery. While this furious attack was carrying on, he sent a strong detachment of seamen in their long boats up the harbour, and burnt every ship that lay there. Terrified and astonished at an action hitherto considered as impossible, the Tunifines were convinced that they had acted very imprudently; they agreed to make the required satisfaction, and courted the friendship of a man whose valour had filled the African states with wonder and admiration.

Penn's expedition, however, was far from being equally successful. His fleet consisted of 30 ships of war, and a great number of transports, on board of which were 5000 land forces under the command of colonel Venables. They were joined by about 5000 more at Barbadoes and St. Christopher's. But the two commanders, though they both favoured monarchy, were of very different tempers. The troops were ill provided with arms, ammunition, and provisions: they were the refuse of the whole army, and those enlisted in the West-Indies the most profligate of mankind. Before the fleet and army sailed from St. Christopher's, a proclamation was published, by which it was declared, that neither the soldiers nor sailors were to have any share of the plunder, but, as an equivalent, to receive a fortnight's pay. This was certainly a very imprudent step, as it deprived them of the only incentive to courage and resolution.

On the 20th of April the fleet arrived at the island of Hispaniola; and it was determined by the admiral and general to attack St. Domingo, the capital, and indeed the only place of strength in the island; but this was overruled by the commissioners whom the protector had sent on board the fleet, to regulate its operations, and act as spies on the conduct of both commanders. This opposition of the commissioners proved the ruin of the expedition. A small part of the fleet was ordered to lie before the capital, to amuse the enemy, while the main body of the forces were landed at Ballado bay, where the proclamations against plundering was again renewed. This threw such a damp upon the spirits of the soldiers, that all

the courage and intrepidity of their officers could not remove. In the mean time, colonel Buller had landed about ten miles from St. Domingo, at the head of the troops that had been left on board the ships to amuse the enemy. It had been agreed, that Buller should wait till he was joined by Venables, in order to attack a fort situated between them and the capital. But the enemy abandoning the fortrefs at the appearance of the English, Buller pursued his march towards St. Domingo, and encamped at some distance from a strong fort, which formed the principal defence of the place. While Buller continued in his camp, Venables was obliged, during four days, to pursue a very fatiguing and discouraging march of near forty miles through an unknown and desert country; and his men were scarce able to support themselves from the heat of the climate and the want of water.

By this time the Spaniards had recovered from their consternation; and having drawn together a considerable body of forces, lined the woods with strong ambuscades, by which great numbers of the English were cut off in their march. Notwithstanding this, the English attacked them with such intrepidity, that they were driven from their fastnesses into the fort; and had not the English, through thirst and faintness, been obliged to defer the attack of the fort, both that and the town itself must have fallen that very night into their hands. Nor could they continue on the spot where Buller was encamped for want of water; but were obliged to march to the place where that commander landed, where they continued till the 25th of August, under inexpressible hardships. Captain Cox, their principal guide, was slain; their bread was mouldy and scarce; their provisions salt and rotten; their arms in very bad condition; one of their regiments gave evident signs of mutiny; no harmony subsisted between their two principal commanders; and a pestilential disease raged both in their fleet and camp. They, however, marched on the 26th of April, to attack the fort; captain Jackson, who commanded the van, led his men, either incautiously or treacherously, into a defile, lined on each side by the enemies troops. The English had advanced so far before they perceived their danger, that they were exposed to the whole fire of the Spaniards, without being able to return it with any effect; and every man of them must have been cut off, had not colonel Haynes at the head of a detachment of his regiment, pushed into the wood, and dislodged the enemy by attacking them in flank. Haynes himself was killed after displaying amazing efforts of valour, together with most of the officers, and 500 soldiers. The diversion of Haynes enabled Venables to attack the enemy with advantage, and drive them into the fort. But the next morning it was found, that the only mortar-piece in the army was unfit for service, and without a bombardment there were no hopes of success. It was therefore determined to abandon the enterprize, and re-embark the forces.

In order to make some amends for this miscarriage, the fleet sailed to Jamaica, which they conquered almost without opposition, and took possession of it in the name of the English republic on the second of June. Having left some troops on the island, they returned to England about the beginning of September; and the Protector was so exasperated at their having failed in their attempt on Hispaniola, that he ordered Penn and Venables to be sent to the Tower; but they were soon after released. In the mean time care was taken to reinforce the garrison of Jamaica, which soon after became what it still continues, a flourishing and wealthy colony.

A. D. 1656. When the Spaniards were informed of the depredations made by the English in the West-Indies, they immediately declared war against the

Protector, and seized all the goods and shipping belonging to the English merchants in the territories of Spain. The commerce with that kingdom, so advantageous to the nation, was now entirely at an end, and near 1500 merchantmen fell into the hands of the enemy.

In consequence of this, Blake received orders to begin hostilities against the Spaniards, and exert all his abilities to intercept their Plate fleet. He cruized for some time off Cadiz, in expectation of meeting with it; but being at last distressed for want of water, he was obliged to sail towards Portugal, in order to procure a supply. Soon after his departure, captain Stayner, whom he had left off the Spanish coast with a squadron of seven ships, came in sight of the galleons, and crowded all the sail he could carry, in order to come up with them; but before this could be effected, the Spanish admiral ran his ship ashore, and was followed by two others. The rest were following the example, but were taken by the English, and valued at near two million of pieces of eight. The two galleons on shore were set on fire; and the marquis of Bajadox, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and daughter, perished in the flames.

This success greatly contributed to increase the popularity of Cromwell's government; and he took care to display all the advantages of the acquisition, by ordering the treasure taken in the galleons to be brought up from Portsmouth to London by land. Before this welcome supply arrived, Cromwell had been reduced to the utmost distress for want of money, and severely lashed in several pamphlets by some of the members of the long parliament. He had, indeed, laid excessive impositions on the royalists, and published several rigorous edicts for collecting the public taxes; but all these resources were not sufficient to defray the expences of government.

Blake had not been long returned from the coast of Portugal, before he received advice that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, much richer than the former, had taken shelter in the bay of Santa Cruz in one of the Canary islands. Blake immediately sailed thither; and soon found that his intelligence had not deceived him; but he perceived that every precaution had been taken to render any attempt upon the galleons abortive. The smaller ships were moored close to the shore, under the numerous cannon of a strong castle, and seven smaller batteries well mounted with artillery, and a line of communication run between them all. Six large galleons lay near the entrance of this harbour, a strong boom being drawn across its mouth, fitted up like floating batteries, with their broadsides towards the English. Blake surveyed the batteries with the closest attention, but was rather animated than daunted by the danger. He called a council of war, and it was unanimously determined to burn the Spanish galleons. Blake himself undertook the attack of the large ships and forts, while stayner attempted to force his way into the harbour.

Accordingly, as soon as the morning appeared, Stayner, in the *Speaker* frigate, stood into the bay with his squadron, while Blake attacked the forts and galleons. The dreadful scene that followed is scarcely imagined than described. The Spaniards themselves believed it to be the effect of fiends rather than of men, and thanked heaven they could lose no part of their honour in the action, as they were born to fight with men, and not with devils. Every circumstance tended to confirm them in that delusion. The thundering of Blake's cannon; the fury of his sails, who rushed amidst the thickest of the enemy's fire, as if they had been invulnerable, and seemed to find their safety in the mouth of danger; the shouts of the assailants, and the groans of the wounded, heard in the short intervals between the roaring of the artillery.

and, at last, the flames of their own ships, bursting through the clouds of smoke, and lighting up the dreadful scene of death and ruin, convinced the Spaniards that all opposition was in vain; they thought it would be madness to oppose force and courage to a supernatural power. The fire from their forts abated; their troops were driven from their intrenchments; their harbour was in the possession of the English, and their ships totally abandoned; so that not one of them escaped the flames, except two which had been sunk in the action.

But the greatest danger still attended the English; the wind blew right into the bay; and their eagerness had carried them so near the shore, that their ships must have been destroyed, had not the wind, by suddenly shifting, removed all their fears, and carried them beyond the reach of danger. Though this action was remarkably severe, and though the English exposed themselves to the thickest of the enemy's fire, they had only 48 men killed, and 120 wounded. The loss of the Spaniards, both in men and ships, was very great; and the latter, for some time, irreparable.

This was at once the greatest and last action of the intrepid Blake. His health had been, for some time, declining, and he now obtained permission to return; but he unfortunately died on his passage. He was always considered as one of the greatest men this country ever produced. Though a strict republican in principles, he always enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell. "We should fight for our country, said he, into whatever hands the government may fall." The strongest proof of his merit is, that, in the midst of so many jarring, and even hostile factions, he was universally esteemed. His remains were interred with great funeral pomp in Henry the VIIIth's chapel, the expences of which were defrayed by the Protector.

As Cromwell had always been desirous of giving the power he had usurped the sanction of a legal establishment, he now determined to make another attempt to effect it. He accordingly assembled a parliament composed of the representatives of the three kingdoms. Ireland and Scotland, reduced to a state of slavery, nominated such members as were conformable to his wishes. But the spirit of the English was not yet sufficiently subdued to submit to his arbitrary elections. He soon perceived that many of the distinguished members in the last parliament were again returned, and began to fear they would be too powerful for his friends. In order, therefore, to secure a majority, he excluded an hundred suspected members; and thus made himself master of the parliament.

A. D. 1657. Every thing now went on to the praise of Cromwell; for though there was still a strong opposition, the majority was on the side of the Protector's friends. The first material business executed was, the abrogating all the titles of Charles Stuart and his family. This being effected, it was resolved that the Protector should have the title of King; and after a very warm debate it was carried that a bill should be brought in for that purpose. It was urged that the English constitution necessarily supposed a royal authority; that the laws admitted none of a Protector except during a minority, and had not fixed the prerogatives of the functions of his office, that to remove all appearance of arbitrary power the only method was to have recourse to a form which the nation had always respected; and that this was the more practicable, as an express law of Charles II. had provided for the security of those who defended the reigning prince; a sufficient proof that the legislation depended more on the form of government, than on the birthright of the supreme monarch.

This bill was violently opposed by Lambert, the major-generals, and all the republican party. But being unable to answer the above arguments, they had recourse to a very tumultuous behaviour, which sufficiently convinced Cromwell, that unless he could prevail with the officers of the army to join with the majority in parliament, he must renounce the honour he so ardently wished to obtain. No arts were left untried to bring Lambert over to his purpose, but in vain. Fleetwood and Desborough were also averse to his accepting the title of king; and declared, if the bill passed, and received the assent of the Protector, they would immediately resign their commissions.

Notwithstanding, however, this opposition, the house proceeded in their design; and at last, after a long and violent debate, it was voted, "That his highness will be pleased to assume the name, stile, title, dignity, and office of king of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the respective dominions thereunto belonging, and to exercise the same according to the laws of these nations." A committee was now appointed to reason with the Protector, and, if possible, overcome those scruples, which he pretended he entertained against accepting so distinguished an honour.

Though the reasons urged by the committee were of the most forcible nature, they were strongly opposed by Cromwell. But his opposition proceeded not from the impropriety of his accepting the offer. He was well pleased with the solidity of their arguments; and his inclination, as well as judgment, was entirely on the side of the committee. But the opposition of his friends, and that of the army, terrified him. He knew the office of king had been painted in such horrid colours, that there were no hopes of reconciling the soldiers to it suddenly, even though belted upon their general, to whom they were so remarkably devoted. He knew that the transition between coldness and aversion was very small; that they who had lived with the greatest affection, hated with the most deadly rancour; and it was impossible to foresee what disappointment and despair might occasion. Some already talked of dividing England into a new heptarchy, to be governed by the chief officers of the army. Even this strange design the republicans would rather have adopted, than agree to Cromwell's accepting of the royal dignity. He was also fearful, that when the question regarded only persons, not forms of government, no one would any longer balance between the ancient royal family and an ignoble person, who had waded to the throne through a torrent of blood.

Suspended between these fears and his own ardent desires, Cromwell protracted the time, and seemed still to oppose the reasons of the committee, hoping that he might be able, by artifice, to reconcile the minds of the soldiers to his new dignity. His education was always confused; but now, when he reasoned in contradiction to his own judgment and inclination, it was in tenfold darkness. At length, however, after much perplexity, occasioned by a long and tedious series of doubts, he was obliged to refuse that crown he so ardently wished to receive, and which the representatives of the nation had tendered him in the most solemn manner.

On this refusal, the parliament found it necessary to retain the name of Commonwealth and Protector; but as the government had hitherto been a manifest usurpation, it was thought necessary to give it a parliamentary sanction. To effect this, it was proper to set aside the Instrument of Government, which had been drawn up by the general officers only, and substitute another in its stead. This was accordingly done, and a new instrument of government was framed, under the title of "An Humble Petition

and Advice ;" by which Cromwell was confirmed in his dignity of Protector, and his authority legally ascertained.

By this deed, which consisted of forty-two articles, the authority of the Protector was in some things augmented ; but in others it was considerably diminished. He was empowered to name his successor : he had a perpetual revenue settled on him of 100,000*l.* a year, a million a year for the fleet and army, and 300,000*l.* for the civil government, besides what sums should be occasionally raised by the parliament. He was allowed to appoint another house, the members of which should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some functions of the former house of peers. On the other hand, his power of framing laws with the consent of his council, during the recess of parliament, was abrogated ; and it was established, that no member of either house should be excluded but by the consent of that house of which he was a member. The other articles received very little alteration, remaining the same in substance as in the first Instrument of Government.

Cromwell having obtained this parliamentary sanction of his authority, resolved to consecrate his title by a new inauguration, which was performed with great pomp and ceremony in Westminster-hall, on the 26th of June ; and on the same day he prorogued the parliament to the 20th of January.

The situation of Cromwell was now very critical. He had, indeed, obtained the disposal of a very large revenue ; but great difficulties attended it. His acceptance of the office and title of Protector had not lessened them, and the force he put upon the parliament, by excluding so many of the members, was universally condemned. Even those who were most desirous of a settlement, upon almost any terms, and would have been contented, for the sake of a permanent government, to have submitted to his authority, either as king or protector, entertained many scruples with regard to the legality of the proceedings of a parliament, when sat under a visible force. Cromwell found that these scruples were invincible, and his enemies, having already felt his severity, he was now determined they should taste his clemency. Lambert was allowed a pension of 1000*l.* a year. Ludlow was suffered to reside in his own house ; Sir Henry Vane was released from his confinement in Carisbrook castle, and he determined to suffer the excluded members to take their seats the next session of parliament.

In the mean time Cromwell applied himself closely to the formation of his upper house of parliament, which was to consist of 60 members, among whom were five or six ancient peers, and several gentlemen of fortune and distinction ; the rest were officers of the army, who had risen from the drags of the people ; all the ancient peers, however, refused to accept a seat, which they must share with such companions as were assigned them.

The parliament met according to its prorogation, when the Protector, in order to maintain the appearance of a legal magistrate, removed the guards from the doors of both houses. The first subject of deliberation among the commons was, the illegality of excluding so many of their members during the last session of parliament. In this debate it was confidently affirmed that there could be no free parliament under such a force, and therefore, that the Humble Petition and Advice, together with all that had been done in consequence of it, were invalid ; nor were they obliged to take any notice of the other house. Cromwell, by taking so many of his friends and adherents from the lower house, in order to form the upper, had lost the majority among the national representatives. The enemies of the Protector were soon sensible of

their power ; they made and carried a motion to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the other house, which Cromwell had established.

A. D. 1658. While the commons were discussing the arbitrary proceedings of the government, a petition was preparing in the city for taking power of the militia out of the Protector's hands. Exasperated at these measures, Cromwell sent a sharp message to the commons, acquainting them that he expected they would give the same attention, and pay the same attention to the same, as had been given or paid to any house of peers in England. But the commons, infligated by Lambert's Hallerigg within doors, and by Harrison and the monarchy-men without, paid no regard to his tale, or his authority.

Cromwell was now sufficiently exasperated, and without consulting any person, took a common coat and with no more than four or five of his guards and attended by his nephew and a lieutenant colonel, hurried to the house of peers, where he was met by Fleetwood, that he was come to dissolve the parliament. Fleetwood, who seems to have acted in concert with the malecontents, used every argument, his power to dissuade Cromwell from his purpose. He desired him to reflect a moment on the consequences that had generally attended a dissolution of the parliament. But Cromwell, paying any attention to his arguments, laid his hand upon his breast, and swore by the living God he should not sit a moment longer. He accordingly sent a message to the commons commanding their attendance in the house of peers, where, after a very reproachful speech, he dissolved the parliament.

This precipitate action, which in any other person would have been considered as an indication of weakness, was, in this extraordinary man, a measure once both bold and necessary, and prompted by a genius which seldom or never forsook him. But notwithstanding all his power, his abilities, and the terror of his name, he was now surrounded with dangers both open and secret. The fifth monarchy-men had long been his avowed enemies. They pretended to abolish all taxes, customs, tythes, and every other burthen laid upon the people. They held their meetings at Mile End, and though they were in general persons of the lowest condition, they were both bloody and desperate. They depended greatly on major-general Harrison, admiral Lawton, and on colonels Rich, Danvers and Okey, to head them. They had even their cabals and correspondents in every part of the kingdom. But Cromwell's vigilance, and Thurloe's excellent intelligence, rendered all their schemes abortive ; and about ten of the most desperate among them being seized in the night, their consultations, were tried, condemned, and executed.

This well timed action, however, did not put an end to the cabals. Cromwell perceived that the rebellion had reached much farther than he expected. Several of the officers of the army, and even some of them who served about his person, became sullen and gloomy : a sure indication that they were hatching some dangerous design. The Protector therefore assembled all the officers near London, among whom major Packer, and most of the captains of his regiment were chiefly suspected. Cromwell repaired to the meeting, and in a very authoritative voice demanded whether they were warranted by him against his enemies ? Overawed by his presence, and then general, they continued silent for some time, at last they said, they were ready to obey him in the footing of the good old cause. Cromwell, perceiving that expression with great contempt, and desiring what they meant by using it now, he immediately

missed them from their posts in the army, and gave their commissions to others whom he knew he could trust. This instance of firmness and severity produced the desired effect; the rest of the officers promising to obey him with great alacrity.

During these transactions the Spaniards, who were desirous of distressing the English government, invited Charles to Bruges, where he appeared at the head of 4000 men, chiefly English, formed into four regiments. This revived the hopes of the royalists, and a general insurrection was projected. Ormond was secretly dispatched to England, in order to concert measures for the execution of this design. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and several more of the leaders of the presbyterian party had secretly entered into the engagement. The army was still infected with the general spirit of discontent; and, after the Protector's violent breach with the late parliament, no hopes remained of founding his power on the basis of legislative authority.

But notwithstanding all these promising circumstances, the conspiracy of the royalists was rendered abortive. Cromwell was informed of their design before it was ripe for execution. The marquis of Ormond was obliged to fly to the continent, and great numbers of the royalists were thrown into prison. Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Huet, were condemned and beheaded; and Mordant, brother to the earl of Peterborough, escaped the same fate merely by the accident of colonel Pride's being absent, till the sentence was pronounced in his favour. For the numbers were equal, and Pride, who was his declared enemy, entered the court just as the president had finished his determination.

Nor was Cromwell free from the fears of assassination. Sindercombe, one of the fifth monarchy-men had undertaken to murder him, and it was only by the intervention of the most unaccountable accidents that he was prevented from executing his bloody purpose. His design was at last discovered; but though the clearest proof of his guilt was apparent to the jury, and though every man held the crime of which he was accused in the utmost detestation, it was not without the greatest difficulty they could be prevailed upon to find him guilty; so much were they dissatisfied with the Protector's right of supreme government of the nation.

This incident gave great uneasiness to Cromwell, more especially as Sindercombe refused to discover any of his accomplices. He was in continual dread of being assassinated by the hands of fanatical or interested persons, and felt such a perturbation of spirit as left him not a moment's ease. He wore defensive armour under his cloaths, always kept a loaded pistol in his pocket, and never lay twice in one room.

These distresses of his mind were further increased by the death of his beloved daughter Mrs. Claypole, lately endued with every humane virtue, and the most valuable accomplishments. She had entertained the highest regard for Dr. Huet, and made the most pressing solicitations to her father to save his life, but being refused his pardon, her temper, which was always inclined to melancholy, preyed upon her health, and after using the most pressing remonstrances to awaken the protector into a compunction for the heinous crimes into which his ambition had betrayed him, she paid the debt of nature amidst the tears of all who were friends to virtue. Her death most sensibly affected Cromwell; and her words now showed their full force, for they embittered, in the most feeling manner, the small remainder of his life.

This tyrannical usurper began to perceive, when it was too late, that the pursuits of ambition are not the pursuits of peace. His composure and tranquillity of mind were now fled for ever.

He saw that all his nearest and most beloved friends, Fleetwood, Desborough, Claypole, and Falconbridge, abhorred his principles; and he who had to lately the whole army at his call, could now hardly find five men in the whole nation to second his favourite designs. He was become a bankrupt both in his government and his private fortune; and notwithstanding all the mighty things he had done, he found himself no better than a splendid wretch surrounded with misfortunes, which the smallest grain of genuine virtue in his former career of glory might either have prevented or removed. His dissimulation was at once so gross and odious, that had he now actually returned to the paths of virtue, not a man in England would have thought him sincere; even his professing it could only have tended to heighten the general contempt of the people.

About the middle of August Cromwell was seized with the gout, which confined him for some days, and shifted from his foot into his body. On the 24th of the same month he had a flow fever, which soon after changed in a tertian ague. No dangerous symptoms, however, appeared for some time, and he was even able to walk abroad during the intervals between the fits. But the fever, as well as the force of the paroxysm of the disease, increasing at every return, Cromwell himself began to be apprehensive that his end was approaching. His thoughts were now turned towards a future state, which had formerly been the constant subject of his contemplations; but which the continual wars and affairs of government had for some time totally interrupted. Goodwin, one of his enthusiastic preachers, constantly attended him, and endeavoured to remove from his mind that dependency in which he was now involved. One day, when he was closely engaged in this pious conversation, Cromwell asked him, with great emotion, "whether it was possible for the elect to fall, or suffer a final reprobation?" "Impossible," replied the preacher. "Then," cried Cromwell, with an air of satisfaction, "I am safe; for I am sure I was once in a state of grace."

The physicians, sensible of the dangerous condition of the Protector, were continually intimating to those about him, and even often to himself, that they thought it highly prudent to settle the affairs of government. On the other hand, his chaplains by their prayers, visions, and revelations, inspired him with such hopes, that he believed he was no longer in danger. "I shall not die of this distemper," said he one day to his physicians, "I am well assured of my recovery. My supplications have prevailed; I am promised from the Lord." Those strange enthusiastic notions seem to have prevailed among all his friends. "The Lord," said Fleetwood, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, "will soon restore him, and bring him forth with more vigour, life and zeal. His highness hath himself had very great discoveries from the Lord. He hath received assurances of his being restored, and of being further serviceable in the great work he hath begun." Goodwin was so thoroughly convinced of his being in no danger of death, that he used the following expression in his prayer: "Lord we beg not for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted and assured us of, but for his speedy recovery." Even when the physicians absolutely despaired of his being able to support the next fit of his disease, Thurloe has the following expression in his dispatch to Henry Cromwell, "That which is some ground of hope is, that the Lord has, as on some former occasion, given to himself a particular assurance, that he shall yet live to serve him, and to carry on the great work he hath put into his hands."

At length, however, the physicians unanimously declared that there were no hopes. This information

sufficiently

sufficiently alarmed the council; and a deputation was sent to know his pleasure with regard to the succession. But before they reached his apartment, he was speechless and almost insensible. They asked whether he did not intend that his eldest son Richard should succeed him; and a simple affirmation was, or seemed to be, extorted from him. He lived only a few minutes after, paying the debt of nature on the 3d of September, in the 60th year of his age, and 5th of his Protectorship*. He was buried with great funeral pomp in Westminster-abbey.

With respect to the character of Cromwell, it has been in a very particular manner displayed both by his friends and enemies. That drawn by the former seems dictated by panegyric, and the latter by invective. It must, however, be acknowledged, that both carry the strongest air of probability, because they are supported by striking circumstances in his conduct and fortune. 'What, say his friends, can be more extraordinary, than that a person, of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body which have sometimes, nor shining talents of mind, which have often raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt, and the abilities to execute so extraordinary a design as the subverting one of the most antient and best established monarchies in the world? That he should have the power and boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death? Should banish that numerous and strongly allied family? Cover all these temerities under a seeming obedience to a parliament, in whose service he pretended to be retained? Trample too upon that parliament in their turn, and scornfully expel them as soon as they gave him ground for dissatisfaction? Erect in their place the dominion of the saints, and give reality to the most visionary idea, which the heated imagination of any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppress that monster in its infancy, and openly set up himself above all that ever attained the appellation of sovereign in England! Overcome first his enemies by arms, and afterwards all his friends by artifice? Served all parties patiently for a while, and command them victoriously at last? Over run each corner of the three nations, and subdue with equal facility, both the riches of the south and the poverty of the north? Be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and adopted a brother to gods upon earth? Call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth? Reduce to subjection a warlike and discontented nation, by means of a mutinous army? Command a mutinous army by means of sedulous and factious officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, that he would be pleased, at the rate of millions a year, to be hired as master of those who had hired him before to be their servant? Have the estates and lives of three nations as much at his disposal as was once the little inheritance of his father, and be noble and liberal in the spending of them? And lastly (for there is no end of enumerating his glory) with one word bequeath all his power and splendor to his posterity? Be possessed of peace at home and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity? And leave a name behind him not to be extinguished

but with the whole world; which, as it was too little for his praise, so it might have stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs?

On the other hand, his enemies have placed the actions of this extraordinary man in the most odious point of light. 'What, say they, can be more superlatively wicked than for a person to endeavour not only to exalt himself above, but to trample upon all his equals and superiors? To pretend freedom for all men, and under the cloak of that pretence, to make all men his servants? To take up arms against taxes amounting to scarce 200,000l. a year, and to lay himself upon the nation the enormous load of above two millions? To quarrel for the loss of three or four ears, and strike off three or four thousand heads? To fight against an imaginary suspicion of two thousand guards for the king to be fetched from no body knew where, and keep up for himself no less than forty thousand? To pretend the defence of parliaments, and violently to dissolve all, even those of his own calling, and almost of his own choosing? To undertake the reformation of religion, and on that pretence to strip to the skin, and then to expose it naked to the rage of every sect? To establish councils of rapine and courts of murder? To fight against the king under a commission for him? To take him out of the hands of those for whom he had conquered him? To deceive him by protestations and vows of fidelity, and when he had effected his purpose, to put him to death, in the face of the world? To receive a commission from the king and parliament, and murder the one and destroy the other? To fight against monarchy, when he declared for it, and to declare against, when he wished to acquire it in his own person? To defame perfidiously, and supplant ungratefully his own general, and afterwards most of those officers, who, with the loss of their honour, had raised him to the summit of his unreasonable ambition? To break his faith equally with his enemies and with his friends? To make as frequent use of the most solemn perjuries as the common people of customary oaths? To map three kingdoms without the least shadow of permissions, and govern them as unjustly as they were acquired? To set himself up as an idol, and make the streets of London resemble the valley of Hinnom, by burning the bowels of men, as a sacrifice to himself? To endeavour to entail this usurped nation? And lastly, by the severest judgment of the Almighty, to die hardened, mad, and without repentance, with the curses of the present, and the detestation of all succeeding ages?"

Such are the different characters given of Cromwell, and both are founded on facts and circumstances that cannot be controverted. But from the whole we may safely conclude, that he wanted nothing but honesty to make him one of the greatest men in the world.

* * * * *

It was expected that Cromwell's death would have produced some sudden and distinguished revolution.

* On the day Cromwell died there was so dreadful a storm all over Europe, that it seemed a great wreck of nature. This tempest happening at so critical a moment gave occasion to many reflections both of his friends and enemies. The day on which he died was also singular for being the anniversary of his great successes at Dunbar and Worcester, which he always considered as the most fortunate event of his whole life.

† Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, of a good family of Welsh extraction, their name being originally Williams, but one of his ancestors marrying the sister of the famous Tho-

mas Cromwell, earl of Essex, in the reign of Henry VII. by that marriage took that name, and transmitted it to his family. Oliver married Elizabeth, daughter to Sir James Paulet, knight, whom he had two sons, Richard, who succeeded him, and Henry, lord lieutenant of Ireland. He had also four daughters, Elizabeth, married to lieutenant general Ireton, Elizabeth, to John Claypole, esq. of Northamptonshire, Mary, to the viscount Balconbridge; and Frances, to the honorable Peter Rich, all of them ladies possessed of the most distinguished accomplishments.

the state; but this was far from being the case. The council, the army, the navy, and even the whole country at once, acknowledged Richard Cromwell, his son, Protector of the Commonwealth. He was a plain, indolent, good-natured young man, brought up in the country, at a distance from business and intrigue, and neither formed by inclination, inured by habit, nor assisted by talents sufficient to enable him to supply the place of his father, Henry Cromwell, who governed Ireland with great popularity and applause, inured to his brother the obedience of that kingdom; and general Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, proclaimed the new protector in the principal towns of that kingdom.

Addressees now flowed from all parts of the nation, and Richard was treated with the same respect as his father. But this external complaisance among the fanatical leaders of the different parties was nothing better than a deceitful calm which suited the views of all, as a breathing-time for concerting plans to promote their own interests. No person could have been found more unexceptionable for this purpose than Richard. The republicans did not fear him, nor the royalists hate him; and his advancement was of the most consequence to those who were in the present possession of the government. But a question was started in the council, whether Richard, according to the tenor of the Humble Petition and Advice, was to be considered as general of the army. This was striking at the very basis of all his power, and treacherous cabals against him were indefatigable in forming plans for his destruction.

A. D. 1659. As supplies were now wanting for the affairs of government, it was thought necessary to call a parliament. The Upper House, or House of Peers, consisted of the same persons who had been nominated by Oliver himself, and thence considered as friends to his family. And in order to insure a majority in the commons, it was thought necessary to restore to the old boroughs their former right of sending members to parliament; while the counties were allowed no more than their accustomed members. By this means the ministry procured a majority in the lower as well as in the upper house, and all the members signed, without hesitation, an engagement not to alter the present mode of government.

In order more firmly to establish the Protector's authority, secretary Thurloe presented to the commons "an act of recognition of his highness's right and title to be protector and chief magistrate of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging." This act was very artfully drawn, the recognition part being expressed in general terms; but it contained a very particular and ample abjuration of the royal family. A small debate only ensued on the first reading, but the republicans determined to oppose it with all their power when it came to be read a second time. They saw that it virtually contained a negation of the Petition and Advice, which they were determined, if possible, to set aside, and consequently destroy the basis of the protector's government. Besides the republican and ministerial parties, there were two others in the house, who had views of their own, and though directly opposite to each other, agreed in one point, that of embarrassing both the others. The first was composed of men of desperate fortunes, and who wished to see Fleetwood commander in chief of the army, hoping that the government would once more fall into the hands of the military, and both king and protector be excluded. The ministerial party had, however, still a majority in the house. But the proceedings of this parliament afford a memorable instance, that a dead majority in an English house of commons may carry their questions,

and yet lose their purposes. The republicans were much bolder and far better speakers than their antagonists. In opposing this bill, they founded their arguments on the constitution settled immediately after the death of the late king, and Sir Henry Vane very pertinently observed, that if the government founded at that period was illegal, they were guilty of the blood of their late prince. The ministerial party, on the other hand, went no farther back than the instrument of Petition and Advice, which they contended to be the last, and only legal constitution of government. But even admitting that position, they found themselves embarrassed with another difficulty, that of proving that the privileges and authority granted by that instrument to the protector were not personal, and terminated with his life. Even if they did not, the republicans contended, that a free parliament ought to have no regard to the whole, or any part of that instrument, because it was voted by a power destructive of that constitution, which gave their assembly an existence as a parliament. Their arguments had great effect upon the people, especially as the answers given to them by the ministerial party were far from being thought sufficient.

Fleetwood, who had concealed his ambition under the veil of an obsequious behaviour to the new protector, could not help observing, that the army, by joining the republicans, might retrieve at once their power and popularity. But the greatest art was necessary to form this connection, as the protector's influence among the troops was very powerful. It was therefore contrived between him and Desborough, to introduce Lambert once more on the stage. That general ever since he had been deprived of his commission, had lived retired at Wimbleton in Surry; but he no sooner saw a prospect of regaining his former authority, than he resumed all his ambitious prospects. Many of the principal officers in the army thought he had been ungenerously treated by the late protector, and his sufferings had, in some measure, rendered him popular. Fleetwood therefore secretly made use of Lambert to strengthen the discontented party among the officers, while Desborough declared openly and violently for a republic. The meetings for carrying on their destructive schemes were held at Wallingford house, where Fleetwood resided, and hence the assembly was called, "The Wallingford-house Cabal."

During these consultations among the officers of the army, the debates in parliament were carried on with great vehemence by both parties. The republicans exerted all their power to have the militia and negative voice settled in the representatives of the people, while the ministerial party strenuously insisted on recognizing the protector. Many expedients were proposed for reconciling the two parties, but in vain; both continued firm to their principles. After the question had been debated for several days with the utmost warmth and freedom, the ministerial party carried their point, by a majority of 191 against 168. The republicans were not, however, discouraged. They procured the following resolution to be agreed to by the house, viz. "That before the bill of recognition be committed, this house doth declare such additional clause to be part of the bill, as may limit the power of the chief magistrate, and fully secure the right and privilege of parliament, and the liberties and rights of the people, and that neither this, nor any other previous vote, that is or shall be passed, in order to this bill, shall be of force or binding to the people, till the whole bill is passed."

In the meantime Fleetwood had to his reconciliation the differences that subsisted between Lambert and Desborough, that it was resolved to present a remonstrance to the protector on the present state of affairs.

The

The instrument was accordingly presented under the title of "The humble representation of the general council of officers of the armies of England, Scotland and Ireland." In this remonstrance the army complained, "that large arrears of pay were due to the soldiers, by which they were reduced to the greatest necessity: that those who had borne the burthen of the war, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers attending it, were now disregarded, divided and laid aside. That the good old cause was treated with contempt, and traduced by malignant and disaffected persons, who grew every day more insolent, because their numbers were every moment increasing, by the return of their friends from foreign parts, and had now several meetings in the city of London: that the names of all those who sat as judges upon the late king had been printed and scattered in different parts of the kingdom, intimating that they were all consigned to destruction: that many suits were commenced at common law against honest men, for what they had transacted in the wars as soldiers: that those famous acts which had been performed by the long parliament, and the late Protector, were censured, railed at, and vilified. By these means, they said, the good old cause, which they were resolved to support, was visibly declined. And therefore they besought his highness to represent their complaints to the parliament, and to require proper and speedy remedies."

Richard immediately referred this petition to the commons, who affected to treat it with great contempt. They imagined that while they continued united with the Protector, their joint interest in the army would be abundantly sufficient to silence the factious officers; but the pusillanimity of Richard rendered all their hopes abortive. For some time they took no notice of the petition; but upon receiving repeated accounts that the officers continued their meetings, and that it had been proposed to separate the military from the civil power, the commons voted "that during the sitting of parliament, there shall be no general council or meeting of the officers of the army without the direction, leave and authority of his highness the lord protector, and both houses of parliament. That no persons shall have or continue any command or trust in any of the armies or navies of England, Scotland or Ireland, or any of the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, that he will not disturb or interrupt the free meetings of parliament, of any of the members of either house, or their freedom in their debates or councils."

The cabal of Wallingford-house were greatly incensed at this resolution of the commons; and they now formed determined to carry things to extremity. Lord Broghill, aware of the consequences, prevailed upon Richard to repair to one of their meetings, and command them to dissolve. Surprized at this unexpected exertion of power in Richard, they immediately withdrew, but did not dissolve. Fleetwood and Desborough were now sufficiently alarmed, and upbraided lord Broghill with his conduct in the house of peers, and even threatened him with an impeachment. But this did not in the least intimidate Broghill; he threatened to move the house to know who had consented to the calling of a council of war, without the knowledge and approbation of parliament.

Broghill's speech was so well received by the house, that the officers despaired of carrying any thing in parliament; and therefore renewed their secret consultations with the greatest diligence. Their designs, however, being known to those officers who were attached to the Protector, they offered, if Richard would promise to support them, to answer with their heads for the success; and to bring before him Fleetwood, Desborough, Vane, and other leaders of the opposition, dead or alive. Howard, who was one of Oliver's distinguished favourites, was among the foremost to push Richard to take this vigorous resolution, which might have been easily effected. But he declined the offer, and chose rather to pursue peaceable than violent measures. Nor did he possess any of those arts which were necessary to gain the love of an enthusiastic army. Some disgust being taken at the promotions he had made, he answered, "Would you have me prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, yet I will trust him before you all." This imprudent speech so highly offended the fanatics, that they vowed his destruction.

The council of officers, conscious of their own strength and the weakness of Richard, now resolved to compel him to dissolve a parliament which they found would oppose them in every measure they should think proper to pursue. To effect this they brought up their forces to Whitehall; and having stopped up all the avenues, Desborough, attending by a strong guard, demanded an audience of the Protector, which being granted, he required him, in the name of all the officers, to dissolve the parliament, and threatened him if he should refuse. This terrified Richard into a compliance; and the parliament at this time having adjourned for three days, he published a proclamation, declaring them dissolved.

In consequence of this measure the Protector was considered by every one as effectually deposed; and he soon after signed his dismissal in form. His brother Henry followed his example, and peaceably resigned his command in Ireland; though, had he been possessed of any ambition, he might have created the cabal much uneasiness, for he had great influence among the troops in that kingdom, and was beloved by the people for his just and mild administration.

Thus fell the family of Cromwell! the principal of which, in an astonishing manner, obtained more than regal power, exercised a greater than papal authority, and when he paid the debt of nature, was interred with even imperial dignity. But his successor having a less aspiring, but more tranquil spirit, resigned with ease what his father had acquired with peril; and gave up with pleasure the blood-stained laurels of his predecessor, for the peaceful bays of retirement.* And in our opinion, by sacrificing the sword of ambition to the olive of contentment, the son was more deserving of fame than the father.

Glory by few is rightly understood.
What's truly glorious must be greatly good.

* * * * *

The council of officers being now possessed of the supreme command, they applied themselves to the establishment

Oliver Cromwell. "But the poor, weak Richard, (called by what is become of him? How could he be so great a heart as not to profit more by the crimes and tortures of his father? The poor, weak Richard, however, lived happy in a moderate way, to a good old age. The time of his death is not exactly known, but it was about the latter end of the reign of queen Anne."

* Richard retired into the country, where he possessed a small estate, and where he remained unmolested by his peaceable disposition defended him against the malignancy of every party. After the restoration of monarchy, Richard travelled for some years. The prince of Conti, governor of Languedoc, saw him at Pizenaz, without knowing him. They were talking of English affairs, and the prince highly extolled the courage and talents of

establishment of some form of government; and, after many deliberations, it was determined to recall the Long Parliament, which had dethroned Charles, and was afterwards dismissed with disgrace by Oliver Cromwell. That assembly, it was asserted, could only be dissolved by their own consent; and though violence had interrupted, it could not destroy their rights to government.

This parliament now consisted of no more than 40 members, who, with their old speaker Lenthall at their head, proceeded immediately to business. The officers were persuaded that this parliament would govern wholly by their directions, and act in subordination to the general council of the army. But in this they were mistaken, their first votes sufficiently shewed that they were resolved to exert themselves the supreme authority. They were, however, held in the highest contempt, both by the royalists and presbyterians, and stiled the Rump, by way of reproach. A secret reconciliation therefore took place between the rival parties; and it was agreed, that laying aside former enmities, every effort should be used for the overthrow of the rump parliament. The presbyterians, notwithstanding their religious prejudices, repented of that violent zeal by which they had been hurried away. They saw that, by carrying the love of liberty too far, they were brought into slavery; and were now as desirous as others to restore the crown to the royal family, which they had snatched from it, without increasing their own happiness. The nobility and gentry concurred in the same design, and a general conspiracy was formed in the nation, the success of which seemed infallible, and would in all probability, have proved so had not Sir Richard Willis betrayed the common interest before the design was ripe for execution.

As soon as the republican party were informed of the above design, they ordered Lambert to prevent its execution. He was remarkably active in obeying their commands, and the jails were soon filled with prisoners of birth and fortune. But this success proved the ruin of the parliament. The officers, at the instigation of Lambert, presented a petition concerning wounded soldiers, and the widows of those who had perished in the service. They also complained that they themselves were greatly neglected, notwithstanding the services they had done their country, and desired that Fleetwood should be made commander in chief, Lambert major-general, Desborough lieutenant-general of the horse, and Monk lieutenant-general of the foot. They likewise pressed for punishment of those who had been concerned in the late insurrection, and that no officer should be dismissed from his employment but by the sentence of a court martial.

These proceedings greatly alarmed the republicans, who determined to make one bold attempt in support of their power: they voted that Lambert, Desborough, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelley and Fleetwood should be cashiered; that Fleetwood's command should be vacated, and the command of the army vested in seven persons, viz. Fleetwood, Desborough, Monk, Haslemugg, Walton, Morley and Barrow, with powers to dispose of the forces in such manner, that they might preserve the peace of the commonwealth, and the safety of the parliament. They also declared it high treason to levy any money without the consent of parliament.

It was now evident, that either the parliament or army would obtain the victory. Lambert, at the head of a party of his soldiers, marched through the streets of Westminster leading to the parliament; and when the speaker came in his coach,

they very civilly turned his horses, and conducted him back to his house. The other members were interrupted in the same manner; and the Rump Parliament was dissolved with as much ease by Lambert, as it had been before by Cromwell.

By this sudden dissolution of the parliament, all government was at an end, the consequence of which was, that an universal anarchy prevailed throughout the kingdom. Both the magistrates and officers of the revenue refused to act; and the soldiers were under a necessity of either returning to their former situations, or procuring themselves subsistence by their swords.

In this distressful situation, the eyes of the whole kingdom were directed to Monk, who, it was now foreseen, must be the arbiter of the fate of England. That general, at first attached to the royal party, afterwards employed by Cromwell, and appointed governor of Scotland, had now, by his politeness, his integrity, and other virtues, obtained the love of the soldiers, and the confidence of the people. Whether he meant only to oppose the views of the ambitious Lambert, or secretly meditated the restoration of the king, is not known; but he declared in favour of the parliament against those who had dismissed it. His prudence, however, kept his intentions an impenetrable secret; but deeper designs, either in the king's favour or his own, were, from the beginning, suspected to be the motive of his conduct.

The council of officers, in order to preserve some appearance of government, elected a committee of 23 persons, of whom 7 were officers. These they pretended to invest with the supreme authority, and called them a Committee of Safety. They promised to summon a free parliament, but took no steps to carry it into execution. On the contrary, they made some progress towards assembling a military parliament, composed wholly of officers elected from every regiment in the service. Nothing but a dreadful prospect of ruin and slavery presented itself to the people. They were sufficiently convinced that the divisions or union of these sanctified robbers tended equally to extirpate from the British dominions all private morality, as well as civil law and justice.

During these distractions in England, the king, disheartened by the miscarriage of every enterprize that had been yet undertaken in his favour, determined to try the weak resources of foreign aid. He accordingly repaired to the Pyrenees, where the ministers of France and Spain were at this time engaged in conference for composing all disputes between the two crowns, by a final treaty. Don Lewis de Haro, the Spanish plenipotentiary, gave the young monarch a very kind and cordial reception, and expressed his inclination, had the low condition of Spain permitted him, to furnish assistance to the unhappy king. The politic Mazurine, pretending the alliance of France with the English commonwealth, would not so much as deign to give him an interview. But fortune is always capricious: while every thing wore such an unfavourable aspect, blind chance, by a surprising revolution, was preparing the way for Charles to mount the throne of his ancestors.

Monk's designs were still unknown, and Charles, being desirous of discovering his real sentiments, sent Dr. Monk, his brother, to solicit his services. The general asked him if he had trusted any person with the secret of his commission. "No person (replied the doctor) but Bruce your chaplain, in whom I know you confide." Bruce was worthy of the highest confidence, and a zealous loyalist. But Monk thought proper to break off the conversation, and dismissed

his brother, without discovering his intentions; persuaded, that in an affair of such importance, a secret entrusted to a third person is no longer a secret.

The proceedings of Lambert in London so highly exasperated Monk, that he determined to march from Scotland, in order, if possible, to restore the Rump Parliament. He wrote letters to Fleetwood and Lambert, wherein he complained "of their violation of faith to the parliament, and declared his resolution of endeavouring to restore them to their power, against all opposition whatsoever." Fleetwood and Lambert were astonished at this resolution. They immediately ordered colonel Talbot and Clarges, brother-in-law to Monk, to go into Scotland, and, if possible, prevail on the general to enter into a treaty, which might prevent the effusion of blood.

In the mean time Monk was indefatigable in carrying his designs into execution. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained the least suspicion, he cashiered. He drew together the several scattered regiments. He summoned an assembly somewhat resembling a convention of estates in Scotland, and having communicated his intention of marching into England, he received from them a small but seasonable supply of money. Clarges and Talbot being arrived in Scotland, were well received by Monk; who, by their advice, and in order to gain time, consented to a negotiation, and sent Wilkes, Cloberry, and Knight, three of his officers, to treat with the committee. They met Lambert at York, with a body of forces to oppose the progress of Monk. He told them he was sufficiently authorized to treat with them; but upon their demanding the restoration of the parliament, he acknowledged he had no instructions on that head, and they proceeded to London, where the same demand being made to the committee, they immediately assented to it. And the treaty, by which both sides engaged to act vigorously against Charles, was signed on the fifteenth of November.

During these transactions, the nation had fallen into a state of perfect anarchy; and by refusing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greatest distress. While Lambert was collecting his forces at Newcastle, Hatterigg and Morley entered Portsmouth, and declared for the Parliament. A party, sent to quell the insurrection, were induced, by their commander, to embrace the same interest. The city apprentices rose in a body, and insisted on a free parliament: and though they were suppressed by colonel Hewson, a man who was once a cobbler, but now enjoyed a considerable rank in the army, the city still retained its opposition, and discovered marks of the highest dissatisfaction. The magistrates even erected a kind of separate government, and exercised the supreme authority within their walls. About the same time admiral Lawson entered the river with his fleet, and declared for a free parliament. Alarmed at these events, Hatterigg and Morley left Portsmouth, and hastened towards London. The regiments quartered in the neighbourhood of that city, were persuaded by their old officers, who had been dismissed by the Committee of Safety, to espouse, once more, the cause of the Rump parliament. Delborough's regiment, which had been sent to Lambert to assist his friends, no sooner reached St. Albans, than that officer declared for the same assembly.

Lenthall, the speaker, at the desire of the officers, resumed his former authority, and on the 26th of December assembled the parliament, which had, with so much contempt and ignominy, been twice expelled. Their first act was, to repeal the bill against the payment of the excise and customs. They next chose commissioners for assigning quarters to the soldiers, and without taking the least notice of Lambert, they enjoined the forces under his command to

repair directly to the respective garrisons allotted them.

Lambert's situation was now truly desperate: his army was rendered entirely useless to him, and, what was still worse, the few troops that remained with him, thinking to make their court to those in power, or, perhaps, to gratify some pique of their own, put their general under an arrest, and sent him to London, where he was committed a prisoner to the Tower.

A. D. 1660. In the mean time Monk, having received a supply of 30,000*l.* from the Scots, and having taken proper precautions for maintaining the peace of the kingdom, entered England on the 2d of January. During his march he received information of the rebanding of the army, and also that lord Fairfax and some of the principal gentry in Yorkshire, were arming, demanding a free parliament. This was, however, received with open arms by lord Fairfax and all his friends, who had taken possession of the city of York. The rump parliament now became greater objects of detestation than the army had been before: and the general received, as he advanced to the southward, continual accounts of a fresh declaration or association of the counties for a free parliament.

These circumstances greatly alarmed the Rump Parliament, who now thought they had made the breach between themselves and the Wallingford officers too irreconcilable. They began to apprehend that Monk had something more in view than restoring them, and would have been better pleased if he continued in Scotland. They, however, sent him a letter, informing him that they were assembled, and attributed the restitution of their authority wholly to his fidelity, care, and courage. This message was so far from being pleasing to the general, that he considered it as one of the most unfortunate events that could have attended him. He was under a thousand perplexities how to act: by the parliament's precipitate resumption of power, assisted by a numerous army newly renewed in their obedience, he despaired of being able to execute his designs, and thought it prudent not to continue any longer in arms, than a favourable opportunity should offer for laying them down; but he had been persuaded that they would not have sacrificed themselves till his arrival in London with an army, when he intended to restore all the officers at liberty with them, without paying the least notice to their difference of opinions. He, however, continued his march, and in all the counties which he passed through, the chief people flocked to him, and expressed their earnest desires, wherem they expressed their earnest desires, that he would do the utmost to restore the peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of their liberties, of which they had been for such a number of years, so unhappily deprived. At London he was met by a deputation from the city, who addressed praying the restoration of the members who had been excluded in 1648. The petitioners to have had the principal share in all these measures for the excluded members were mostly of the old faction.

The parliament, finding it was not in their power to prevent the progress of Monk, thought it prudent to consent to it. They accordingly gave a vote to justify Monk's march into England. A few days after they voted good, a year to be given him for life. Scot and Robinson, two of the members, were sent under pretence of complaining him on the road, but in reality as spies on his army.

Monk's army did not amount to more than 10,000 men, but this force was sufficient to subdue the

England, &c. *Rapid History of England.*



KING CHARLES the Second's Public Chairmen LONDON,
at the time of his Restoration.

cluded against itself; and the city of London was so silent of his declaring for a free parliament, that they sent a committee of the council to congratulate him on his approach to the capital. On his arrival at St. Albans, he was informed that near 9000 soldiers were taken in London, disposed in different regiments; but the most of their officers were confined by the parliament. He therefore imagined there would be great difficulty in removing these troops; and accordingly wrote a very pressing letter to the house, that room might be made for his regiments. Had the members of parliament been united among themselves, or dared to trust the experienced officers that served under them, they would not, probably, have submitted to Monk's request; but their power was so precarious by their divisions, that they made no difficulty of complying, and orders were given for their regiments to retire. Four of them, however, refused to obey: a mutiny ensued; and it was with great difficulty they were prevented, either from joining with the royalists in the city, or marching out against the army of Monk.

On the 4th of February, Monk entered London; the day after which he was introduced to the house, and was given him, in the name of the members, by Lenthall their speaker, for the eminent service he had done his country. Monk returned an answer in such ambiguous terms, as still kept every man in suspense. But it was impossible for the nation to remain long in this doubtful situation; and the people as well as the parliament, were desirous of bringing matters to some determined issue.

During the late distractions the payment of taxes had been interrupted; and though the parliament, as soon as they were restored, had given orders for all arrears and impositions, yet so little authority did it possess in the nation that the people obeyed their commands very slowly and with great reluctance. The grand-council of London absolutely refused to assent to an assessment required of them; and declared, that till a free and lawful parliament imposed taxes, they never should think it their duty to make any payment. This peremptory denial gave the parliament a fair pretence of making a trial of their power, and the general's fidelity. Accordingly, on the 5th of February, Monk received orders to march into the city, to seize twelve persons the most obnoxious to the parliament, to remove the polls and standards from all the streets, and to take down and demolish the portcullises and gates of the city. These orders Monk complied with in part only, and, after several conferences with the citizens, he began to remove the mask which he had so long worn.

He then went to the parliament, acquainting them with what he had done, and begging they would mitigate the severity of their order; which they refusing to do, he made many public apologies to the city for his conduct in the affair, declaring it to have been entirely contrary to the orders of the rump, whom he declared to be a set of merciless unrelenting tyrants. He then wrote a letter to the house, reproaching them with some new cabals they had formed with Lambert, and also with the encouragement of a calumnious petition, presented by Praise-god Barrington, wherein he desired, that every individual in the kingdom should be compelled to take the oath of abjuration. He concluded with requiring them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers and people, to issue immediately for filling up their house, and to fix the day for their own dissolution, that a new and more convenient might be assembled.

He waited not for an answer to this letter: he immediately entered the city, at the head of his army, and ordered Allen, the lord mayor, to summon the common-council to meet at Guildhall. As

soon as the citizens were assembled, he repaired thither, and assured them that he was extremely sorry for the indignity he had so lately put upon the city, in complying with the orders of the parliament, and was now come to make them all the reparation in his power. He declared that he would always persevere in the measures he had adopted; and wished a firm union might be established between the city and army for their mutual defence, and for promoting the happiness and settlement of the kingdom.

This speech from the general was received with universal applause. It was soon spread through the whole city, and excited the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. Every individual promised himself, that the dreadful scenes of horror and confusion were over, and those of happiness and tranquillity would soon succeed. Even the rage of party was forgotten; the royalists and the presbyterians joined in the common joy. The populace, who in the gratification of their passions regard neither honour nor decency, roasted rumps at every bonfire, and where these could not be procured, pieces of flesh cut in the same shape were used as substitutes; in order, as the people expressed it, to celebrate by those symbols of hatred and derision, the funeral of the rump parliament.

The dissipated parliament, foreseeing the approaching storm, heartily wished to reconcile themselves to Monk and his officers. They dispatched a committee to the general, to endeavour, by every precaution, to bring him over to their interest; and even went so far as to offer him the supreme authority. But Monk refused to hear them except in the presence of some of the secluded members. He then marched into the city, where he formed a new and well-regulated militia, which he entrusted to men whose fidelity could be relied on. This done he returned with his army to Westminster, and pursued every proper measure for the settlement of the nation, still concealing his real designs under the appearance of republican principles.

Intimation having been given to the secluded members that it was Monk's desire they should resume their seats, they, on the 21st of February attended him in a body to Whitehall; from whence, after receiving their promise to call a free parliament, and then dissolve themselves, he gave them a guard to the parliament-house, where they took their seats. The leaders of the independent and republican party, amazed at the sudden appearance of the excluded members among them, retired from the house. The restored members immediately repealed all the votes that had been passed for their exclusion; released the royalists from their confinement, and restored them to their estates. They renewed and enlarged the general's commission. They fixed a necessary assessment for the support of the fleet and army. And having passed these votes for the present composition of the kingdom they, on the 16th of March, dissolved themselves, having first ordered writs to be issued out for the immediate assembly of a new, full and free parliament.

These proceedings gave the highest satisfaction. The long parliament had been for some time the grand object of detestation, and their dissolution occasioned a general joy throughout the kingdom. A new council of state was also chosen, which obtained the approbation of the people, as it consisted of men of dignity, moderation and virtue; and then credit was so well established, that the city of London immediately advanced them 6000*l.* for the use of the army.

Before the new parliament met, Lambert found means to escape out of the Tower. This incident alarmed Monk and the council of state, who knew Lambert's great popularity in the army. Colonel

Ingoldſby was immediately diſpatched after him, and overtook him at Daventry, while he had yet aſſembled but four troops of horſe; two of which deſerted him; and he, endeavouring to make his eſcape, was ſeized by Ingoldſby, and again committed to the Tower.

Monk ſtill continued to purſue the plan he had formed with equal firmneſs and prudence. He did not yet openly declare that he had adopted the king's intereſt. Among the friends of that prudent general was Mr. Morrice, a gentleman of Devonſhire, remarkable for a ſedentary, ſtudious diſpoſition, and a ſound judgment. With this friend only Monk deliberated concerning the great enterprize he had formed, and hitherto conducted with ſo much ſucceſs. Sir John Granville, who was ſent with a commiſſion from the king to Monk, applied to Morrice, in order to obtain acceſs to the general. He was deſired to communicate his buſineſs to Morrice; but Granville reſuſed every importunity, nor would he divulge his buſineſs to any one whatever, but the general himſelf in perſon. Monk was now convinced that Granville might be truſted, and therefore not only admitted him to his preſence, but alſo communicated to him his whole deſign. But he ſtill reſuſed to commit any thing to writing: he only charged Granville with a verbal meſſage, aſſuring his majeſty of his ſervices, and exhorting him immediately to quit the Spaniſh territories, and retire into Holland. Charles fortunately took his advice: had he ſtaid a few hours longer, he had certainly been detained under pretence of honour and reſpect, by the Spaniards, who would not have releaſed him till the Engliſh had agreed to deliver up Jamaica.

The election for the approaching parliament (which had been carried on greatly in favour of the king's party) being completed, and every thing appeared ripe for the reſtoration, the new parliament aſſembled on the 25th of April. The commons choſe Sir Harbottle Grimſtone for their ſpeaker. This gentleman, with many others, had gone great lengths in contributing to the ruin of the late king, but ſtopped when his death was under conſideration. On the firſt day of their meeting, the commons received a meſſage from the lords; and on the ſecond, Grimſtone, by order of the houſe, returned thanks to Monk for ſubduing all their, and the nation's enemies without the effuſion of blood. They then adjourned till the firſt day of May. When the houſe re-aſſembled, the great dangers incurred under the former uſurpations, and the extreme caution of the general, kept every one in awe; and no one dared for ſome days to make any mention of the king. But Monk, finding, by their bitter inveſtives againſt the memory of Cromwell, and execrations upon thoſe who had murdered their late ſovereign, that they were diſpoſed as he could wiſh, ordered Annetley, preſident of the council to acquaint them, that one Sir John Granville, a ſervant of the king's, had been ſent to England by his majeſty, and was now at the door with diſpatches from the prince. The whole houſe was in an extaſy. Granville was introduced. He preſented a declaration from Charles. The declaration was well calculated to ſupport the ſatiſfaction inſpired by the proſpect of a public ſettlement. It offered a general amneſty to all perſons whatever, and that without any exceptions, but ſuch as ſhould afterwards be made by parliament. It promiſed a liberty of conſcience, and a concurrence in any act of parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, ſhould be offered for ſecuring that indulgence. It ſubmitted the inquiry into all grants, purchaſes, and alienations, to the arbitration of that aſſembly; and it aſſured the ſoldiers that their arrears ſhould be paid, and that they ſhould, for the future, receive the ſame pay they had hitherto enjoyed. Every one was ſatiſfied.

The conceſſions of the late king had limited the prerogative too much to give the real friends of liberty any uneaſineſs.

Without one moment's delay, or a contrary vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer to the prince's letter and declaration; and on the eighth of May both houſes attended, which was, with great ſolemnity, proclaimed in Park-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar, by the name of Charles II. As a convincing proof of their affection for his majeſty, the commons voted him a preſent of fifty thouſand pounds. Ten thouſand pounds were at the ſame time given to the duke of York, and a thouſand to the duke of Glouceſter; and a committee of lords and commons was diſpatched to invite his majeſty to return and take poſſeſſion of his dominions.

Every ſtep relating to this important event was taken with ſuch zeal and unanimity, that Clarendon ſpeaking of it, ſays, "One could not but wonder where thoſe people dwelt who had done all this miſchief, and kept the king ſo long from enjoying the comfort and ſupport of ſuch excellent counſels." The king himſelf alſo obſerved, "That muſt certainly have been his own fault, that he had not ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, ſince every body was ſo zealous for reſtoring him to it."

This ſubmiſſion of the king's ſubjects was ſoon ſucceeded by the reſpect of foreign powers. Spain invited him to return to the Low Countries, and embark from ſome of their maritime towns, and France offered Calais for the ſame purpoſe. But Charles accepted a third invitation from the ſtates-general, and going to Holland, where every mark of magnificent reſpect was ſhewn him, he embarked on board the *Fleur de ſoleil*, which lay ready to receive him, under the command of admiral Montague.

Monk repaired to Dover to receive the prince, whom he had the glory of placing on the throne. The king, on his diſembarking, embraced him in the moſt cordial manner, and, perhaps, never enjoyed better of his king and country. Charles made his public entry into London on his birth-day, which was the 29th of May; where he was received with ſuch demonſtrations of joy, and ſuch diſplayed magnificence, as had been ſcarce ever exhibited on a like occaſion.

Having thus brought Charles II. to the throne of his anceſtors, it may not be improper here to make a ſhort digreſſion, in order to take a view of the party we have finiſhed. No ſooner did the commons ſeſſion commence, than fanaticiſm lighted up the ſmoke of contention involved the ſtate. That epidemical ſcurvy ran through the three kingdoms. England in particular was run with inſatuated ſectaries, determined to ſet their abſurdities without law or controul. The publicans were ſo much the more terrible, becauſe religious principles enjoined a ſeverity of manners too refined for human nature. Perhaps more was attributed more to their triumph over the royal party, whom they called cavaliers, the greater part of them being men of pleaſure, either in conſequence of their birth and fortunes, or becauſe, from a diſpoſition to fanaticiſm, they fell into the contrary extreme of ſeriousneſs. A parliamentarian ſaying, one day to a cavalier, "Your friends, the cavaliers are very diſtinct from you." "Yes," (replied the other) "they have the influence of men; but your friends, the round-heads have the vices of devils, tyranny, rebellion, and pride."

But amidſt the variety of ſectaries that preſented during the period we are now conſidering, none ſtand out ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed than the Quakers.





leader was George Fox, a shoemaker's apprentice : but though enthusiasts in the highest degree, they bore no figure in the general commotions, because their principles forbade the use of arms. They thought the practice of civility a worldly refinement unworthy of christianity. They addressed themselves to every body by the monosyllables *thee* and *thou* ; and gave no title but that of 'Friend,' even to people of rank and fortune. Their dress was similar to their manners : they rejected all superfluities, not excepting plaits to their clothes, and buttons to their shoes and hats, which they thought unnecessary. Their religious system consisted in following the letter of the gospel : they thought an oath blasphemy, even when taken in a court of justice. They allowed no sacraments, no church-ceremonies, no churches, no priests. Every one affected inspiration, and made strange efforts to receive the holy spirit : and, from their trembling convulsions, they acquired the name of Quakers. These enthusiasts would sometimes rush into churches, disturb the service, and insult the ministers. They were sentenced to be whipped and punished ; but in this they triumphed, and their obstinate patience appeared supernatural to the people. Some of them undertook to fast forty days, in imitation of the Saviour of the world, and actually perished in the attempt. All made a point of offering the cheek to them that would smite them, and never to return an injury. The consequence was, that by carrying their religious duties to the most extravagant height, they exposed their virtues to ridicule. Strange surely it is, that the gospel, calculated to inspire every social virtue, should have afforded so many pretences to folly and frenzy, to break the sacred bonds of society ! But such is the weakness of the human mind ; while men affect to quit the path

marked out by the Author of reason, they wander through wildness and obscurity, till they lose themselves and their way together.

The various follies of these fanatical sects contributed greatly to multiply deists, men of rash and superficial minds, who attributing to religion the excesses of fanaticism, fell into the contrary extreme of incredulity. Cromwell called them heathens ; but when in their company, laughed with them at the fanatics.

Among the learned men that flourished during this æra was the celebrated Milton, whose poems do honour to the nation that gave him birth, and, indeed, to human nature. He was Cromwell's secretary for the Latin tongue ; though his genius seems to have been very little known to his employers, for he is mentioned by Whitlock as an obscure blind man, very unfit for his office.

About the same time also flourished Sir William Davenant, Sir John Denham, Waller, and Cowley, who, though but indifferent poets, acquired a great share of reputation. The republican principles of the age gave rise to the *Oceana* of Harrington, containing the idea of a perfect commonwealth : and the controversies and absurdities that deformed religion, encouraged Hobbes to write and publish his *Leviathan*.

Among the many eminent persons that died under Cromwell's protectorship were, the famous Mr. John Selden, the great antiquarian ; the venerable Usher, archbishop of Armagh, who came over to England a little before the breaking out of the Irish massacre ; and Dr. Harvey, who acquired immortal honour for his discovery of the circulation of the blood.

B O O K XIII.

From the Restoration of CHARLES II. to the Revolution.

S E C T I O N I.

C H A R L E S II.

BOYED with political disputes, and tired of those discords which had so long distracted the nation, the people were happy at the idea of returning to their former channel. They found the unbounded licence of a commonwealth much more tolerable than the worst state of a limited monarchy, and, bad as one tyrant might be, the reign of many was certainly more dreadful. The restoration spread a gleam of joy over the nation which dissipated the clouds of faction. Republicans could once more meet without hostile intentions, and the streams of blood which had so long flowed in these realms, served but to fertilize the soil of liberty which began to spring up with the ruins of ancient order and discipline. A period of magnificence and pleasures succeeded the bloody ferocity which had so long taken possession of the minds of the English people. Charles infused the spirit of gallantry into a palace yet stained with the blood of his father. The indepen-

dents were hardly heard of, and the puritans retired from the seat of government. The manners of the English underwent so total a change, that the late civil war became a subject of ridicule : the austere and gloomy sectarists, who had filled the kingdom with their enthusiastic notions, were now the subjects of mockery to the gay licentious libertines who filled the court, and had the confidence and countenance of the king.

At the time of the restoration, Charles II. was about thirty years of age, nursed in the school of adversity, acquainted with men and courts, a man of genius, acute, sensible, good natured, polite, never out of temper, and perfectly unaltered, but moderately addicted to pleasure.

As the two houses of parliament met without the consent of the king, they were distinguished by the name of Convention, till Charles passed an act to confer on them the title of parliament.

The annuity which the king promised before he

landed was the first object that engaged their attention. The upper house, animated partly by resentment and partly by zeal, were for excluding many persons from the benefit of this act of oblivion. But Charles desired them to remember the sacred promise he had made, and to which he thought himself in some measure indebted for his good fortune. He therefore recommenced clemency to them in the most pressing manner; an instance of the tenderness of his disposition, and which gained him universal applause. This interposition had the desired effect, and only the regicides, and the furious republicans, Lambert and Vane, were excluded. Some others were, indeed, rendered incapable of the benefit of this act, in case of their accepting public employments, and some were rendered incapable of holding them.

These affairs being settled, the two houses took into consideration the royal revenue, and it was settled at 1200,000*l.* a year; a sum greatly superior to that of any former king. But it must be remembered, that the expences of the crown were prodigiously increased, after the courts of Europe had adopted the example of Lewis XIV. in keeping up large standing armies. The maintenance of the navy, with some other articles, which formerly amounted to no more than 80,000*l.* per annum, now required, at least, 800,000*l.* It is not easy to imagine what advantages could be proposed by so great an augmentation of the forces. The people were more heavily taxed, and the prince not at all the more powerful.

The trial of the regicides occasioned a general joy, as the people were highly exasperated against them. But they firmly defended the cause for which they suffered: the terrors of death lost all their force. Harrison told his judges, that the pretended crime of which he was accused, far from loading him with guilt, was an act enjoined by heaven, that in his doubts he had implored the Lord with tears, to enlighten him, and that he had received incontestible assurances of his will; that human judgments were but darkness in comparison of divine illumination; that being determined not to injure the lowest man in the world for the greatest advantage in it, he was satisfied he had acted from a good conscience; that neither ambition nor fear had ever extorted from him the smallest token of approbation in behalf of the tyranny of Cromwell; that he had always been found firm in his principles of religion and integrity; and that this was not the character of a murderer and a villain. All the rest, who were ten in number, that were executed, shewed the same firmness and courage to the last. They considered themselves as martyrs to what they styled the cause of religion. The great lenity of the king respited the rest, and they were retained in different prisons. Lambert was sent to the island of Guernsey. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, were taken up and suspended during a whole day at Tyburn, and then cut down and buried under the gallows. Thus these lifeless bodies became the spectacle of a few hours to those who had formerly dreaded the spirits which animated them.

The act of amnesty being passed, the king gave the royal assent to an act for a perpetual thanksgiving on the 29th of May, the day of his arrival in England. In the mean time the parliament applied themselves to the necessary work of disbanding the army. It would have been an act of the highest imprudence to keep together a body of men so formidable by their numbers and valour, and so accustomed to outrage and violence. An act of 70,000*l.* a month was therefore imposed to enable the king to disband these troops.

About this time the duke of Gloucester died, in the 21st year of his age, universally regretted; and it

is even said, that the king's apathy was so much overcome by this incident, that he felt more real sorrow than any other occurrence ever gave him.

The princess of Orange came over to England in October, to congratulate the king on his restoration, but died of the small-pox two months after her arrival, leaving behind her an only son, viz. William, prince of Orange, who afterwards became king of England, by the name of William the Third.

Sir Edward Hyde had been lately created by the king, earl of Clarendon. He was looked upon by the whole nation as his majesty's chief counsellor, and while the advice of this great man was attended to by Charles, his conduct, in some respects, may be said to have been unexceptionable. The army was now to be paid and disbanded; but when the king reviewed these veteran troops, he was so charmed with their beauty, discipline, and martial appearance, that, thinking it would be an addition to his royalty, he expressed a desire of retaining them in his service. But the chancellor representing to him the dangerous consequences of such a measure, all the forces, a few guards and garrisons, amounting to 1000 foot, excepted, were immediately disbanded. This excellent minister was now nearly allied to the royal family; the duke of York having married his daughter. But this alliance gave him great uneasiness; and he would often say, that by being elevated so much above his rank, he thence dreaded a more sudden downfall.

It is proper here to observe, that of all the different sects which sprung up in the late civil war, there was scarce one which did not dread the name of monarchy. It is therefore, no wonder that those who had professed themselves enemies to the king and his right of government, should, after his coming to the throne, suffer their restless spirits to drive them into such attempts as, had not a timely stop been put to them, by the prudent and vigilant care of his majesty and his council, might have once more embroiled the nation in the horrors of a civil war. The first alarm of this nature was given by the fifth-monarchy-men; sixty of whom, under the conduct of one Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against Cromwell, issued forth into the streets of London completely armed. They said, that they expected the personal reign of Christ upon earth, and that they, and the rest of their sect, were called by God to reform the world, and make all the earthly powers subservient to the kingdom of king Jesus; and in order thereunto, they were never to sheath the sword till the carnal powers of the world became a hissing and a curse. In their frenzy they also taught that one of them was alone sufficient to subdue 10,000 of their adversaries. In this manner they marched in triumph from street to street; but at length the magistrates, having notice of their being abroad, assembled some trained bands, and attacked them. They defended themselves with great valour and order, and after killing many of the assailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane wood, near Hampstead. Next morning they were chased thence by a detachment of the guards; but they again came into the city, dividing themselves into parties, one marched to Fenchurch, and from thence to Little Eastcheap, where, after an obstinate resistance, they were dispersed by the trained bands. Venner with the other parties, retired to the lord-mayor's house, whom they intended to have taken prisoner, but not meeting with him, they marched into Wood street, where they were met by colonel Corbet, and about 20 horse. They retreated into a house, which they shut up, and resolved to defend to the last extremity. Being surrounded and the house untiled, they were fired upon from every side, but continued obstinate.

Finding they still refused to surrender, the people rushed in, and seized the few who remained alive. These were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they persisted in affirming, that, if they were deceived, it was the Lord who had deceived them. The court made use of this insurrection as a pretence for suppressing the presbyterians, and all other sects, who were begun to be confounded under the general names of Dissenters and Nonconformists. The presbyterians finding themselves confounded with other sectaries, whom they abominated, desired a conference with some of the episcopal persuasion, in order, if possible, to effect a thorough accommodation with them.

In consequence of this request, on the 25th of March, a conference was held in the Savoy between 12 bishops, and 12 leaders among the presbyterians. Great hopes were entertained that some scheme would be fixed on to the mutual satisfaction of both parties; but this conference had the fate usual with most conferences of the like nature: both parties being too rigidly tenacious of their own way and opinions, they separated more inflamed than ever against each other, and more strongly confirmed in their several prejudices. At the same time measures had been taken in Scotland to suppress the Kirk party, and this year episcopacy was restored in that kingdom, and the parliaments there abrogated the solemn league and covenant, and made several acts in favour of the king's prerogative, and against the presbyterians.

In the year 1661, the loyalists became very powerful, so that when the parliament assembled on the 6th of May, only 56 presbyterians were found to have been elected into the lower house. It was now voted, that an attempt to dethrone the king was high-treason. That accusing him of heresy or popery, or libelling him, should be punished by a total exclusion of all lucrative employments: and even that it was unlawful for any man to defend himself against the king. At the same time the covenant and other republican acts were condemned to be burnt. After the passing of these acts, the parliament adjourned to the 20th of November, when it was agreed to acknowledge that neither of the houses, independent of the king, was possessed of the least military, or legislative authority. An act was then passed for enabling the king to appoint commissioners for regulating all the corporations in the kingdom, and expelling from thence such magistrates as had either obtruded themselves by violence, or professed principles dangerous to the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical. These things paved the way for the celebrated act of Uniformity, which hereafter passed.

A. D. 1662. By the Act of Uniformity, it was enacted, That every minister, who had not received episcopal orders, should now receive them; that he should declare his approbation, without reserve, of the book of the common prayer; that he should take the oaths of canonical obedience; and that he should abjure the covenant, and renounce its principles of taking arms, by any pretence whatever against the king. This bill was a thunder-bolt to the presbyterians. Confounded with other nonconformists, and even with papists, they had the mortification of finding themselves exposed to penalties, after having been heretofore predominant during the commonwealth. The church of England was put upon its ancient footing, and the penal laws were revived. Liberty of conscience, so expressly promised by the sovereign, was annihilated. Experience shewed the dangers of such violent measures. They were attributed to the enemies, who were detestable either of sharing the benefit of toleration with the presbyterians, or that they should share with them the rigours of persecution. or

Nevertheless, however desirous the commons might be of restoring the prerogative of the crown, they did not exert the same activity, where any demand was made by the crown for pecuniary assistance. In the mean time the king's debts were become intolerable, and the commons saw at last the necessity of voting him an extraordinary supply of one million, two hundred thousand pounds, to be levied by eighteen months' assessment. They also voted an additional imposition of two shillings on each hearth, and settled the tax, during life, on the king.

Previous to the putting an end to the session, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catharine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who was just landed at Portsmouth. The marriage ceremony was performed with great pomp on the 21st of May; but the princess had neither the graces of person or humour to make herself agreeable to the king. She had a portion of 300,000*l.* together with two fortresses, Tangier on the coast of Africa, and Bombay in the East-Indies.

Vane and Lambert were still in prison: they had not been concerned in the death of Charles I. but their professed hatred to the crown having occasioned them to be excepted from the amnesty, the royalists demanded that they should be brought to justice. They were accordingly tried, with great solemnity, before all the judges of the kingdom. The impeachment of Vane turned wholly on his conduct since the death of the king, in quality of counsellor of state, and secretary of the marine department. He alledged, in his defence, the necessity of obeying the established government, however illegal that establishment might be. "If that obedience be criminal," said he, "after the government is changed by force, every subject in the kingdom may be liable to punishment. The usurpers will punish some for their fidelity to the deposed prince, and the prince will punish others for their submission to the usurpers. To prevent these disasters, and to defend the life and liberty of the subject, an act of Henry VII. declares, that no person shall be held criminal for obeying the reigning prince. It does not belong to individuals to dispute the titles of those who govern. Besides, as the most respectable people were divided between the king and the commonwealth, ought a man to be condemned for following the party to which he was bound by the covenant, an obligation then sacred and indispensible?" Those arguments were not, however, sufficient to efface the remembrance of Vane's seditious conduct. The judges kept to the letter of the law; and though naturally of a timid disposition, he died with all the fortitude of a fanatic. Vane had been noted, in all civil transactions, for temper, intemperance, address, and a profound judgment, in all religious, for folly and extravagance. He was a perfect enthusiast; and fancying that he was certainly favoured with inspiration, he deemed himself, to speak the language of the times, a "man above ordinance," and by reason of his perfection, to be unlimited and untrammelled by any rules which govern inferior mortals. These whimsies mingling with pride, had so corrupted his excellent understanding, that he sometimes thought himself the person deputed to reign on earth for a thousand years over the whole congregation of the faithful. Vane had been a principal leader in the trial of Stafford, and he was the last victim to these sanguinary quarrels. Lambert was condemned at the same time, but reprieved at the bar. He lived about thirty years after, happier, possibly, in his exile than he had ever been in the thorny paths of affluence.

A kind of ecclesiastical revolution succeeded the act of uniformity. It was called the St. Bartholomew Act, because it was to take place on the 24th of August, the

the feast of that apostle. Though it bore no resemblance to the St. Bartholomew's day in France, it shewed the invincible obstinacy of the enthusiasts. In one day, and by a concerted resolution, above 2,000 presbyterian ministers resigned their livings, because they would not conform to the articles of the act. The church of England now triumphed over her persecutors. The presbyterians, in the time of their exultation, had left her at least one fifth of the livings; but they now refused the same indulgence, though it was solicited by the peers. They were even, some time after, prohibited from coming within five miles of those places where they had exercised their ministry, except on journies, under pain of six months imprisonment, and paying a penalty of five pounds. This was cutting off their very livelihood: nor were these rigorous proceedings by any means agreeable to the king. Though strongly suspected of indifference for all religions, he was secretly inclined to popery, which he had, probably, embraced before his restoration. He was strongly solicited by his brother James to grant a general toleration; and the misfortunes of the presbyterians afforded a very plausible pretence. Charles embraced the opportunity: he proclaimed an indulgence to those scrupulous consciences that were afraid of conforming to the established worship; and as the parliament was now prorogued, he gave his royal word, that he would endeavour to procure a confirmation of that indulgence, at the approaching session. The principal faults of Charles II. were an excessive love of pleasure, and prodigality in the gratification of his darling passion. Prudence and good policy were therefore very necessary; but these were not in the catalogue of Charles's virtues. The parliamentary supplies, together with the portion of his new queen, were all squandered away; nor had he yet paid the portion of his sister Henrietta to the duke of Orleans. Urged by necessity, he had recourse to a measure which exposed him to the severest censure, and is still regarded as one of the greatest blemishes of his reign. He offered the French ministry to deliver up Dunkirk, on their paying a valuable consideration. Clarendon and Southampton, though virtuous ministers, were concerned in this transaction; though there is the greatest probability to think, that the expedient was first proposed by Charles himself. The resolution being taken, a negotiation was opened with d'Eftrades, the French ambassador; and the French monarch purchased Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, for 400,000*l*. The annual expence of the garrison amounted to 120,000*l*, and the advantages arising from it were by no means answerable to such a charge.

A. D. 1663. The parliament met on the 18th of February, pursuant to the prorogation, and Charles endeavoured to fulfil his promise with regard to the liberty of conscience. But the parliament, who strongly suspected that he had another, and much deeper design in view, determined to defeat his intentions. The avowed design of gratifying the dissenters, and the secret resolution of supporting the catholics, were equally disagreeable. They accordingly drew up a remonstrance against the late declaration of indulgence, which they presented to his majesty, and both houses joined in desiring him to issue a proclamation against all popish priests and Jesuits. To this request the king returned a very obliging answer; but in the proclamation afterwards issued, the terms were couched in so artful a manner as to render it of little or no effect. This seeming compliance of the king, however deceitful, was so pleasing to the parliament, that upon his application they voted him a supply of four subsidies, and thus was the last time taxes were raised in that manner.

A. D. 1664. The parliament met on March 16th when a motion was made in the lower house for repealing the act of triennial parliaments. No opposition was made to this motion: the act was repealed; and thus all the security of the kingdom by the influence of the court was at once destroyed. Charles failed not to take advantage of this concession to baffle opposition. Nor was the court more servile in their compliance with the request of royalty, than rigorous and unyielding with regard to the people. The true spirit of persecution seemed to actuate all their proceedings against religious subjects. They had, possibly, forgotten that the same rigid maxims of intolerance adopted by Laud, had been one of the principal causes of the dreadful calamities from which the nation had lately delivered. They were not contented with the penalties contained in the act of uniformity, they now passed the famous Conventicle Act, whereby it was enacted, that if any one should repair to conventicles, the name they gave the meeting-houses of dissenters, he should be fined five pounds for the first offence, or suffer three months imprisonment; for a second offence, ten pounds, or six months imprisonment; but for the third offence, after being convicted by a jury of his peers, he was to pay 100*l*, or be transported abroad.

England and Holland had for some time been in a commercial dispute. The royal African company, in particular, had been opposed in establishing their settlements on the coast of Guinea. Sir Robert Hevelius had been sent the preceding year with a fleet of 12 ships to the coast of Africa, to protect the English traders and expel the Dutch from some places they had seized, contrary to the faith of treaties. He had executed his commission with equal spirit and success. After taking from the Dutch Cape Verd, the island of Goree, and several of their trading ships, he sailed to America, where he made himself master of New Belgia, since known by the name of New York, where the Dutch had been settled several years. Warm remonstrances were presented by the States against these hostilities; but receiving no satisfactory answer, they resolved to do their subject justice by force. De Ruyter was accordingly dispatched with a strong squadron, to the coast of Guinea, where he soon re-established the Dutch in possession of the settlements from which they had been driven by the English admiral. He afterwards attempted to take Barbadoes, but without success. These hostilities, which could only be considered as a prelude to a rupture between the two nations, were so pleasing to Charles, whose growing necessities and natural consequences of a blind prodigality, urged him to embrace every pretence for drawing money from his parliament. The dispositions of the commons were very favourable to his design. Examining the state of the trade of the kingdom under consideration, they voted, "That the wrongs, damages, and indignities offered to the English by the States of the United Provinces, had greatly interrupted the commerce of these kingdoms: that his majesty should be humbly requested to demand and obtain satisfaction for those damages; and that in the prosecution of this affair, the house would assist him with their votes and fortunes against all oppositions whatever." This vote was considered as a sufficient sanction for the vigorous measures which the court had adopted. The parliament was prorogued till the month of November.

Preparations, particularly of the naval kind, were now made for acting with great vigour, and the nation seemed desirous of humbling the pride of the Dutch. But as the parliament had granted no subsidies, the city of London advanced 100,000*l* for the

ship might be put to the preparations. Charles visited the ports in person, directed the operations himself, and animated the workmen by his presence and liberality. Hence the navy was soon in a respectable condition; and in the month of September admiral Lawton sailed with orders to seize all the Dutch ships met with in his cruise. He was so successful, that in a very short time 135 of their merchant ships fell into the hands of the English, and on the 24th of November the parliament assembled, and voted £300,000. for carrying on the war.

A. D. 1665. Charles declared war against the Dutch in the beginning of March; and soon after prorogued the parliament. In this session the clergy gave up the right of taxing themselves in convocation, and have ever since been taxed by the parliament, in common with other subjects.

The previous preparations made in England alarmed the Dutch, who sent an ambassador extraordinary to the court of England, in order, if possible, to prevent an open rupture, so destructive to the interests of a trading people: but finding all their endeavours were vain, they exerted themselves in making preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. John de Wit, a minister equally distinguished for the extent of his capacity and the integrity of his manners, now directed all the measures of the Dutch republic, and infused spirit into that phlegmatic people. Though remarkably modest in his private behaviour, he well knew how to support in his public conduct that magnanimity which becomes the minister of a powerful people. It was always his opinion, that no independent government should ever make any mean or unreasonable concessions to another; and that all such compliances, instead of preventing the miseries of war, served only to invite farther insults and indignities. By his management, a spirit of harmony was preserved in all the provinces of the republic; large sums were raised; and a powerful fleet, consisting of larger ships than the Dutch had ever built before, was fitted out with the utmost expedition, in order to contest with the English the empire of the ocean. The duke of York, as lord high admiral of England, on the 18th of March sailed with a fleet of 114 sail, exclusive of relay and bomb-ketches. He was assisted by prince Rupert, and the gallant earl of Sandwich commanded one of the divisions. Two and twenty thousand men served on board this powerful armament. The Dutch navy consisted of one hundred and twenty sail of men of war, besides fire-ships. Opdam, an experienced sea-officer of undoubted courage, commanded this numerous fleet, and received orders to seize the first opportunity of giving battle to the adversary.

On the third of June the two fleets met, and a furious engagement ensued, in which the Dutch were defeated with the loss of 20 of their men of war. The spot of board of which the brave admiral Opdam had taken possession was blown up, and he himself perished with all his crew. The English lost only four men killed, but several persons of distinction were slain, and others dangerously wounded. A thanksgiving was appointed in England for this victory, and medals of gold and silver were struck on this occasion. The duke of York were struck on this occasion. The duke of York displayed amazing courage and conduct throughout the whole fight.

On the arrival of the news of this defeat, the Dutch were seized with terror and dismay; it recalled all the abilities and constancy of De Wit to revive the drooping spirits of his countrymen. He headed the fleet in person, rectified all disorders, and repaired the damages sustained in the late engagement. While he was thus employed in fitting out the fleet for another battle with the enemy, a large fleet of Dutch merchant ships from Turkey and the East

Indies, having sailed north about to avoid the English cruisers, anchored in the port of Bergen, in Norway, in order to wait there till a proper convoy could be sent to bring them into the ports of Holland. This, however, was no sooner known in England than orders were sent to Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy at Copenhagen, to persuade his Danish majesty to seize this rich fleet, in revenge for the shameful conduct of the Dutch, who had involved him in a troublesome war with Sweden. Tempted by the value of the prize, his Danish majesty listened to the reasons of the English ministry, but declared he was not in a condition to execute the design. Talbot promised to procure assistance from England, if his majesty would agree to give the captors half the value of what should be taken. The conditions were accepted, and the earl of Sandwich was ordered to sail immediately to Bergen. Persuaded that part of his squadron would be abundantly sufficient to seize a fleet of merchantmen, Sandwich sent Sir Thomas Tiddeman, with a few ships, on that service. He attacked the Dutch with great impetuosity; but the governor of Bergen having then received no orders to remain neutral, joined the Dutch, and gave the English so warm a reception, that Tiddeman was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having received considerable damage. Charles was greatly provoked at this disappointment: he ordered the earl of Sandwich, to whose conduct he imputed the whole cause of the miscarriage, to return to London, where he deprived him of his command, and sent him ambassador to the Spanish court.

A dreadful plague raged in the city of London during these transactions at sea. It continued eleven months, in which time it swept away 68,596 souls. The dead were carried out in carts during the night, and buried at Holy-well Mount. Charles, at its first appearance, removed to Hampton-court, and afterwards to Salisbury, and the session of parliament was held at Oxford.

The king of Denmark now acted with great duplicity, for, alarmed at the miscarriage of Tiddeman, and ashamed of his own conduct, he at first concluded an offensive alliance with England against the states; but reflecting on the great power of the English navy, and the fatal consequences that might attend the destruction of a power, whose fleets only were capable of disputing the sovereignty of the ocean, he sent orders to his resident at the Hague to conclude a defensive alliance with the states against England. He adhered to the last alliance, and seized and confiscated all the British ships in his harbours. This was a sensible check to the advantages Charles had obtained over the Dutch. The English commerce was not only affected, but the naval force of the king of Denmark was also considerable, and there was the greatest reason to imagine that his ships would soon join the fleets of the republic. Not indeed was Denmark the only power that was alarmed by the success of the English; the king of France could not behold their triumphs without uneasiness. He was already engaged in a defensive alliance with the states; but his naval force was yet in its infancy. He was resolved to support the Hollanders in the unequal contest in which they were engaged, but protracted his declaration, and employed the interval in naval preparations both in his ports on the ocean, and those in the Mediterranean. The king of Denmark was, however, made acquainted with his design, and stipulated to assist the Dutch with a fleet of 30 sail, in consequence of which he was to receive an annual subsidy of one million five hundred thousand crowns, three hundred thousand of which to be paid by the court of France.

The Dutch being encouraged by these favourable circumstances, continued to exert all their power in

their own defence, and to support that power on the ocean, their fleets had obtained. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from the coast of Guinea: their India fleet was returned in safety; their harbours were crowded with merchantmen: domestic faction was appeased: the young prince of Orange had put himself under the tuition of de Wit, who executed his office with the strictest honour and fidelity; and the whole republic was so exasperated against the English, that they thirsted for revenge, and promised themselves that their next enterprize would be attended with better success. Their merchant ships were not suffered to sail, and even the fisheries were suspended, that no impediment might retard the manning of their fleet in the completest manner.

The parliament of England assembled at Oxford, and declared their intention of supporting his majesty in the war against the Dutch. Accordingly they voted him 1,250,000*l.* to be levied in two years, by monthly assessments. The independents, anabaptists, and republicans encouraged by the emissaries of the Dutch, had formed a scheme for a general insurrection; but their whole plan was rendered abortive. Exasperated by these practices, the parliament brought in a bill, known by the name of the Five-Mile-act, which afterwards gave occasion to many heavy and just complaints. Under the specious pretence of supporting the throne against the attempts of its most inveterate enemies, the church persevered in her project of wreaking her vengeance on the non-conformists. By this bill it was enacted, that no dissenting teacher, who refused to take the oath of non-resistance, should, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had discharged the offices of a minister after the act of oblivion, under the penalty of fifty pounds. Violences like these could only be considered as preludes to the most furious persecution; but the spirit of the nation had undergone a change, the intolerant spirit was nipped in its bud, and the commons rejected the bill for imposing the oath of non-resistance.

A. D. 1666. France now declared war against England. But the contest was unequal. The English, however, still enjoyed one advantage: their country lay between the fleets of their enemies, and might be able, by speedy, and well-concerted operations, to prevent their junction. But such was the want of intelligence in the ministry, or the want of conduct in the commanders, that this favourable circumstance became rather prejudicial. Beaufort, the French admiral, had received orders to sail from Toulon with his squadron, in order to join the Dutch, and it was supposed that he was already in the channel. The English fleet, consisting of 74 sail, was commanded by Monk, earl of Albemarle, and prince Rupert. The former, from the repeated defeats of the Dutch during the government of Cromwell, had rashly entertained too despicable an opinion of their courage; and it was determined in a council of war, to detach prince Rupert with a squadron of 20 ships, in order to intercept the French admiral.

At this time the Dutch fleet, commanded by the celebrated admiral de Ruyter, was riding at anchor between Newport and Dunkirk, expecting, as it was supposed, the arrival of the French squadron. Albemarle determined to force them to action, and accordingly stood immediately towards them. The Dutch, who did not expect this visit, prepared for the engagement, and cut their cables, that they might the sooner be in readiness to receive the enemy. Sir George Afen, who was well acquainted with the bravery of the Dutch, cautioned Albemarle of his danger, but it was now too late. The battle which ensued was one of the most remarkable recorded in

history, whether the duration, or desperate courage with which it was fought, be considered. It continued four days, and each was marked with events of the most astonishing nature. Albemarle, conscious of the mistake he had made with regard to the courage and conduct of the enemy, exerted all his abilities on this memorable occasion. Though in the decline of life, he appeared the young hero, and seemed to have forgot his years as well as his dangerous situation.

The van, which was led by Sir William Borel, during the first day's engagement fell into the thick of the enemy, and was obliged to yield to superior force. When the victors entered the ship, they found the gallant commander dead in his cabin, and covered with blood. The advantage which the English had acquired by gaining the weather-gage of the enemy was of very little consequence, occasioned by the wind blowing so high, that they could not use the guns on the lower deck. A discovery made by de Wit was of the utmost consequence to the Dutch. This was chain-shot, which tore the rigging of the English to pieces. Sir John Harman attacked the Dutch admiral Evertz, and obtained the victory. Evertz was killed in the engagement. But the contest was at length terminated by night.

The ensuing morning was considerably calmer, which occasioned the battle to be at once more steady and more dreadful, and it was now perceived that valour alone is not sufficient to compensate for a defect of superiority, when the enemy is not wanting either in courage or conduct. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, at once enemies from faction, and rivals in glory, exerted themselves in this memorable battle. The latter being surrounded by the English, was relieved by the former, when reduced to the last extremity. During the action sixteen fresh ships joined the Hollanders. This addition was decisive. The English, whose ships were dreadfully shattered, and reduced to twenty-eight, found themselves obliged to retreat towards their own coasts, whither they were followed by the Dutch, and their whole fleet might have been taken, had not a sudden calm, which happened a little before night, prevented the engagement from being renewed.

The English continued their retreat as long as the morning appeared. The shattered ships were ordered to set all their sails, while sixteen of the most active, drawn up in order, followed them, and kept the enemy in play. Albemarle himself closed the rear, and presented an undaunted countenance to the enemy flushed with victory. The admiral consulted the young earl of Ossory, who served a volunteer that he was determined to blow up his ship, and perish gloriously in the bed of honour, rather than strike the enemy. Ossory agreed with him, and both applauded this desperate intrepidity.

Almost at the instant that the Dutch were coming up with the English, and were preparing to begin the engagement, a new fleet appeared to the leeward, crowding all their sails to reach the scene of action, and join in the dreadful contest. De Ruyter was persuaded that Beaufort was arrived to assist in the total defeat of the enemy; while the English flattered themselves that prince Rupert was coming to snatch the laurel wreath from the brow of the conqueror. Albemarle was soon convinced that these were the prince's ships; and stood immediately towards them. The whole fleet followed the admiral but Sir George Afen, whose ship carried 100 guns and was the largest in the fleet, unfortunately ran ashore upon a sand called the Galloper, and was obliged to strike to the Dutch.

At length it was determined in a council of war to

make another attempt against the Dutch, and accordingly the engagement began the next morning with greater fury than ever. The ships were grappled to each other, and the men fought hand to hand, as if on firm ground. In this manner the contest continued till a thick mist obliged them to separate: when the English returned to the mouth of the Thames, and consequently, gained a place of security.

The victory, on this occasion was claimed by the Dutch, who, however, had but very little reason to plume themselves upon the occasion. The English fleet was soon in a condition to face the enemy; and de Ruyter, having repaired the damages his fleet had sustained, stood to the mouth of the Thames, in order to block up the English, and facilitate his junction with the French admiral. It could not be expected the English would tamely bear so vile an insult. Albemarle and prince Rupert hastened to attack the enemy. The two fleets, as well as the courage and conduct of their leaders, were nearly equal; each consisted of about eighty-eight sail. They met on the 24th of July, and the engagement began with incredible fury. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron, attacked the van of the Dutch with so much fury that they were entirely routed, and the three admirals who commanded that division were slain. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of the action he was separated from the main body, commanded by de Ruyter, who with the utmost conduct and valour, maintained the fight against the principal force of the English; and the fight continued till night put an end to the engagement. He proposed to have renewed the battle as soon as the morning appeared, but instead of finding his ships in a situation for attacking the enemy, he saw them scattered, and unwilling to renew the battle. In this alarming situation, neither his courage nor his presence of mind forsook him. He made so noble a retreat, that he gained as much honour by his prudence as he could have done had he gained the victory. But he could not bear the thought of flying from the enemy. He often exclaimed, "What a wretch am I, that among so many thousand shot that fly near me, not one will put an end to my miserable life!" He however persevered in his duty, and by his amazing efforts the Dutch fleet were conducted into their own harbours. On his return to Holland, he complained loudly of Van Tromp's conduct, and that gallant admiral was dismissed from the service of the states-general.

The English by this victory were rendered the indisputed masters of the ocean; and admiral Holmes was detached with 20 sail of ships to insult the Dutch coast. Accordingly, he entered the road of Uthrecht, where he destroyed 140 sail of merchantmen, two ships of war, and burnt the rich village of Brandoorn. These insults and losses exasperated the people in general, and the merchants in particular, who complained loudly against the Dutch administration.

The French king being alarmed at the success of the English, hastened Beaufort to join the Dutch, as his friend de Wit might not be able to support him in the administration. De Ruyter's fleet was reinforced; he put to sea, and again cruized in the neighbourhood of Dover. The English fleet, now stronger than ever, sailed, under the command of prince Rupert, to attack the enemy. Ruyter thought proper to decline the engagement, as he every day expected to be joined by the French squadron, and retired into St. John's road, near Bologne, where he was sheltered from a terrible storm that soon after arose. Rupert was not so fortunate; his ships received considerable damage, and he was obliged to retire to Helensburgh to refit. In the mean time the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, proceeded up the

channel, and passed the English fleet unperceived. But before he reached the place where he expected to join de Ruyter, that commander had been seized with a fever, and the states had thought proper to recall their fleet. Anxious for his fleet, which he had raised with so much art and industry, Lewis sent orders to Beaufort to make the best of his way to Brest, and to continue as near as possible to the French coast. Beaufort obeyed, and was fortunate enough to pass the English without being perceived. One of his ships only, being separated from the fleet, was taken.

During the time of the fleets being thus inactive, the city of London was reduced to ashes, by a dreadful fire which broke out on the second of September. It began at a broker's house near the bridge, and diffused itself on all sides with such rapidity, that nothing could resist the progress of the flames. The dreadful conflagration lasted three days and nights; nor did it stop till the greater part of the capital was destroyed. Eighty churches, several of the city gates, and 400 streets, containing above 13,200 dwelling houses, were consumed. The ruins covered a space of 426 acres, extending along the banks of the Thames from the Tower to the Temple church; and from the north-east gate along the city wall to Holborn-bridge. It was at last extinguished by blowing up a number of houses. Both the king and the duke of York attended, and exerted all their endeavors to put a stop to the progress of the flames.

A calamity so dreadful gave occasion to various conjectures with regard to its cause; no person being inclined to think it casual. Some imputed it to the malice of the republicans; but the greater part ascribed it to the malice of the papists; and in order to comply with this popular prejudice, an inscription engraven by authority on the monument imputed it to that hated sect. Both these suspicions, however, seemed to have owed their rise to the violent animosities that possessed the minds of the different parties which divided the people at this period. Their posterity, who behold this, and other events of that time, through the cooler medium of reason, see no cause for ascribing this dreadful accident either to treachery or malice. The streets of London were then extremely narrow; the houses were almost all built of timber, or lath and plaster; the season was remarkably dry; and a violent east wind happened to blow at that time. To these causes, and to these only, the astonishing progress of the flames ought to be imputed.

This misfortune, however dreadful at first, was attended with the most beneficial consequences. The new streets were much wider than the old, the houses were built with brick and stone; lath and plaster, as well as timber, in the walls, being forbid by authority. By these means the city became much more healthy than before; and the plague, which so often swept the greater number of inhabitants, has not once appeared since this dreadful conflagration. The parliament voted a supply of 1,800,000*l.* towards defraying the expences of rebuilding the city.

A. D. 1667. Charles having received a supply of money, by the assent of parliament, now determined to bring about a peace, and accordingly proposed the opening conferences for that purpose. The Dutch, who by their riches and navigation were on a better footing than the English, proposed the alternative that things should be restored to the situation they were in at the beginning of the war, or that the two nations should retain all their acquisitions. The last was accepted, and no difficulty remained but with regard to the possession of the Isle of Polorone in the East Indies, once famous for its spices. Holland and Coventry, the English plenipotentiaries at the congress

congress. proposed that a cessation of hostilities should be concluded, till the several claims could be adjusted; but de Wit refused the offer. That sagacious and enterprising minister, who was no stranger to Charles's necessities, had planned an expedition, which, if successful, he knew would be of more weight in the negotiations than any arguments.

Imagining that there was not the least reason to fear the success of the negotiation, and that no attempt would be made by the enemy while the conferences were open, the king had laid up his large ships, in order to convert to his own use the greater part of the money granted him by parliament. De Wit, who had the best intelligence from England, determined to take advantage of the negligence of the British monarch. He ordered Re Ruyter to sail with a fleet of ships and surprize the English, lulled in fatal security. De Ruyter executed his commission with equal conduct and success. He entered the mouth of the Thames, and threw the English into the utmost consternation. The mouth of the river Medway was defended by a chain, and some fortifications had been added to Sheerness and Upnor-castle. But the former was soon taken, though defended by the brave Sir Edward Sprague. The wind blowing fresh at east, the vice-admiral, Van Ghent, broke the chain drawn across the entrance of the Medway, and burnt the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles V. all capital ships, and all taken from the Dutch during the war. He also possessed himself of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the English had set on fire, and advanced with six men of war and five fire ships as far as Upnor-castle, where he burnt the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James, all ships of importance.

The Dutch now fell down the Medway, and it was apprehended that they would proceed up the Thames next tide, and destroy all the ships in the river. The capital was in confusion. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall: platforms were raised in several places, and furnished with artillery: the trained bands were called out, and every precaution taken to render the attempt of the enemy abortive. But de Ruyter did not think proper to proceed; the danger he thought was too great, and the hopes of success too precarious. He left the mouth of the Thames, stood to the westward, and made an attempt to destroy the shipping at Portsmouth and Plymouth, but was repulsed at both places with loss. He was not, however, intimidated: he returned again to the mouth of the Thames, and advanced as far as Tilbury-fort; but found the English so well prepared for his reception, that there were no hopes of success. He next insulted Harwich, and kept the whole southern coast of England in perpetual alarms till the conclusion of the peace, which happened on the tenth of July, when the treaty was signed at Breda. Acadia was yielded to the French, who agreed to restore St. Christopher's, and some other islands which they had taken in the West-Indies. The island of Polorone remained with the Dutch, and the colony of New-York was the only advantage the English derived from a war that had cost the nation such immense sums.

So ruinous a war, and terminated with so little advantage, exasperated the English, and it was thought necessary to make some sacrifice to appease the people, before the meeting of the parliament. Clarendon the chancellor was at this time no favourite with either party. The king respected the merit of that great minister, but his virtues were troublesome. The chancellor, incorruptible in the midst of a dissolute court, still retained his integrity of manners. He was a restraint upon his pleasures, and opposed his prodigalities. The people less grateful for the good

he had done them, than exasperated at the circumstances that displeased them, were so far from thinking themselves obliged to Clarendon for his conduct, that they considered him as the author of their sufferings. The presbyterians reproached him with persecution on one hand, and the Roman catholics with cruelty on the other. Though the war with Holland was undertaken contrary to his advice, yet the misfortunes were wholly attributed to him, because it was determined to find him guilty at all events. The earl of Southampton, high-treasurer, and the virtuous friend of Clarendon, who had been dead about three months, had done justice to his character. "This man (said he in full council) is a true protestant and an honest Englishman: while he enjoyed power, we are secure of our laws, liberty, and religion: if he is removed, I tremble for the consequences." But the virtues of Clarendon, instead of preventing, occasioned his fall. The seals were taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman. His enemies were not, however, satisfied with this disgrace; they were determined to complete his ruin. As soon as the parliament met, a charge was made against him in the house of commons, by Sir Edward Seymour. It consisted of seventeen articles, of which the principal, and indeed the only one, that could affect him, was the advising the sale of Dunkirk, and even this amounted to nothing more than an error of judgment. When the charge was carried up to the peers, it was so ill supported, that they refused to put him under an arrest. But Clarendon perceiving that the tide of popular clamour ran strongly against him, and that he was entirely abandoned by his master, whom he had so long and so faithfully served, withdrew to Rouen in Normandy, and put himself under the protection of Lewis XIV. The French more judicious and more humane than his countrymen, received the illustrious fugitive with every mark of respect. He lived six years in this exile, employing his leisure time in writing the history of the civil wars, a work worthy of the freedom and the illustrious citizen. The early part of his life had been spent in the study of the laws. His father often exhorted him never to advance the prerogative at the expence of the public liberty: and died of an apoplexy just after he had repeated this lesson to his son. This affecting incident impressed it strongly on his memory. His loyalty to Charles was that of an Englishman firmly attached to the principles of the constitution, and he died with the character of a nobleman of unblemished virtue, an incorruptible judge, and an able minister, equally valuable for his attachment and his honesty.

Charles's ministry was now entirely changed. The treasury was put into commission, and Sir Robert Clifford, a declared papist, was made first commissioner. Sir Henry Bennet, created earl of Arlington, a concealed papist, was made secretary of state. The duke of Buckingham, a nobleman of spirit and honour, but of an abandoned character; and William earl of Rochester, the lewdest, and most dissipated poet of the age, were the king's chief favourites and ministers of his pleasures.

The fire having laid the Royal Exchange, built by Sir Thomas Gresham, in ashes, it was determined to rebuild it in a most splendid manner. And the intended building was accordingly presented to the king: and it being approved of, Charles laid the first stone in the beginning of October, with great solemnity.

Lord Clarendon's exile not having satisfied the people, the king had recourse to an expedient more deserving of praise, and had it steadily pursued, would probably have rendered his reign happy; at least, it would have rendered

memory glorious. This was the triple alliance, a measure which gave great satisfaction to the people in general.

The French monarch Lewis XIV. as proud as he was powerful, and passionately fond of glory, particularly that of conquests unworthy of a great prince, filled Europe with uneasiness and apprehensions. Notwithstanding the renunciation of his queen, Maria Theresa, of Austria, he seized Flanders and Franche Comte, pretending he had a legal right to them both. The United Provinces were sufficiently alarmed. England was enraged at the assumed superiority of France; and Charles projected the triple alliance. Sir William Temple was sent to negotiate the treaty. A philosophical minister could not fail of being agreeable to de Wit. The same frankness, sincerity, and greatness of mind, distinguished them both. It was not between ministers of such a character that politics degenerate into finess and chicane. They undertook to mediate between France and Spain, and to engage them in a treaty that should leave to Lewis part of his conquest, but that he should absolutely renounce the rights of his queen. Sweden entered into this alliance. According to the laws of the States General, all the towns were to consent to the treaty: and this it was possible the intrigues of Lewis might have power to prevent. His ambassador, d'Elstrades, was aware of this, that, on being informed of the negotiation, he said, "We will talk of it in six weeks." But de Wit, foreseeing the danger of delay, and persuaded that in a case of so much importance to his country, the good of the public ought to over-rule even the laws themselves, boldly urged the states to ratify the league the very day it was signed, and prevailed. Sir William Temple received the most flattering encomiums with a degree of modesty that added to his merit. He answered, that to remove things from their element, or their centre, force and labour were necessary, but that they would return to themselves. The triple alliance, signed at Aix-la-Capelle, put an end to the conquests of Lewis XIV. He kept what he had gained in the Low Countries, but Franche Comte was restored to the Spaniards.

Philip IV. of Spain had been succeeded by his son, Charles II. then a minor, and his mother held the reins of government, with the title of regent. The court of Spain, though it was forced to submit to the terms of the triple alliance, by no means appeared of that treaty; because certain concessions were to be made to France, which were not agreeable to the haughty spirit of the Spaniards. That court declared, that they were ready to relinquish all the Low Countries, rather than submit to the articles of the treaty. This was, however, nothing more than a passionate declaration; it was found in vain to insist, and the treaty was accepted.

Tranquillity being thus restored on the continent, de Witt formed a scheme for attaching both the presbyterians and papists more strongly to his interest. To effect this he proposed to incorporate the dissenters with the church of England, and to give a declaration for all the other sects of non-conformity.

The lord keeper was accordingly directed to procure a conference between some of the most eminent of the episcopal and presbyterian divines, and to offer proposals for a comprehension of dissenters, as could be brought into communion with the church of England. The episcopal divines, from a spirit of christian charity, or a regard to the peace of the kingdom, were very compliable to the proposal, and made large concessions, and the presbyterians, on their part, put a final hand to the accom-

modation. Matters being thus adjusted, lord chief justice Hales undertook to draw up a bill of comprehension, and the lord-keeper engaged to support it in parliament. But the archbishop of Canterbury, who was not intrusted in the secret, determined to render every scheme of this sort abortive. He wrote circular letters to the suffragan bishops in his province, enjoining them to make an exact enquiry into the number of conventicles in each particular diocese. Provided with these necessary informations, he repaired to court, and obtained a proclamation to be published, for putting the laws against dissenters in execution, particularly the act for restraining non-conformists from residing in corporate towns. But the king soon rendered the intentions of the bishop abortive, by ordering the non-conformist ministers to be told from him, that he was very desirous of making them easy; adding, that if they thought proper to petition the crown, they should be favourably heard. They embraced the offer; a petition was presented; and the king, in his answer, told them, "That he would use all his interest to get them comprehended in the public establishment." The parliament was, however, averse to any such concessions, and when they met in October they presented an address of thanks to his majesty for his proclamation, and appointed a committee to make a strict enquiry into the conduct of the non-conformists. A great number of informations were accordingly laid before them, and they reported, "That several conventicles and seditious assemblies were held, even in the neighbourhood of the house, tending to insult the government, and endanger the peace of the kingdom." This report set the house in a flame; and the following declaration was immediately voted, "that they would adhere to his majesty, for the support of the government, both in church and state, against all adversaries whatever." They proceeded no farther at that time, and the king prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth of February.

A. D. 1670. On the 14th of February when the king opened the session of parliament, he demanded a supply in the most pressing terms. But the commons, before they complied with the king's desires, passed the conventicle act, by which every member of a conventicle, or assembly of non conformists, consisting of more than five persons, exclusive of the family where it was held was liable to a fine. And contrary to the principle received in criminal matters, what appeared doubtful was always to be interpreted in the least favourable light. This severity of the commons was the more extraordinary, as the same spirit of persecution had, a little before, occasioned a rebellion in Scotland. About two thousand presbyterians, after renewing the covenant, took up arms; and the flame which despair had kindled was quenched in blood. One Maccan, who had joined in the insurrection, expired under the torture in a kind of triumph of joy. The moment when his soul was taking its flight, he cried out, "Farewell sun, moon and stars; farewell world and time, farewell frail and weak body: welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God, the judge of all!" The spectators were struck with a fortitude like this, a man expiring under the most cruel torments, and rejoicing in the dreadful conflict, was truly astonishing; it increased their hatred against such inhuman persecutors.

Although prince Rupert the duke of Ormond, secretary Trevor, and the lord keeper Bridgeman, on whose honour and integrity the people could rely, still continued in office, yet they enjoyed but little power, they were seldom admitted to the cabinet council, or consulted on the most pressing affairs of the nation. Equally suspicious and suspected, a slave

to pleasure and a dupe to artifice, Charles neglected the cares of government, and exposed himself to the danger of a fatal revolution. Five ministers shared his confidence, and directed all the affairs of government. Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftsbury, distinguished by his learning, but of the most violent passions; the duke of Buckingham, with all the advantages of wit, figure and fortune, but without either conduct or principles; the duke of Lauderdale, a man of parts, but opinionated, a sycophant to the prince, and a tyrant to the subject; the bold and impetuous Clifford, and the earl of Arlington, well versed in business, and worthy of the place he enjoyed, had his resolution been sufficient to follow his own sentiments, rather than the influence of the court. The ministry was called the Cabal, from the five initial letters of their names forming that word.

When Charles had given the royal assent to the bill against dissenters, the commons passed an act for granting 1,700,000*l.* to his majesty; but the money had the same fate with other sums he had already received from parliament: it was squandered away upon his mistresses and favourites, and he was so far from making good his engagements with the states-general, that he entered into measures for forming a closer union than ever with the king of France. Desirous of rendering himself absolute, by shaking off the yoke of dependence on the supplies of parliament, he determined to secure the friendship of Lewis XIV. as the only method of executing his purpose. To this chimerical project he sacrificed every sentiment of honour, justice, and humanity. He knew he had nothing to fear from his ministers; their servile flattery, and the licentiousness of their manners, were ill calculated to support the interests of their country. They were desirous of rendering the king independent of the parliament; and thought the only way to effect it, was to enter into a new war with Holland, and depend upon Lewis for assistance of men and money.

Pursuant to this resolution, it was determined to renew the war with Holland on the slightest pretences. The duke of York entered heartily into this scheme, which he was persuaded could not fail, if successful, of establishing the catholic religion in England. But the alliance with France was to be kept an impenetrable secret, till Charles had procured a vote of parliament for arming the nation, under pretence of being ready, at all events, to protect the commerce, and support the independence of the nation against the attempts of any power whatever, great preparations being making in the ports of France and Holland.

The triple alliance had put an effectual stop to the conquests of Lewis, on which occasion that ambitious monarch was desirous of revenge. Could the English be prevailed upon to enter into a new war with the Dutch, the difficulty would be removed, and he flattered himself that this was not difficult to be accomplished, as the reduction of Holland would remove the object of emulation to the English, who were jealous of their privileges. Full of these ideas he took a journey to Dunkirk, accompanied by his whole court, and the duchess of Orleans took that opportunity of visiting her brother. Lewis was no stranger to the address of that amiable princess, and the ascendancy she had acquired over the English monarch, and had prevailed upon her to exert all her interest to draw her brother from the triple league. This young princess, then only twenty-five years of age, was accordingly selected as the plenipotentiary for concluding this important treaty. Charles met his sister at Dover, where they spent ten days together in the utmost harmony. In their conferences

she artfully insinuated, that nothing was wanting to render him the greatest monarch in the world, and to recompence him for all the misfortunes he had suffered, than that of making himself as absolute in England as the other princes of Europe were in their dominions. This glorious end she observed could never be obtained while his subjects had any prospect of being assisted by the Dutch, whose republican principles led them to support the liberty of the subject. It was therefore necessary for him to humiliate the Hollanders, which would effectually remove the only difficulty of keeping his own subjects within the bounds of obedience. She added, that he might rest assured, the king of France would assist him with men and money sufficient to quell any commotions that might be raised in England, by pursuing this design. Blinded with the love he bore his sister and intoxicated with the desire of governing with unlimited authority, Charles agreed to every thing proposed by Lewis, and laid the foundation for the ruin of his allies, in the midst of convivial entertainments.

The French king, being no stranger to the natural inconstancy of Charles's temper, artfully determined to fix him firm to his engagements by the bands of pleasure. He sent over with the princess Henriette mademoiselle de Querouaille, a young lady of extraordinary beauty and accomplishments. Charles could not power to resist her charms. She accompanied him to London; was soon after created duchess of Portsmouth, and maintained her empire over his heart during the whole course of his life. She kept him firm in his engagements with France, and continued to be the reigning favourite while his former mistress was honoured with the title of a duchess, in recompence for the favour she had lost.

The English monarch's joy, however, was greatly lessened by the loss of his sister, who died soon after her return to France. But this event made no alteration in the resolutions of the two monarchs. The duke of Buckingham was dispatched to Paris to put a finishing hand to the treaty, by which the republics of the Dutch, devoted to destruction, were to be shared between France and England. It was, however, found impossible to keep this treaty a secret: so many persons had been concerned in its execution. But though it was generally suspected, and generally known to most of the courts of Europe, it occasioned no alarm. The emperor was fully employed in seditions in Hungary; the Swedes hinted at negotiations; and the Spanish monarchy, weak and incoluble, and always slower in its motions, permitted Lewis to follow the career of his ambition unmolested.

An irruption was made into Flanders by Ferdinandus of Crequi. The duke, not dreaming of resistance, was forced to abandon his territories. He flattered himself that he should find a powerful ally in Charles, in return for the many favours he had received during his exile; but he was mistaken. His envoy was told, "That the king was extremely sorry for the misfortunes of his master, but that he could do no violence, like the misfortunes of a sudden inundation, had no remedy but patience." The partiality in favour of the French alarmed the Dutch, who began to fear for the safety of their country. Their misfortunes were increased by factions, which divided the commonwealth. It was composed of rigid republicans, to whom the idea of absolute authority seemed a monstrous and contrary to the laws of human society. The moderate republicans of a more moderate disposition were desirous of investing the young prince with the crown, after which the famous William III. with the power and dignities of his ancestors. The grand

sonary John de Wit was at the head of the rigid republicans, but the party of the young prince began to gain ground in the state. These domestic dissensions were more regarded than the foreign danger that threatened the destruction of their liberty.

The king of France had not only gained the English monarch over to his interest, but also the famous Van Galen, bishop of Munster, whose delight was war and plunder, and naturally an enemy to the Dutch. Lewis had formerly assisted them against this warlike prelate; but he now joined him for their destruction. The Swedes, having united with the republic to stop the projects of a conqueror, who had then no designs against them, abandoned her when they saw she was threatened with ruin, and renewed their old connections with France, on condition of receiving the former subsidies.

Pursuant to their prorogation on the 24th of October, the parliament met, and the session was opened with a speech from the lord-keeper, who represented the pressing exigencies of the state, and the absolute necessity of an immediate supply. He told them, that France and the states-general were collecting powerful armies by sea and land; were assiduously employed in building ships, and filling their magazines with all sorts of warlike stores and provisions, since the beginning of the last war with Holland, she had increased the strength of her marine more than three times what it was before; and that she, and also, since the conclusion of the peace, had applied herself diligently to the augmentation of her navy; that in so critical a conjuncture, common sense required that his majesty should make some ample preparations; that he had accordingly given orders for fitting out fifty sail of his largest ships in the spring, besides those which were necessary for the security of trade, foreseeing, that if he neglected to put his navy in a respectable condition, might prove a temptation to those who did not now seem to intend it, to offer an affront at least, if not a real injury to the nation." He next expatiated on several advantageous leagues he had entered into for the defence of his kingdom, and the benefit of commerce. He particularly mentioned the triple alliance concluded with the Dutch and Swedes, and one with Portugal and Denmark. And concluded by assuring them, that the king would prorogue the parliament at Christmas, and therefore wished they should regulate their proceedings accordingly.

This duplicity and prevarication deceived the commons, who being either unacquainted with, or neglecting the king's engagements with France, asked for 500,000*l.*, a much larger supply than had been granted by a parliament, and certainly never derived. Sir William Temple was still at home, where he had acquired to great a reputation for honour and integrity, that the Cabal were so to order from his majesty, could prevail upon to promote or countenance measures destructive of the interest of his country. He was then called the Wit, who admired the great qualities of the English resident, took farewell with the utmost regret. The Dutch, through the flimsy veil of pretence made use of by the king, and were now fully convinced of the treachery of Charles. They even ordered their ambassador at London to signify to the English minister, that they should look upon them recalling Sir William Temple as an undoubted proof of their having changed their measures.

At the latter end of January, the commons met again, when the king sent a message desiring that the money bills might be passed, but instead of passing the acts they presented to the lords in a solemn address to his ma-

jesty, upon the alarming increase of popery, and desired that no papist or reputed papist might enjoy any office, civil or military. The king, unwilling to give them an absolute denial, published a proclamation against the catholics, but never intended to carry it into execution. As soon as the bill of the money bills was carried to the house of peers, Lucas leverely animadverted on the enormous grants made to the crown, and the shameful manner in which these supplies were squandered away. "While we are continually giving," said he at the conclusion of his speech, "and the king is continually asking, it is necessary to make some estimate for ourselves. Would his majesty be pleased to request a quarter of our estates, I would, for my part, cheerfully resign it. Were it half, upon good occasions, I should resign it freely; but then let us have some assurance of quietly enjoying the residue, and know what we have to trust to." The king was in the gallery when Lucas spoke with such boldness, and was highly offended; but he was so exasperated when he found the speech was printed, and dispersed through every part of the kingdom, that he ordered it to be burnt by the common executioner.

This, however, had such an effect upon the lords, that they made some alterations in the money bill sent up by the commons. This was highly resented by the latter, who considered it as an infringement on their undoubted right of regulating all acts of subsidy. Several conferences were held between the two houses in order to terminate the affair; but instead of coming to an amicable agreement, they carried the dispute to so great a height, that the king was obliged to prorogue the parliament, and lose the large supply that had been voted by the commons.

A tax on plays was proposed, during this session of parliament. But this was objected to by the court party, who said the players were the king's servants, and administered to his pleasures. Sir John Coventry, pleasantly asked, "Whether the king's pleasures lay among the male or female actors?" Charles, who, besides his other mistresses, entertained two actresses, Mrs. Davis and Nell Gwyn, was hurt by this sarcasm, and took an unworthy revenge. Some of his guards attacked Coventry, and hit his nose. The commons expressed their indignation by passing what is called the Coventry act, by which maiming and deforming was made a capital crime, and those persons who had assaulted Coventry were rendered incapable of receiving the king's pardon.

Much about the same time one Blood, a discarded officer who had served under Cromwell, and the most daring villain recorded in history, found means to steal the crown, and several other parts of the regalia, from the Tower. He had some time before attempted to assassinate the duke of Ormond, but failed in his design, and escaped without being discovered. He was not so fortunate in his second villainy. He was detected; but by a strange lenity, or rather weakness, in Charles, he not only gave him his pardon, but settled on him five hundred pounds a year. When he was taken, he confessed his crimes, but refused to discover his accomplices. "I will never," said he, "disown a crime, nor betray a friend." The king had the curiosity to see so daring a villain. He was accordingly brought into his presence, and had the impudence to tell his majesty, that if he ordered him to be executed, his friends, who were both able and willing, would not fail to revenge his death. Whether this declaration intimidated the king, or whether he thought to interpose a person might be of use on some future occasion, is uncertain; but Charles took him into his favour, and even treated him with distinction, while many of his

his faithful servants, who had lost their fortunes in his service, were unrewarded and forgotten. Princes are not easily forgiven for neglecting those who have served them faithfully, especially when they lavish their favours on unworthy objects.

This imprudent action, however, was only a prelude to others of a more dangerous tendency. Charles was always in want of money, and the failure of the last supplies voted by the commons had greatly increased his necessities. In this exigency, the Cabal advised him to shut up the exchequer. Their advice was followed; the exchequer was shut up, and continued so for a year and some months, to the great distress and ruin of many families, who had lent their money upon government security. No English monarch had ever before dared to commit so flagrant an act of injustice; and at any other period he might perhaps have fallen the victim of his own folly. Every part of the kingdom resounded with complaints. The most severe libels against the king and his ministers were published. But Charles was deaf to the complaints of his people. Immersed in pleasure, he regarded not the reproaches incurred by his avarice and injustice. In particular the celebrated earl of Rochester, in one of his court lampoons, plainly, but ironically says,

“ To shut th’ exchequer up in thee was great,
“ But in a subject it had been a cheat.

We have observed that Charles had published a proclamation against the papists; but he now determined to change his conduct. Accordingly, as head of the church, he issued a proclamation for suspending the penal laws, which had been made against all non-conformists and recusants whatever; and for granting to the protestant dissenters the public exercise of their religion, and to the papists the liberty of celebrating mass in private houses. The lord-keeper Bridgeman refused to put the seals to the edict for suspending the penal laws. Exasperated at this opposition, the king deprived him of his office, and gave the seals to the earl of Shaftsbury.

Many persons could not, however, still believe the king had entered into a treaty with Lewis for the destruction of the Dutch. A yacht had been sent from England to bring over the lady Temple from Holland. The captain insisted that the Dutch admiral Van Ghent should pay the honours due to the English flag. This the Dutchman refused, declaring that it was never known for an admiral in his own harbour to strike his flag to a small vessel, especially as the commander had nothing more than a captain’s commission. Though this reason was irresistible, the Cabal laid hold of the incident to quarrel with the states. Unwilling to enter into a war with England, the Dutch offered to make any concessions; but the ministry, determined to declare war against the republic, pursuant to the conditions stipulated in their famous treaty with Lewis, refused every satisfaction.

The nation in general now believed, that the vast naval preparation making in the different parts of England were intended against the Dutch; but before any declaration was published, a perfidious attempt was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet, amounting to 70 sail, and valued at a million and a half sterling. The design was, however, rendered abortive, by the gallant behaviour of the Dutch, who repulsed all the attacks of the English during three days successively. These hostilities were followed by a declaration of war. But surely never reasons more absurd and ridiculous were employed to cover so flagrant a violation of the late treaty. Complaints were made of injuries offered to the East India company; a charge which that company disowned. The detention of some English subjects in Surinam was also alledged,

though it was known that their continuing in the colony was voluntary. The refusal of a Dutch fleet to pay the honours of the flag to an English yacht was also urged as an unpardonable offence, and completed the ridiculous catalogue of affronts, mention was made of some abusive pictures reflecting on the English nation. It was some time before the states could discover the meaning of the last charge against them. At last it was found, that the complaint related entirely to a portrait of Cornelius Wit, brother to the pensionary, who had distinguished himself in the expedition, when the English ships were burnt in the Medway. On the back ground the picture was a representation of several ships on fire. Such were the injuries which nothing less than the blood of a whole people could obliterate. Lewis, with more dignity, though not with more solidity, alledged nothing but his displeasure with the state.

Every endeavour which ambition could dictate, or prudence devise, were now to be put in practice for the destruction of a state, whose only crime was, its opposition to the conquests of Lewis XIV. Near 2,000,000 sterling were expended by that monarch in making preparations against the Dutch republic. Thirty men of war, of 50 guns each, joined the English fleet, which consisted of 100 sail. The French monarch, accompanied by his brother the duke of Orleans, marched at the head of 120,000 men, towards Maestricht and Charleroi, on the frontiers of Spanish Flanders and Holland. The bishop of Munster, and the elector of Cologne, had about 20,000 men. The prince of Conde and marshal Turenne were the principal generals of the French army: the duke of Luxemburg commanded one of them: and the sieges were to be conducted by Vauban, the celebrated engineer.

To encounter a force so formidable, commanded by such consummate generals, and furnished with immense treasures to bribe the commanders of garrisons, what had the republic of Holland to oppose? A young prince of a weak constitution, who had never seen a battle, and about 25,000 ill-trained militia who formed the whole military force of the country. In a word, the total annihilation of the republic appeared inevitable.

The king of France soon made himself master of all Guelderland, and the towns upon the Yssel. The inhabitants of Utrecht sent the keys of their city to the conqueror, and the whole province of that name capitulated. Lewis made a triumphal entry into Utrecht on the 20th of June. The provinces of Holland and Zealand only remained to conquer, and Amsterdam itself seemed but to wait the hour of its ruin or destruction. A little more alacrity on the part of Lewis would have put the important fortress into his hands. The capital once taken, not only the republic itself must have fallen, but there would have been no longer such a state as Holland. Some of the richest families, and those who were zealous lovers of liberty, were preparing to fly their devoted country and embark for Batavia, or other foreign parts.

It was not on land only that the Dutch were distressed; the combined forces of France and England threatened the destruction of their marine power, and the total annihilation of their navy. The states, however, been negligent in fitting out their ships. De Ruyter, with a fleet of 90 sail was sent against the English and French fleets, commanded by the duke of York and the marshal d’Estrées. They were riding carelessly in Solebay, little expecting the appearance of a ship from an enemy whose force was from being sufficient to defend their own shores. Cornelius de Wit was on board as deputy from the states. The English were very near being surprised, but recovering themselves, they split their cables and

stood out to meet the enemy. A dreadful engagement ensued, in which both the commanders and seamen displayed the greatest courage and conduct. The earl of Sandwich, who commanded under the duke of York, led the van, and was soon engaged in a close fight with the enemy. Several Dutch ships attacked him at once; but he bravely defended himself against their joint attempts, killed the Dutch admiral Van Ghent, and beat off his ship. Astonished at the valor displayed by this gallant officer, and desirous of silencing the dreadful fire he kept up with such amazing vigour, three fire-ships were sent successively to destroy him; but he sunk them all, together with another capital ship of the enemy, that had ventured to lay him aboard. At last, when his ship was almost torn to pieces, and 600 of his men were slain, another fire-ship grappled him, and he perished with the remainder of his crew. In the mean time De Ruyter engaged the ship on board of which the duke of York had hoisted his flag, with the utmost fury, and one of the fiercest encounters recorded in history succeeded. At last the duke's ship was so shattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and hoist his flag on board another. But he was so overpowered by the enemy, that had not Sir Joseph Jordan brought the Blue Squadron to his relief, he must have been taken, and several ships that were closely engaged with the enemy. This reinforcement rendered the conquest equal, and it was continued with the same fury till night obliged them to separate. The Dutch retired; nor did the English think it prudent to follow them. Both sides, however, claimed the victory, and perhaps with equal reason. The loss was great on the side of the English; but the Dutch first retired. De Wit, who knew that nothing less than a complete victory could save his country, thought it prudent to retire when he found that this was impossible to be obtained. The English complained loudly that the French were wanting in their duty; for they separated from the fleet, and fought only at a distance. This conduct was ascribed to secret orders given to the marshal d'Effres. Nothing could tend more to promote the ambitious projects of Lewis, than the total destruction of both the English and Dutch fleets, while his own ships were preserved.

While the Dutch were thus reduced to despair, the state was distracted by the divisions which commonly arise among an unfortunate people, who impute to each other the calamities of their country. John de Wit was persuaded that the only way of saving the remains of the wretched republic was, by making a peace with the conqueror. Full of a republican spirit, and jealous of his personal authority, he had always been exerted for the good of his country, he dreaded the power of the prince of Orange little less than the ambition of the French monarch; while the prince, who was equally attached to the welfare of the state, exerted all his influence to induce the states to elect him stadtholder, an honor so long enjoyed by his ancestors. He strenuously opposed a peace with Lewis, as he knew it could now only be obtained on terms that must annihilate the power and opulence of the republic. But the council of the pensionary prevailed, and a resolution was taken in an assembly of the states to sue for peace. Deputies were accordingly sent to the French king to implore mercy in the name of the republic. Some months before, looked upon herself as the mistress of kingdoms. Lewis received the deputies with a contumaciousness that was an insult upon humanity, and he designed to dictate the terms on which he would permit the Dutch to exist as a state. His demands were little better than articles of slavery. A peace on such conditions was absolutely impossible. Inspired with a desperate courage by the example of the conqueror, it was determined

that if a peace could be obtained on no better terms, to perish with their liberties of their country.

Pursuant to this resolution it was resolved to stop the progress of the conqueror; and accordingly the sluices of the province of Holland were opened, whereby the whole country was laid under water. The eyes of the people were now fixed upon the young prince of Orange, whom they considered as the deliverer of their country; while the grand pensionary, by having prevailed upon the states to send deputies to the French king, was considered as the betrayer of the state. The fury of the party zeal now rose to the greatest height; and Cornelius de Wit, being accused of a design to murder the prince, was committed to prison, where he underwent the most cruel torture, in the height of which he repeated those verses of Horace, which so elegantly express the duty of a true citizen. His brother, the pensionary, failed not to visit him in prison, determined to share his fate. The outrageous populace followed him, and glutted their brutal fury on the mangled bodies of those illustrious citizens. The murder of the de Wits extinguished for a time the party distinctions which had divided the state. The prince of Orange was declared stadtholder, and shewed himself worthy of the power with which he was intrusted. He exhorted the citizens to firmness, assuring them that the other powers of Europe would not fail to send them assistance. He represented to them, that it was in vain to flatter themselves with being able to disarm, by submission, an enemy whose ambition would keep no measures: that now was the time to sacrifice every thing to support that precious liberty which their ancestors had purchased with their blood; that for his own part he would tread in the steps of his fathers, and devote himself, without reserve, to the preservation of the state. Buckingham, the English envoy, asking him whether he did not see that the republic was infallibly ruined? answered, with great vivacity, "I have one sure method of seeing the ruin of my country; I will die in the last intrenchment."

The conduct of this gallant prince shewed that he spoke the real sentiments of his heart. He exerted all his power against the common enemy. He overflowed all the passes by which the French could penetrate into the rest of the country. He sent envoys to the different courts of Europe; and by his negotiations, roused the emperor, the empire, the Spanish council, and the government of Flanders, from their lethargy; and even induced the court of England to be less desirous of supporting the ambitious designs of the French monarch. Affairs now began to wear a different aspect. Lewis entered Holland in the month of May; and before September the greater part of the powers of Europe were forming a confederacy against him. Montereau, governor of Flanders, sent privately a few regiments to the assistance of the States; the emperor Leopold dispatched Montecuculi, at the head of 20,000 men; and the elector of Brandenburg took the field with 40,000 troops, whom he paid himself. In a word, while the subjects of Lewis were every where erecting monuments of his conquests, the powers of Europe were forming confederacies for snatching them from his hands. They rightly considered the reduction of Holland as a prelude to their own slavery. It would be impossible, they thought, to defend themselves against the exorbitant power of France, should it be increased by an accession of such great importance.

A. D. 1672. Charles, for near two years, had been free from the uneasiness of parliamentary remonstrances, but the want of money rendered it absolutely necessary for him to summon that assembly. His speech to both houses, at the opening of the session, full of confidence and cordiality, delighted

the real sentiments of his heart. Shaftsbury, the chancellor, insisted on the necessity of carrying on the war against a republic so essentially an enemy to the English. "The parliament itself (said he) acknowledged that Carthage was to be destroyed: the present hostilities therefore may more properly be called the war of the parliament, than that of the king." The commons, however, were of a different opinion, and were determined that his majesty should purchase the supplies by particular compliances.

At this time the cabal had usurped the whole power of the government, and the chancellor, contrary to the established custom, had issued writs for electing new members in the room of those who were deceased. The first vote of the parliament declared these elections void, and the members accordingly withdrew. It was now evident that there was a large majority against the court, and that without remarkable firmness in the king, the whole plan formed by the cabal must fall to the ground, and a change in the ministry be the consequence. Shaftsbury, before he communicated his plan to Charles, had determined within himself, that if he found the king wanted resolution to execute it, he would immediately join the country party, in order to prevent a prosecution from the commons, as the adviser, or at least the promoter of a step that threatened the destruction of the constitution. The example of the earl of Clarendon was yet too recent to be forgotten, and he doubted not but his sovereign would as readily sacrifice him to the indignation of the parliament and people, as he had done that nobleman.

The proclamation of indulgence was now entered into by the parliament; by which the penal laws against non-conformists and catholics were suspended, and it was voted, that it tended to alter the constitution and change the legislative power, which the two houses shared with the king. Charles at first seemed determined to support his declaration, and in case of resistance, to apply to France for assistance. But he now saw the danger of his resolution. He perceived a civil war must be the consequence of his breaking with the parliament; and the remembrance of the miseries that had attended his family nearly affected him. His natural indolence, his love of pleasure and repose, added to his want of money, were motives too powerful to be withstood, and he determined to comply with the parliament. He, however, consulted the peers in order to give an air of deliberation to the business; after which he broke the seals of the obnoxious declaration with his own hand, and promised to assent to all bills that had a tendency to remove abuses.

According to his prefaces and intentions, Shaftsbury saw his danger, and immediately joined the country party, and his great talents soon placed him at the head of the opposition. The parliament were now determined to put the king's declaration to the proof. They passed a bill entitled, "an Act to prevent the dangers which may happen from popish recusants," commonly called the Test Act, whereby all persons, enjoying any office, or place of trust or profit, were required to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and also an oath against transubstantiation in these terms, "I declare that I believe that there is no such thing as transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, either before or after consecration by any person whatever." They were likewise to receive the communion according to the rites of the church of England, in some parish church. Nor were the parliament contented with passing these bills, they also presented two petitions concerning grievances; and the king having promised to redress them, they passed the money bill, but without mentioning any thing of the war which they highly disapproved.

but they added a clause to it, importing, That no papist should be capable of holding any public employment.

All the popish officers, in consequence of the Test Act, resigned their employments, and among the rest the duke of York his post of lord high-admiral. The lord Clifford also resigned his treasurer's staff, and died soon after. Shaftsbury was deprived of the seals, which were given to Sir Heneage Finch: and Sir Thomas Osbourne, created earl of Danby, succeeded him in the office of treasurer.

Some time previous to these transactions the duke of York had lost his duchess, daughter to the earl of Clarendon, and was now determined to marry Mary, sister to the duke of Modena, a princess educated in all the superstition of the Romish religion. This alliance was warmly opposed by the parliament, who, on this occasion, presented a petition to the king, received in the strongest terms, and expressive of their apprehensions of the dangerous consequences that might result from such a marriage. The duke of York, however, paid little regard to their petition. He declared he should not be contradicted. He considered it as so essential to the happiness of his life. He accordingly married that princess on the 21st of November.

Prince Rupert was appointed to be commander in chief of the fleet in lieu of the duke of York; as it was intended still to carry on the war against the Dutch. As soon as the prince had joined the French admiral, they sailed in quest of the Dutch to force them to an engagement; and as the latter were far from declining the offer, a battle ensued, and proved very obstinate and very bloody; but without either gaining any great advantage. The principal success fell upon the French, whom the English, dissatisfied with their intentions, took care to place under their own squadrons, and by that means exposed them to the thickest part of the fire of the enemy. The engagement was fought on the 8th of June; and was renewed on the 14th, when the fortune of the day remained as doubtful as before.

England and Holland now exerted all their force, and seemed determined to put the whole to the event of a general engagement. The prince of Orange had found means to reconcile de Ruyter and Van Tromp, a son worthy of the gallant father from whom he sprung. These two celebrated admirals now commanded the Dutch fleet, and on the 11th of August the battle began at the mouth of the Texel. De Ruyter singled out prince Rupert, Tromp himself to Sir Edward Sprague, the English vice-admiral, and Brankert, the Dutch rear-admiral, both up to attack d'Etres. The engagement was conducted with astonishing fury and emulation by the English and Dutch officers; but the French kept a distance and left the English to sustain the chief fury of the battle. In vain did prince Rupert give a signal to d'Etres to bear down to his assistance; he took no notice of any thing that passed, and kept his whole squadron far from the scene of action. Sprague, when the battle began, had hoisted his flag on board the Royal Prince; but she being soon disabled, he transferred her, and displayed his flag on board the St. George, while Tromp, for a similar reason, quitted his ship, and went on board the Conqueror; and the battle was immediately renewed with the same fury as before. Both the ships of these gallant commanders were soon shattered, and Sprague was leaving the St. George in order to hoist his flag on board another ship, when a cannon ball passing through his breast, struck his boat, and the gallant admiral was drowned. It is worthy of remark, that in all the engagements these brave admirals singled out each other as their only antagonist worthy of them, and when they met, they fought as if they were the only ships in the world.

Sprague perished, Van Tromp generously paid him the tribute of a tear.

Had the French done their duty, a total victory must have been the consequence. But by this refusal in the Frenchman, and his own ships having received so much damage by the enemy, prince Rupert could not pursue the advantage he had gained by his valour. He therefore stood away for the English coast, leaving the victory undecided. The Dutch, however, gained everything they wished. By the retreat of the English, a rich fleet of East-India ships, which had been for some time expected, arrived unmolested in their ports. An expedition which had been planned against the coast of Zealand was also rendered abortive. This was the last engagement fought betwixt those rival nations. The English became very desirous of putting an end to a war which had exhausted them of men and money, without the least prospect of honour or advantage.

On the 20th of October the parliament met, but the king, finding he had nothing to expect from their deliberations, sent the usher of the black rod to the commons, commanding their attendance in the house of peers. But before they would suffer him to enter, they voted, that a standing army is a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be employed in any office of trust. They had hardly finished these votes before the usher of the black rod entered, the speaker leaped from the chair, and the house broke up in the utmost confusion.

The Dutch in the mean time began to recover from their astonishment. Lewis, by not destroying the forts, as Conde and Turenne had proposed, greatly weakened his own army by the number of garrisons he was obliged to detach. The prince of Orange, by a masterly piece of military conduct, joined the army of the empire, and the French were obliged to evacuate the three Dutch provinces with as much precipitation as they had conquered them; but not before the inhabitants had paid dear for their deliverance. The intendant Robert had raised in the single province of Utrecht no less than 1668 florins. All the triumphant monuments of Lewis's conquest erected in the Netherlands were destroyed, and that prince contemned by all the powers of Europe, as one who had enjoyed the honours of a transient triumph with too much precipitation and pride; which had now involved him in a bloody war with the united forces of the Empire, Spain and Holland.

A. D. 1674. The parliament met agreeable to a prorogation on the 7th of January, and it was evident that they had not changed their opinions during the recess. Aware of the dangerous designs of Charles, they were determined to exert all their power to render his plans of arbitrary power abortive. They loudly debated on the grievances of the nation, and both houses were persuaded that there was an equity for their being removed. They began with addressing the king for a general fast to implore the blessing of the Almighty on their endeavours against the dangerous errors of popery; and then resolved to grant no more supplies till the grievances they enumerated were redressed, and the protestant religion, as well as the liberties and properties of the people, secured. Both houses joined in an address to the king for the removal of the duke of Lauderdale from his majesty's presence and councils for ever. The commons examined the duke of Buckingham on several particulars of government, and not being satisfied with his answers, they passed the same vote against him they had done against Lauderdale. Arlington was next questioned; but his answers were so satisfactory to the house, that notwithstanding an impeachment was prepared against him, they thought proper to drop the prosecution.

Charles was intimidated by these vigorous proceedings, and, finding it would be impossible to carry on the war without supplies, he began to listen to the terms proposed by the states general, for a separate peace. The French minister exerted all his power to keep Charles firm to his engagement, but in vain. The king chose rather to reconcile himself to his people and parliament, by agreeing to a peace they to much desired, than to depend upon France for support. A treaty was accordingly signed with the states, by which they again gave up the honours of the flag, and agreed to pay 300,000*l.* towards defraying the expence of the king's naval armaments. Several attempts were made for concluding an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland. Most of the European princes solicited this measure as the only infallible means of putting a stop to the alarming progress of the French monarch. The two houses of parliament supported these solicitations with all their power. Their hatred to the French was indeed so great, that they would gladly have relinquished the enjoyments of the new peace for a time, to see their king armed against the common disturber of the tranquillity of Europe: not would they have thought any supplies too great in order to prosecute a war which had so evidently tended to increase the good of the public. Charles, however, paid no regard to their solicitations. Prompted equally by his hatred to the Dutch, and the hopes of still receiving a powerful assistance from France, he refused to sacrifice his ally to the resentment of his enemies. He suffered 10,000 of his men to engage in the service of that crown, and made a merit with Lewis of the necessity which had drawn him from his alliance, and offered his mediation for concluding a general peace.

Sir William Temple, soon after the treaty with the states was signed, was again sent to Holland with the title of ambassador, but before he embarked he nobly represented to the king the inconvenience which the system of the Cabal must occasion; how difficult, not to say impossible, it was, to establish in England the government and religion of France; that the genius and principles of the people were not to be suddenly or easily changed; that force of arms alone could compel them to submit to a yoke they beheld with horror; that an English army could never be prevailed upon to promote those ends; that the catholics did not compose the one hundredth part of the nation; that foreign troops could not be levied or maintained in any considerable number; and that if a few were retained, they could do nothing more than excite the hatred and revolt of the people. He concluded with referring him to the observations of Gourville, a French writer, much esteemed by Charles, who says, "A king of England that chuses to be a man of his people, is the greatest monarch in the world, but if he chuses to be something more, he is nothing at all." Though the king was highly displeased at this discourse, he knew how to dissimulate. "Tis very well," said he, "I will be the man of my people." Events soon shewed that he spoke not the dictates of his heart.

England's defection was followed by that of the bishop of Munster, and even the elector of Cologne. Lewis was, however, successful in several places. Franche Comte was again reduced. Turenne was able, with a much inferior force, to baffle all the attempts of the allied army in Alsace. By a sudden and unexpected march he attacked and defeated, at Sinsheim, the duke of Lorraine, and Copara, the imperial general. Seventy thousand Germans invaded Alsace, and took up their quarters in that province. He attacked and routed a body of the enemy at Mulhausen. He drove from Colmar the elector of Brandenburg. He obtained a new victory at Farkhamer and

and having cleared the province entirely of the allies, he compelled them to repass the Rhine with great loss and dishonour. The French were not so fortunate on the side of Flanders where the prince of Orange commanded. That young general shewed himself nearly equal to the great Conde, in the bloody battle of Senfle. "The prince of Orange," said Conde, "has conducted himself through the whole action like a great general, except in exposing his life like a young soldier."

A. D. 1675. After a recess of fourteen months, the parliament assembled on the 13th of April, and immediately voted a bill to be brought in for preventing the growth of popery; in which it was declared, that the laying mass should be a sufficient evidence of a person being a popish priest; and that a penalty should be inflicted on all who assisted at the catholic service. They also framed a bill, declaring it treason to levy money without consent of parliament; another for vacating the seats of members who accepted of offices; and a third for securing the liberty of the subjects, and preventing their being transported as prisoners to distant islands.

The ministry on the other hand exerted all their influence in the upper house, and passed a bill for a new test, by which every member of parliament, and all persons in office, were to take an oath in the following terms: "I declare, that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take up arms against the king; and that I abhor the maxim, as treasonable, which holds, that one may take up arms, by the authority of the king, against his person, or against those who act by virtue of his commission; and I swear that I will never use any effort to change or alter the government in church or state." This bill was vigorously opposed: some maintained that it was founded upon false principles; others that it would revive dangerous disputes: even in the house of lords it was carried only by two voices. The opposition would have been stronger by the commons, had not an unforeseen quarrel between the two houses suspended all business of that kind. Dr. Shirley having appealed to the house of lords from a decree in chancery given in favour of Sir John Fagg, a member of the commons, the latter asserted, that this proceeding was a violation of their privileges; that none of their members could be cited to appear before the lords; and that the lords could not even receive appeals. On the other hand, the lords resolved, "That it was the undoubted right of the lords in judicature to determine in time of parliament, appeals from inferior courts where the members of either house were concerned, that there might not be a failure of justice." Several conferences passed between the two houses, but with so much rancour and animosity, that the king alarmed for the consequences, came to the house of peers on the 9th of June; and after reproaching both branches of the legislature for carrying their differences to such an indecent height, he prorogued the parliament to the 13th of October.

As the coffee houses were the resort of politicians, and the places where satirals against the government were promulgated, the ministry was at once alarmed and exasperated, and a proclamation was published, commanding all the coffee houses to be shut up; a strange method of quieting the fears of the people, by giving them fresh cause of complaint. The keeper of the coffee houses promised not to suffer any seditious discourse in their houses, and on this condition they were soon opened again. But the general discontent continued to increase.

On the continent the war was still carried on with great vigour, and the French arms were, in general, successful. Though Turenne fell by a cannon ball, and the prince of Conde had lost the army; yet the

defeat of the marshal du Crequi, at Confabrick, near Treves, was the only misfortune of that kind the French had experienced for 60 years.

The king opened the session of parliament with a short speech on the 13th of October, in which, after recommending unity between the two houses, he demanded a supply sufficient for building several new ships, and clearing off the anticipations of his revenue. The commons absolutely refused to give any money for paying off the debts of the crown, but voted 300,000 pounds for defraying the expence of building 20 ships of war, and appropriated the duty of tonnage and poundage to the support of the navy. But the business of the nation was soon after suspended by the revival of the dispute between the two houses in the case of Shirley and Fagg. The commons were as resolute and determined as ever in maintaining their privileges; and the king, to prevent the consequences that might ensue from these alarming disputes, prorogued the parliament for 15 months.

A. D. 1677. The two houses, having met pursuant to their prorogation, acted as if they had forgotten these unhappy heats and animosities which had put an end to the two last sessions. The commons voted a majesty 600,000 pounds for the use of the navy, and a continuance of the duty of excise upon brandy for three years. In a word, every thing seemed to promise a happy union between the king and both houses of parliament. But unfortunately, these pleasing appearances were soon overthrown by the rapid progress of the French on the continent, which filled the nation with the most alarming apprehensions. At the same time it was evident that Charles had not his power to give peace to Europe whenever he pleased, by declaring his intention to join the allies, unless Lewis would accept of a peace upon reasonable terms. The parliament had therefore recourse to every method to induce the king to take up arms. They promised that the most affluent supplies should be the reward of his compliance. This offer was a powerful motive; he seemed willing to comply with the wishes of his people. He gave the princess Mary, daughter to the duke of York, to the prince of Orange in marriage, and displayed some proof of firmness with regard to France. He even made preparations for war with the supplies he received from parliament. But ever fluctuating and inconstant, sometimes gained by the promises of Lewis, and sometimes absorbed in the charms of pleasure, he neither fulfilled the expectations of the allies, nor the English.

A. D. 1678. Tired of the war, and finding there were no hopes of any assistance from England, the States General signed a separate peace with Lewis on the 10th of August. By this treaty it was stipulated that each party should retain what they were possessed of, except Maellricht and its dependence, which Lewis was to restore to the Dutch, and were all the French possessed of their conquests in the United Provinces; and by a secret article Lewis engaged to restore all that belonged to the prince of Orange in France, Franche Comte, Charleroi, and Flanders. Spain and the Empire soon afterwards accepted the conditions, and peace was restored in every part of Christendom. Holland, against whom alone war was undertaken, and whose ruin seemed inevitable, was so far from losing any thing, that she was a better barrier; while every other power that had interest to snatch her from destruction, found themselves considerable losers, and obliged to accept the terms imposed them by Holland. It may, however, with great truth be affirmed, that it was owing to the policy of the English monarch alone, that the allies had not a more advantageous peace, since the parliament was both ready and desirous to furnish very ample

for carrying on the war against France, would Charles have acted agreeable either to the interest of Europe in general, or of England in particular. This strange conduct can be ascribed only to his passionate desire of executing his darling scheme, that of rendering himself the absolute master of his people. Some have accused him of labouring to introduce the popish religion into England; but this is a crime of which he was not guilty. All religions were alike to Charles; and the concessions he often made in favour of the catholics, seem rather to have been the effect of his love for his brother, and ready compliance with any councils he adopted, than his own attachment to that particular mode of faith. He cared not whether popery or protestantism was the reigning religion in England if he could but enjoy pleasure and ease.

Scotland had groaned beneath a load of tyranny during these transactions. The duke of Lauderdale, in quality of royal commissioner, had been sent into that kingdom. By his arts and influence, he prevailed upon the Scottish parliament to declare, that the whole exterior power of the church was vested in the crown. He also induced them to establish a militia of 20,000 men, ready to act in every enterprize where either the power or the grandeur of the sovereign were concerned. The duke was as fond of persecution as his master was of toleration. The former suspended the laws in favour of the first, and the latter suspended their force in favour of the second. He did not reflect, that persecution was the most dangerous of all remedies against the presbyterian fanaticism disseminated through every part of Scotland. It would be endless to particularize all the instances of oppression in that unhappy kingdom. Let it suffice to say, that they were at once cruel and impolitic. Because the law for prohibiting conventicles had called them "Seminaries of Rebellion," he treated those counties as rebellious where the conventicles most flourished; and the troops he detached into those parts were guilty of the most horrid and shameful disorders.

An ancient law of Scotland enacts, that every person who was accused, and did not appear, was liable to be condemned for contumacy, and outlawed; and whoever afterwards held the least communication with them, though only to give them the common assistance of humanity, was liable to the same penalties. This law, too odious to be executed with rigour, occasioned a great number of outlawries. Fearful of appearing in a court where they could expect no mercy, they incurred, perhaps, a greater punishment by their absence. In a word, the whole nation became a prey to the rapacity of the duke and dukes of Lauderdale. Fearing that the complaints of the people might find a way to the throne, Lauderdale threatened all who were possessed of lands in Scotland from leaving that kingdom. Bishop Burnet tells us, that Charles one day said to his friends, "I hear that Lauderdale behaves very ill to my people in Scotland; and I do not find he has done any thing contrary to my interest." It is no wonder, when a prince makes distinction between his own interest and that of his people, that the people follow the example.

The oppressions of the duke of Lauderdale in Scotland; the desire Charles had always shewn with regard to procuring the catholics the free exercise of their religion; and his secret connections with Lewis XIV. which even the offer of the largest supplies could not induce him to abandon; all tended to confirm the people in an opinion, that he intended to introduce popery and arbitrary power. At this juncture, a conspiracy for establishing the catholic religion was discovered by one Titus Oates. This man was originally a clergyman of the church of England, and

of a very indifferent character. At length he turned papist, and lived for some time with the Jesuits at St. Omer's. Thence he went to Spain, where he was admitted to the councils of the Jesuits; but being at length discharged from that society, his resentment induced him to turn informer. He now gave out, that his conversion to popery was a mere pretence, to enable him to discover the secrets of the Jesuits; and the substance of his depositions was, that the pope claimed the sovereignty of England, and had commissioned the Jesuits to exercise his rites. In consequence of which, the general of the order had, by patents unto the pope's seal, disposed of the principal offices, civil and military. That in a council of fifty Jesuits, held at London, it was unanimously resolved to kill the king; and that father de la Chaize, confessor to Lewis XIV. had promised a reward of 10,000*l.* to the regicide: that the crown was to be offered to the duke of York, on condition of his submitting to receive it from the pope; but on his refusing, he was to share the fate of his brother. They (the Jesuits) had formed a plan for setting fire to the city of London, and executing a general massacre of the protestants in every part of the kingdom. In a word, that they designed to overturn the whole constitution, and establish, by blood and desolation, the dominion of popery.

The universal consternation which the information of Oates occasioned cannot be described. Coleman, secretary to the dukes of York, being arrested, copies of his correspondence with father de la Chaize, the pope's nuncio, and some other papists, increased the alarm, and seemed to confirm the truth of Oates's narrative. In one of Coleman's letters to the French king's confessor, is the following passage: "We have a great work on our hands: nothing less than the conversion of the three kingdoms: God has given us a prince (meaning the duke of York) who is marvellously ambitious of being the instrument of this design; but as we must expect to meet with opposition, it behoves us to secure all the assistance possible." He therefore desired de la Chaize to furnish him with 300,000*l.* which would, he said, engage the king to dissolve the parliament, whose resolutions were unfavourable to France. A new incident seemed to confirm the guilt of the Jesuits, whose known bigotry had before rendered it probable. Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, the justice of peace who had taken the deposition of Oates, was found dead in a ditch, with his rings on his fingers, and his money in his pockets; a sufficient proof that he had not been killed by robbers. This assassination, the author of which was never discovered, was considered as the act of the papists. The whole city was in alarm: every individual thought himself in danger, and the same precautions were taken as if an enemy had been at the gates. Whether Charles believed the truth of this conspiracy, or thought the whole a forgery of Oates, is uncertain; but he mentioned it to both houses, and recommended vigilance to the magistrates in discovering and prosecuting all who were concerned in so black an action. Danby, the prime minister, moved, in the house of lords, that the affair might be taken into consideration, and his motion was agreed to. Oates was called before the house, and strictly examined; and on his persisting that the narrative he had before given to Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey was strictly true, the house resolved, that the popish recusants had formed an infernal plot against the king, the government, and the protestant religion.

During the time the parliament was engaged in this business, one Bedloe accused several papists, in the service of the queen, of being concerned in the murder

der of Godfrey. He also added some circumstances to the depositions of Oates. Several noblemen, accused by these informers, were apprehended, among whom were the earl of Powis, the lord viscount Stafford, and the lords Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Bellasis, who were sent to the Tower.

The depositions of Oates and Bedloe being published, excited such a ferment in the kingdom, that Charles was obliged to issue a proclamation, commanding all popish recusants, under the severest penalty, to repair to their own houses, and not venture farther than five miles from thence, without a particular licence. Another proclamation was also published, offering a reward to any person who should apprehend a popish priest or jesuit. The test, which declared popery to be idolatry, was now instituted; and all who refused to take it were excluded from parliament. The duke of York, with tears in his eyes, requested of the upper house an exemption in his favour, declaring, that his religion should be altogether between God and himself, and never appear in his public conduct. It was with difficulty he carried his point by two voices. "I would not (said one of the lords) have any thing of popish principles here, neither man, woman, dog, nor cat."

The parliament proceeded still farther, for the house of commons, finding that Sir Joseph Williamson, secretary of Scotland, had countersigned several commissions to popish recusants, and being a member of the lower house, they committed him to the Tower. Charles, highly incensed at this commitment of his servant, without making any application to him, immediately ordered him to be released. He however revoked the commissions that had given offence, and the commons were satisfied with this instance of royal condescension.

In the interim, Montague, ambassador in France, hastily returned, and laid open a new scene. He produced a letter written by the high treasurer Danby, during the late negotiations for a peace on the continent: by which it appeared, that the king had, in some measure, sold the interests both of England and the allies. Among other particulars, it imported, that if the conditions of the peace were accepted by the allies, Charles was to be paid 6,000,000 by France within three years after the treaty should be signed. Danby, whom it seems disapproved of writing this letter, endeavoured to secure himself, by procuring it to be authenticated by the king, who had added, with his own hand, "This letter is written by my order. C. R." The commons now no longer doubted that Charles had acted in concert with France; and though they perceived that the latter reflected greater dishonour on the king than his minister, yet in order to discover the whole truth of this provoking mystery, they impeached Danby of high treason, but the lords refused to put him under arrest. The dispute now became violent between the two houses, and Charles, to prevent the disagreeable consequences that might result from a breach between two branches of the legislature, first prorogued, and afterwards dissolved the parliament, now justly suspicious and disaffected, though at first very favourable to the interests of the crown. The alteration in the sentiments of the commons was wholly owing to the conduct of the king, and the spirit of the nation.

The conspirators' trials now wholly engrossed the attention of the public, and Coleman was the first that felt the weight of popular indignation. On the 27th of November he was brought to the bar of the King's bench, where lord chief-justice Scoggs presided. The evidences against him were Oates, Bedloe and his own letters. Oates and Bedloe swore that he had received a patent from the general of the Jesuits, to act as secretary of state; and that he had agreed to

the assassination of the king. He was accordingly convicted of high-treason, and suffered on the 3d of December, but declared his innocence to the last. Father Ireland also suffered, though he alledged he was in Staffordshire at the very time the accuser swore he attended the meetings of the conspirators in London. Every Jesuit was considered as a villain and that lying and mental reservation made part of the principles of their order. Several other persons were impeached, among whom were Thomas Poxer, a priest; John Grove, a lay-brother; Thomas Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits in England, and who, according to the evidence of Oates, was to have been created archbishop of Canterbury; Harcourt, Fenwick, Gaven and Turner, all Jesuits, at Langhorne, a catholic lawyer. These were all found guilty and executed.

A. D. 1679. On the 6th of March a new parliament met, when it was soon evident that a very considerable majority was on the side of the country party. Charles was alarmed; and in order to ingratiate himself with his new assembly, he prevailed upon his brother, the duke of York, to submit to an order of his leaving England. He deprived Danby of the treasurer's staff, and gave it to the earl of Lauderdale; but in order to prevent the former, either through resentment or fear, from discovering secrets he wished to be concealed, he granted him a free pardon.

The leaders of the popular party in general, and Shaftsbury in particular, determined to avail themselves of the popular commotions, and the majority in the commons, to carry into execution the plan they had formed for excluding the duke of York from the throne. Shaftsbury's object was to give the English crown to the duke of Monmouth, one of Charles's natural sons. It was already reported, that a marriage had been contracted between the king and Lucy Walters, the duke of Monmouth's mother. It therefore became necessary for Charles either to disapprove or confirm this report; and accordingly, he solemnly declared in full council, that it was false, and that Monmouth was illegitimate. The duke of York, who had obtained assurances from the king, before his departure from England, that he would support his succession to the crown, took up his residence at Brüssel.

Being disappointed in this attempt, the commons renewed the impeachment of Danby, notwithstanding the king had granted him a free pardon, and assured the house that the minister had done nothing but by his particular orders. They insisted, that pardon from the crown was no arrest of justice with them; and it was voted, that if Danby did not appear on a day appointed, he should be declared guilty. He did not chuse to provoke further the indignation of the commons; he appeared and was committed to the Tower.

These violent proceedings alarmed Charles, and induced him to summon Sir William Temple. His virtues he knew were revered by the public, and his duty in council. More attracted by the love of philosophy than those of ambition, Temple retired into the country, where he cultivated his favourite studies in a quiet retreat. But he had not received the royal mandate, than he hastened to court, always preferring the good of his country to his own. He proposed to form a council composed chiefly of the favourites of the people, by this means, said he, the parliament will be less troubling, or, at least, we shall have a strong party in the house against the discontented and factious. These notions were thought to be well founded, and were carried into execution. But contrary to his expectation, Charles appointed Shaftsbury president of the new council. The king flattered himself that by a

fering so honourable a post on that dangerous man, he would become a friend to the measures of the court. He was mistaken. Shaftsbury, perceiving that the king's conduct towards him was less the effect of sincerity than policy, changed not his conduct. He cultivated a still closer correspondence with the leaders of the opposition; and by being acquainted with the secrets of government, became a more dangerous enemy than ever.

The commons having acquired so able a leader, were determined to carry their resentment to the greatest lengths. They resolved, that the duke of York's zeal for popery, and the hopes of seeing him on the throne, occasioned popish conspiracies. The king, who saw the design of this resolution, endeavoured to prevent it, by proposing conciliating measures. He offered to pass a bill for restricting the power of a catholic prince, if ever one of that persuasion should fill the English throne. He was not to have the right of conferring church dignities. The members of the privy council, the judges, the lord-lieutenants of counties, and their deputies, together with all the officers of the navy, were neither to be appointed nor removed, without consent of parliament. These extraordinary concessions, which must so greatly have limited the prerogative, were not sufficient to appease the house, which was constantly enflamed by the cabals of Shaftsbury.

A considerable majority therefore resolved to bring in what was called "The Exclusion Bill," by which it was declared, "That the crowns of England and Ireland belonged to the next heir, the duke of York excepted; that if he appeared in either of these kingdoms, he should be declared guilty of treason; and that those who defended his title should be deemed enemies and traitors." Nor was this the only popular act of the commons; they expelled all such as possessed lucrative offices, in order to weaken still farther the influence of the crown. They declared standing armies, and even the royal guards, illegal; and they passed the famous Habeas Corpus bill, which is still considered as the principal security of the subject. By virtue of this noble act, no person can be sent to prison beyond the sea. No judge can refuse a prisoner his habeas corpus, which obliges the goaler to produce the prisoner before any court the writ shall appoint, and there shew cause for the imprisonment. The prisoner is to be tried at the time appointed; and if he is discharged by a court of justice, he cannot be imprisoned again upon the same account. This bill soon after passed the upper house, and received the royal assent.

These bills being passed, the commons resumed the prosecution of Dauby; and resolved that to maintain the validity of the royal pardon in his case was an infringement of their privileges. They also demanded, that the bishops, who were considered as entirely devoted to the court, should absent themselves during the trial. This was opposed by the upper house, and the commons prepared a remonstrance. Charles was alarmed at these proceedings, and fearful lest they should present a remonstrance to him, which might have the most dangerous consequences, he repaired to the house of lords on the 27th of May; and after giving the royal assent to five bills, he prorogued the parliament to the 1st of August. By this means the exclusion bill was dropped for a time, and the scheme of Shaftsbury rendered abortive.

The protestants in Scotland were treated with as much severity as the catholics in England. They bore the persecutions for a long time; but at last seeing no prospect of an end to their miseries, they lost all patience, and determined to take a full revenge on their persecutors. Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, who had made his fortune by deserting their party,

and was now become as great a persecutor as Lauderdale himself, was marked out for destruction. A large body of the covenanters accordingly lay in ambush for him, and as he was returning in his coach from the council at Edinburgh, they attacked him near a little village called Magus, about two miles from St. Andrews; they immediately dragged him out of his carriage, and regardless of the prayers, tears and supplications of his daughter, who happened to be with him, put him to death in the most inhuman and brutal manner.

A murder so exceedingly cruel was a signal for the covenanters to fly to arms. They accordingly assembled from every quarter, proclaimed the covenant at Rutherglen, surprized the city of Glasgow, issued a proclamation, commanding the magistrates to drive all archbishops, bishops and curates, out of the kingdom immediately; and inviting all their brethren to join them, and finish the good work they had so happily begun. They were soon joined by a vast multitude of people; but instead of confining themselves to the redressing of grievances, they fell to plundering the adjacent country. This gave time to the magistrates to provide for the security of Edinburgh. The duke of Monmouth was sent, at the head of an army, to reduce them, and soon executed his commission. He came up with them at Bothwell-bridge; and falling upon them with incredible fury, soon gained a complete victory. Near 1000 of the insurgents were left dead on the field of battle, and 1200 taken prisoners, among whom were several of those concerned in the murder of archbishop Sharp. These were all hanged up immediately; a few more were afterwards tried and executed; but the greatest part were sent to the plantations. Monmouth, desirous of gaining the affections of the Scots, treated the people with great humanity.

During this rebellion in Scotland, the king was seized with a violent fever, which threw the whole kingdom into the utmost confusion. The council assembled; and notwithstanding the opposition of Shaftsbury, and several other members of the country party, they resolved to send for the duke of York from Brussels. He soon arrived, but in the interval the king was pretty well recovered. The opposition was not, however, idle during the king's sickness; they demanded that the parliament should be immediately assembled, and the court party, as a counterpoise to their petitions, presented the most respectful address. This opposition in the two parties introduced the names of Whig and Tory. The former, which had been given to the Scotch fanatics, was now given to the opposition; and the latter, which had been originally applied to the rebels in Ireland, was now applied to the courtiers. These odious appellations served no other purpose than that of fostering malignity and discord, and of widening the breach, already too large, between the two parties.

Monmouth's behaviour in Scotland alarmed the duke of York, who used every method in his power to procure the disgrace of that popular nobleman. He succeeded in his attempts, and Monmouth was obliged to retire to the continent, while he himself, under pretence of quieting the minds of the English, obtained permission to retire into Scotland, but made himself more enemies than friends in that kingdom. Shaftsbury, whose designs were now sufficiently known, was dismissed from his post of president of the council, and the earl of Radnor was appointed in his room. The earl of Effingham resigned his post as treasurer, and Laurence Hyde was appointed in his room. Lord Russell, one of the most popular and virtuous men in the kingdom, quitted the board, and Sir William Temple retired into the country.

The

The prosecutions carried on against the Roman catholics exasperated them so much, that they determined to be revenged upon their prosecutors, and turn the late odium from themselves to the presbyterians. They had accordingly recourse to one Dangerfield, a fellow who had suffered almost every punishment that the law could inflict on the most abandoned miscreant. This man, who enjoyed the first place in the chronicles of infamy, was tutored for the purpose. He was confined in Newgate for debt, when he was pitched upon as the leader in this scene of action. The catholics released him, and found him sufficient employment. He pretended to have been privy to a design for destroying the king and royal family, and changing the government into a commonwealth. The king and his brother countenanced the information, and rewarded him for his discovery with a sum of money. But certain papers, which he produced as evidences of his assertions, appearing to be forged by himself, he was sent to prison. His character was alone sufficient to create suspicions; all his haunts were ordered to be searched; and in the house of one Mr. Collier, a Roman catholic, his particular friend, they found the model of the plot fairly written in a book, tied with a ribbon, and concealed in a meal-tub. From this incident it was called the Meal-tub Plot. Finding the whole discovered, the miscreant made a general confession. He said the scheme had been contrived by the countess of Powis, the earl of Castlemain, and the five lords confined in the Tower, in order to invalidate the evidences of Oates, Bedloe, and others, against the papists. He added, that he was instructed to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Halifax, and others, of being concerned in a conspiracy against the king and the duke of York. This discovery being made, lord Castlemain and lady Powis were committed to the Tower, and the people did not fail to censure both the king and his brother with being concerned in this perfidious scheme.

A. D. 1680. On the 26th of January the parliament met, when the king endeavoured to inspire the members with the sentiments of unanimity so necessary for the public welfare. "All Europe (said he in his speech at the opening of the session) has its eyes on this assembly, and seems to think its fate involved in it, as well as ours. Let us beware of strengthening our enemies, and disheartening our friends, by unreasonable disputes. Should these arise, the reproach will not fall upon me, for I have neglected nothing that might keep you in peace while I live, and to leave you to when I die." But the commons were far from entering into these views. They began with acts of violence against the Tories. No respect was paid to the habeas corpus bill: arbitrary imprisonments grew so common, that the whole nation complained of the violence. One Stowell had the courage to resist an officer of justice, who attempted to imprison him by an order of the house. He said, in his defence, that he knew no law by virtue of which he could be deprived of his liberty. The commons did not think proper to proceed any farther; and in order to free themselves from the embarrassment, they gave out, that Stowell was sick, and they had granted him a month for his recovery. They now revived the exclusion bill, and sent it up to the lords for their concurrence. A violent debate succeeded, in which the eloquence of Shaftsbury was eclipsed by that of Halifax, his nephew, a zealous partizan of the court. At last the question was put, and the bill was rejected by a considerable majority. This decision rendered all the hopes of the commons abortive, and they discharged their resentment on some catholic peers, whom they

impeached as abettors of the popish plot. Five of them had been for some time confined in the Tower. The first they attacked was the old lord Stafford. Oates deposed that he had seen a commission sent to him, signed by father Oliva, general of the Jesuits. Two other witnesses swore that he had engaged to kill the king; and Stafford was found guilty by his peers, upon a majority of twenty-four voices. His courage, supported by conscious innocence, did not forsake him in the dreadful trial. Being very old and infirm, on going to his execution, he desired a chair: "I may tremble with cold; (said he, but then) heaven, I shall never tremble through fear." He declared, on the scaffold, his abhorrence of the corruptions of the church of Rome. "I die (said he) in hopes that the delusion will soon vanish, and the truth will oblige the world to do me justice at last." We believe you, my lord (replied the weeping populace); God bless your lordship." The executioner was melted into tears, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he performed his duty. The circumstances of this execution shook the general belief of the conspiracy; and though it still continued to alarm the people, no more blood was shed upon that account. The commons perceived the passions of the people were turned against them, and they began to act with less resolution.

The lower house was, however, still determined to pursue the plan they had formed, and found themselves the flexibility of Charles, and his necessities for money, would at last render them successful. They accordingly proposed several unnecessary bills; and at last voted, that they would grant no supplies till the exclusion bill was passed into a law. Convinced that nothing was now to be expected, Charles dissolved the parliament. But though he thus abruptly parted with one assembly, he hoped to have better success with another: and accordingly summoned a new parliament to meet at Oxford, where the unfavourable dispositions of the court could have no effect on the members. The measure occasioned the strongest resentment in the commons. The old members were re-elected, and they rebuked their constituents for their enquiry into the popish conspiracy, and for their attempt to exclude the duke of York from the throne: for, (added they) it was upon him as the principal cause of that rebellion, which threatens the nation. The duke of Montagu, the head of fifteen peers, opposed the court holding the parliament at Oxford; and presented a petition, "that the two houses would be exposed to the swords of the papists, and then adhere to them, of whom had crept even into the king's council." This was followed by a more open attack, and the duke of rebellion no longer hid itself under the cover of darkness.

A. D. 1681. The heads of the party at Oxford strongly courted; and the repetition of London, in particular, were followed by the citizens, with cockades, on which were inscribed, "No popery, no slavery." In a word, the parties endeavoured to make a pompous display of their strength; and the meeting of this parliament had rather the appearance of trade in the streets, than the names of Henry VI. at Clarendon. Oxford was Coventry, than the peaceable and amiable aspect of the sovereign and his people.

Charles, being exasperated at these appearances, began to exert his authority with a violence which he was thought incapable. He opened the session with a noble and elegant speech, in which he complained of the disrespectful proceedings of the last parliament, which were such, he said, as that princes beside himself would have borne with patience, he declared that a new assembly

fire nor intention to exercise arbitrary power over them, so he would not allow it to be exercised over himself. He again inculcated moderation in their debates, as it was by that means alone the ends of the nation, who had deputed them as representatives, could be answered. He told them he was willing to give them every satisfaction in his power, with regard to their fears of a popish successor, by joining with them to establish any practical scheme for putting the government entirely into the hands of protestants, during the reign of such a prince. In a word, that as he would, on his part, perform every thing that could reasonably be desired of him, so he expected that they should lay aside their animosities, and concur with him in that salutary intention; and not by a revival of their past irregularities inspire him with a disgust to parliaments.

The desired effect, however, was not produced by this speech. Equally indifferent to the menaces and threatenings of the king, they elected the same speaker that filled the chair in the last parliament, and adopted the same measures, namely, the impeachment of Danby, the enquiry into the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion. They were so determined to carry the last measure, that they rejected every expedient. Exactly, one of the king's ministers, in order to remove all their fears with regard to a popish successor, proposed, "that the duke of York should be banished 500 miles from the British dominions: that the government should be wholly vested in a regent: that this regent should be the princess of Orange; and in case of her death without issue, in the princess Anne: that if the duke should have a son educated in the protestant religion, then the said princesses respectively to succeed in the regency, during the minority of such son, and no longer: that notwithstanding these kingdoms, out of respect to the royal family, and for preserving the right of succession, might be governed in the name of James II. yet no man should take arms from him, or by virtue of his commission, on pain of being capitally punished: that all officers, civil or military, shall take an oath to observe this settlement of the government: that acts of a similar nature should pass in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland: that if the duke of York should come into any of the three kingdoms, he should be absolutely excluded, and the government devolve to a regent: that all papists of any consideration should be banished by name, and their children be educated in the protestant religion." But even this opinion, which amounted very near to an exclusion, was rejected. They were determined on their object, and no palliative expedients would be accepted. Being the time of the parliament's being thus adjourned, one Fitz-Harris, an Irish catholic, had thrust himself into the favour of the court, by giving information concerning the schemes of the opposition. He joined with one Everard in composing an infamous and injurious libel, apparently a piece of getting money by the information. A man, who serves his associate when it is his interest to lay him up. Everard impeached Fitz-Harris, and he was immediately arrested. The prisoner had no hopes of escaping from the hand of justice, by changing his party. He accordingly declared that he had been engaged by the court to write the objection to the exclusion bill. He added some other particulars concerning the popish plot, and promised he could make very important discoveries, if he was only hoping to obtain fresh matter for denouncing. The court afforded him their protection, and then the measure was to release him out of the hands of the law. In order to this, they sent up an impeachment against him to the lords, who thought proper to

reject it. Exasperated at this refusal, the commons complained of a violation of privilege, and declared, that if any judge should presume to try Fitz-Harris, he should be held guilty of that violation.

This altercation between the two houses continued to increase, which afforded Charles a very favourable opportunity of putting a period to a parliament whom he found were determined to oppose him in every particular. He, however, kept his design a secret even from his most intimate friends; and on the 28th of March, the very day the exclusion bill was to be read the second time, he repaired with the utmost privacy to the house, and before they had received the least intimation of his design, dissolved the parliament. This resolute behaviour of the king disconcerted all the measures of the Whigs. He afterwards published a proclamation, in which he gave his reasons for dissolving the two last parliaments, and accused the commons of a design to wrest from him the regal authority, and totally subvert the constitution of England.

Being from experience convinced, that he had nothing to hope from the commons, he determined not to expose himself any longer to parliamentary storm. He retrenched the expences of his government, relinquished the town of Tangier in Africa, though the fortifications had cost him very considerable sums; and seemed resolved to maintain the triumph he had gained over the opposition by his vigour. The clergy now boldly propagated the favourite maxims of the crown, and the whigs were represented as factious and republicans of the most dangerous kind. Doubts were thrown out with regard to the truth of the popish conspiracy; and could the king have maintained the same moderation in his conduct he had hitherto done, his triumph would have been worthy of him; but he suffered reprisals of too rigorous a nature to be made by the very party. The spies who had served the parliament now offered their services to the court, and were accepted. Fitz-Harris was tried and executed. He declared before his execution that the libel was his own, and that he had composed it merely to give it up to the ministry for the sake of a reward. The duke of York was recalled from Scotland, and resumed his seat at the council board.

It is necessary here to observe, that Ireland had for some years been governed by the duke of Ormond, a zealous royalist, and a true friend to his country. He professed the principles of the protestant religion, but was no bigot to his tenets: he was indulgent to those of other persuasions, and, provided they did nothing to disturb the peace of the government, was willing they should worship their Maker in the manner most agreeable to their conscience. Ormond had served Charles faithfully; he never forgot him in his banishment, but disdaining the maxims of flattery and adulation, he was long neglected by that prince, who could not number greatness among his virtues. Dillon, an Irish colonel, once requested the duke to assist him on some particular occasion with his interest at court, adding that he had no other dependence but on God and himself. "I am heartily sorry for you," replied the duke, "you could not possibly have the friendship of a friend at court." During his government, his whole study was to preserve peace, and render the people happy. But his virtues were not sufficient to defend him against the malice of Shaftsbury. He attacked him in parliament with all the powers of eloquence, and imputed crimes of which he was wholly a stranger. Ormond's only defender was his own son, the earl of Ossory. He invalidated all the imputations of Shaftsbury, and afterwards put circumstances on the conduct of his father, which did him honour. He never advised to break the

triple alliance; he never advised to shut up the exchequer; he never advised the declaration in favour of the non-conformists; he never advised to break with Holland, to preserve the alliance with France: let my father enjoy the privilege that all honest men ought to enjoy; let him be judged by his counsels and his actions." Shaftsbury felt the poignancy of the sarcasm, having been the author of those evil counsels which the king had followed. The lords applauded the noble defence of Offory, and his true and simple narrative of facts prevailed over the artificial eloquence of his adversary. Offory did not long survive this triumph. His father was sincerely affected with his death, and said on that melancholy occasion, "I would not change my dead son for any living son in Christendom."

While the duke of York resided in Scotland he practised all the severities of arbitrary power. He established a test by which the royal prerogative, the supremacy, and passive obedience were expressly acknowledged. But the oath was drawn up in so prolix and ill-digested a manner, that Argyle thought some explanations necessary, before he could be prevailed upon to take it. This conduct exasperated the duke, who determined to make him feel the weight of power. Argyle was arrested and condemned; but found means to escape. Above two thousand presbyterians were prosecuted on this account with the most horrible severity. An inquisition more cruel than that of Spain was carried on in various parts of Scotland. The people complained, but without redress; the duke of York, who now directed the affairs of the kingdom, stifled all their applications.

A. D. 1683. Instead of being the parent of his people, Charles now openly headed a faction. Very extraordinary measures were taken to humble the city of London, whose power and political intrigues had given great umbrage to the court. A Quo Warranto, or an order to produce the charters of the city, was issued. If it should appear upon strict enquiry, that any of the conditions prescribed in either of these charters had been violated in any essential point, the privileges of the city might be taken away. Two facts were cited to prove that the city had actually broken the conditions of the charter. This was deemed by the council for the defendants with very strong reasons; but the judges, devoted to the court, passed sentence agreeable to its intentions. Struck with consternation, the common-council assembled to consult the most proper measures to be taken on this alarming exigency. It was proposed, that an entire submission should be made to the ministry, as the only means of preventing the total extinction of the liberties of the city. This proposal was strongly opposed by the whigs. They represented the late action of the court as a most notorious violation of their rights and privileges; and added, that they should be in some measure accessory to this act of usurpation, if, by a dastardly submission, they acknowledged the unjust authority. Fear, blended with interest, however, prevailed over that firmness and resolution which might have been expected from the capital of the English nation. An humble deputation was sent to his majesty, requesting the restoration of their charter. Their petition was granted, but not till they had made such concessions as in effect annihilated even the shadow of liberty.

Alarmed at the example of the capital, all the other corporations in the kingdom tamely resigned their charters into the king's hands: nor could they obtain a restoration of them till they had paid considerable sums, and even then all the places of power and profit were, like those of the capital, left entirely at the disposal of the crown. This may truly be considered as the triumph of despotism. The English

were no longer that bold and resolute people who, in defence of their ancient privileges, had made their monarchs tremble on the throne, they were degraded into slaves, who covered the yoke of oppression, and offered the incense of adulation to the tyrant that trampled upon their liberties.

The duke of Monmouth, the earl of Shaftsbury, lord Russel, and several other noblemen, had formed a plot for an insurrection. After the dissolution of the parliament at Oxford, Shaftsbury had been imprisoned, and an indictment for high treason had been preferred against him; but the bill was rejected by the grand jury. After the seizing of the city's charter, he found means to renew the scheme; and it was proposed to excite insurrections in different parts of the country, and even to attack the king's guards. As their measures were taken, the time fixed, and a manifesto ready for justifying the revolt. But some unforeseen accidents occasioned delays. Shaftsbury, who knew the danger, despaired of success. He therefore abandoned the enterprize, and retired into Holland, where he died soon after, disregarded both by friends and enemies.

Shaftsbury's defection did not, however, intimidate the conspirators; they determined to pursue their plan, and hoped for success from the universal dissatisfaction that prevailed in every part of the nation. While they were employed in concerting measures for carrying their design into execution, another plot was formed by a set of inferior conspirators. The principal of these were colonel Rumsey, colonel Walcot, both republican officers: Goodenough, under-sheriff of London; West, Tyler, Norton, Ayloffe, Ferguson, Rouse, Home, Keiling, Holloway, Bourne, Lee and Reinhold. The last, who was a miller, possessed an estate in the road to Newmarket, called the Rye-house farm. Hence the conspirators frequently met, and from this circumstance the conspiracy is generally known by the name of the Rye-house Plot. The design was to attack the king's guards, and seize the persons of the king and his brother on their return from Newmarket. This being effected the conspirators were to have repaired, with the utmost haste to London, in order to join their brethren in the city, assemble their forces, and break out into open rebellion.

The whole design, however, was discovered before it could be carried into execution, by the confession of Keiling. Orders were immediately issued for seizing the conspirators. Terrified at their danger, West and Rumsey surrendered with an intention of becoming evidences. The former had been admitted into the secret of the plot formed by the noblemen, and orders were accordingly issued for arresting them. Russel, Effex, Howard, Sidney, and Hambden, taken to the celebrated republican of that name, were apprehended, and sent to the Tower. Monmouth seconded. Walcot, Home, and Rouse were seized. The evidences against them were Rumsey, West, and one Bourne, a brewer, who concurred in a plot the preceding year on the business of the plot. Walcot in his defence, alledged, and offered to prove by a doubled testimony, that he was ill of the gout at the time the king was at Newmarket. The evidence against him was, however, greatly strengthened by a letter he himself wrote, while under confinement to secretary Jenkins; wherein he promised to reveal all he knew relative to the plot against the king. The jury found them all guilty, and they were all after executed at Tyburn.

Lord Russel's trial followed that of Walcot. Howard, a man of a very profligate character, defended to purchase his pardon, by making a

dence against his friends. But his conduct rendered him so universally odious, that not a man of character or reputation in either party would afterwards admit him into their company. In adhering to the letter of the laws of England on the subject of treason, it was difficult to constitute the crime of the peers. According to the famous statute of Edward III. there are two species of treason, the intention or attempt to take away the king's life, and the actual attempt to make war against him. According to a statute of Mary, either of these crimes must be proved by the concurrent testimony of two evidences, with regard to any act tending to such purposes. The refinements of the lawyers rendered the definition less limited, and, consequently, the proof more easy. This was what condemned Russell, who had long been the idol of the people. Too honest to deny that he had any concern in the proposed insurrections, he insisted only in saying, that he had no design against the life of the king. Monmouth offering to surrender himself a prisoner, if he thought that action would save his life, the earl nobly answered, "By no means; I should gain nothing by seeing my friend die with me." He also rejected the offer of lord Cavendish, who was desirous of changing dresses with him, in order to facilitate his escape.

Lord Russell, on the morning of his execution, after winding up his watch, said, "We have done with time, we have nothing now to think of but eternity." It was thought he would have been pardoned, could he have been prevailed upon to abandon a principle he had always maintained, and which was thought by the court incompatible with the duty and loyalty of a subject. This principle was, that the power of the king of England is limited by the laws; and that if he goes beyond these bounds, the subjects have a right, in their own defence, to bring him back. But he always declared, that he was incapable of the base design of assassinating the sovereign. He often declared, that he preferred a violent death to any other; because after being exposed a few minutes to the eyes of the populace, every thing was over; and that there was less to be suffered than in the drawing of a tooth. He was attended in his last moments by Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet. He suffered on a scaffold erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, on the 21st of July; and died as an Englishman, without shewing the least weakness, though surrounded by a populace drowned in tears.

The next victim was the celebrated Algernon Sidney, son to the earl of Leicester. His prodigious talents, his insuperable courage, and his passion for liberty, gave him a distinguished place among the revolutionaries. He opposed the restoration of monarchy with the same zeal he had before opposed the usurpation of Cromwell. Finding that his opposition would be vain, he withdrew into Holland; but desirous of saving his native country, he took the benefit of an act of indemnity, and returned to England. He then joined the country party, and warmly supported the bill of exclusion. In a word, he opposed, by his interest and eloquence, every design and measure of the court. Howard was the only evidence against him: his papers were therefore produced, in order to supply the rest. Some writings, in which he expressed his own sentiments on the natural contract, his reluctance to tyrants, on the advantages of a republican government, were considered as supplementary evidences, more than sufficient to convict him. In vain did Sidney represent, that the rejection of a hand writing, a proof rejected in England, was the only evidence that those works were his. Besides, they had never been published or communicated to any person; that they proved no treason or conspiracy, because it was clear the writings

was of an older date. He was, however, condemned: the duke thought him too formidable an enemy to escape. His sentence had, however, no power to terrify him; he gloried in dying for the cause he had embraced from his infancy. This illustrious man must for ever be lamented, as, under a republican government, he must certainly have merited the highest applause.

Lord Essex being found dead in prison, at first it was strongly reported that he was murdered by order of the king and his brother; but there were afterwards found sufficient proofs that he had put an end to his own life. This was the less surprising, as he had always been a strong advocate for suicide. The principal friends of the duke of Monmouth being dead, that nobleman wrote two letters to the king, filled with the most humble and submissive expressions. Monmouth was the favourite son of Charles, who now felt all his tenderness revive. He accepted of the guilty youth's submission, and permitted him to come to court. He even indulged him so far, that he was excused from giving evidence against any of his friends; but was required to sign a paper, owning the plot in general, and tacitly justifying the evidence against those who had suffered. In a few days, however, Monmouth repented of the step he had taken, and, with the greatest earnestness, intreated the king to return him the paper. Charles was so highly incensed at his behaviour, that he banished him from court. Monmouth passed over into Holland, where the king, notwithstanding all that had passed, corresponded with him by letter, unknown to the duke of York, and privately made him considerable remittances of money.

The king now enjoyed an almost unlimited authority in peace. The plot that had been formed against him rendered him dearer to his people, who imputed all the late severities to the duke of York. The doctrine of absolute submission and passive obedience became the prevailing system; and the university of Oxford condemned for those propositions which before had been established as principles. Among these were the following: "All civil authority is derived originally from the people: the sovereignty of England consists of three estates, the king, the lords, and the commons; and the king has a power equal to that of the two houses. Self-preservation is a fundamental law of nature, and over-rules all other laws, when put in competition with it." These propositions were now condemned. Such is the instability of human opinions!

In order, if possible, to recover his popularity, the duke of York relaxed, for a time, the furious measure he had embraced, but his attempt was in vain; the veil was too thin to hide the enormity of his late conduct. Charles was more successful. He knew the fear of popery had caused the most alarming apprehensions in the minds of the people, and was desirous of dissipating their terrors. He thought proper to bestow his niece, the princess Anne, daughter to the duke of York, on prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. But though he gratified his people in that particular, he never could be prevailed upon to call a parliament, or trust the nation with the election of new representatives, who might, in their collective capacity, become formidable to his newly assumed despotic power. York strongly supported this resolution of his brother; and at the same time prevailed upon him to pursue such measures, as rendered it highly imprudent to convene that assembly.

Lord Danby, who had remained several years a prisoner in the Tower, was now admitted to bail, the four popish lords that still remained in confinement were admitted to the same privilege. Lord Penne had died in the Tower about a month before. On his death bed

death-bed he wrote a letter to the king, assuring him on his hopes of salvation, that he was entirely innocent of the plot with which he was charged.

Charles, however, conscious of being the oppressor of a free and generous people, pined beneath the oppression under which the whole nation groaned. He had pursued measures he secretly condemned, and yielded to counsels which his own heart told him were equally inconsistent with his honour, and the happiness of his people. Naturally of an easy temper, and a gentle disposition, he had suffered arbitrary, and even cruel proceedings, to receive the sanction of his authority, and the seal of royalty had been stamped on actions he never approved. He now saw, but it was too late, that while he compelled his people to submit to his desires through fear, he had lost their affections as subjects. Penetrated with these reflections he formed a design of changing his conduct, and restoring the neglected intercourse between himself and his parliament. The duke of York proposing some measures which were extremely disagreeable to the king, Charles said to him, with some vivacity, "Brother, I am now too old to go a second time upon my travels; you may do it if you please." But he lived not to carry the generous plan he had formed into execution.

A. D. 1684. The king was seized with an apoplectic fit on the seventh of February, and four days after he expired, in the 55th year of his age, and the 25th. of his reign, computing from his restoration. Some believed that he was poisoned; but there seems very little foundation for that opinion. The papists, however, bore the odium of the act, and were said to have perpetrated the execrable deed, in order to prevent his carrying on the reformation he had proposed.

This monarch would have been more worthy had

not indolence, and the indulgence of his passions, perverted his natural talents. He was an enemy to labour, forgetful of services, attached to no person from esteem, and negligent of every duty. His conduct gave sufficient room for the censure of one of his intimate friends, that he never uttered a foolish sentence, * nor ever did a wise action.

Most of his faults as well as his vexations, flowed from one source; his excessive love of pleasure. To obtain the pecuniary assistance of France he formed an alliance with that power, which gave sufficient room to expect that his real intention was that of making himself absolute. This opinion gave rise to all the disputes between him and his parliament, and seemed even to threaten him with the loss of his crown. He was guilty of the same mistake that had involved all the Stuart family in distress; they thought their authority equal to that of the most powerful monarchs on the continent, and thence paid no regard to the English constitution. Their principles and conduct could not therefore fail of alarming a people whose liberties were founded on Magna Charta, and were now grown excessively jealous of their privileges. Had the Stuarts paid more respect to the laws and constitution of England their own prerogatives would have been secured, and they would have reigned with more honour to themselves and advantage to the people. In private life Charles had fewer faults. He was an obliging though negligent husband, a generous lover, a tender father, and a good master; but gratitude was a virtue to which he was totally a stranger: the royalists served him faithfully from affection; but he remembered not their services; nor took any care to restore that fortune they had generously spent in the support of his family.

Charles II. had no children by his queen, Cath-

* The earl of Rochester, alluding to his faults, and likewise his extreme fondness for Merton, wrote the following epigrammatic epitaph:

"Here lies the mutton-eating king,
"Whole word no man relies on;
"Who never said a foolish thing,
"Or ever did a wise one.

† Perhaps a character was never drawn with greater energy of diction, stronger force of argument, or higher colouring, than that of this monarch by the admirable pen of Churchill. After allowing for the peculiar complexion of the times in which the poet invoked his muse, it must be acknowledged that the principal features are justly marked, and the whole portrait finely pencilled. We shall therefore, without further apology, present it to our readers at full length.

From land to land for years compell'd to roam,
Whilst usurpation lorded it at home;
Of majesty unmindful, forc'd to fly,
Not daring, like a king, to reign or die:
Recall'd to repossess his lawful throne,
More at his people's seeking than his own,
Another Charles succeeded.—In the school
Of travel he had learn'd—to play the fool.
And, like pert pupils, with dull tutors sent
To shame their country on the continent,
From love of England by long absence wean'd,
From ev'ry court, he ev'ry folly glean'd;
And was, to close do evil habit bring,
'Till crown'd, a beggar, and when crown'd, no king.
Those grand and general powers, which heav'n design'd
An instance of his mercy to mankind,
Were lost, in storms of dissipation hurl'd,
Not would he give one hour to bless a world;
Lighter than levity which flouds the blast,
And, of the present fond, forgot the past;
He chang'd and chang'd, but, ev'ry hope to curse,
Chang'd only from one folly to a worse.
State he resign'd to those whom state could please,
Careless of majesty, his wish was ease,
Pleasure, and pleasure only, was his aim,
Kings of less wit might hunt the bubble same

Dignity, through his reign was made a sport,
Nor dar'd Decorum shew her face at court.
Morality was held a standing jest,
And faith a necessary fraud at best.
Courtiers, their monarch ever in their view,
Possess'd great talents, and abus'd them too;
Whate'er was light, impertinent and vain,
Whate'er was loose, indecent, and profane,
(So ripe was folly, folly to acquit)
Stood all absolv'd in that poor bauble—wit.

In gratitude, alas! but little read,
He let his father's servants beg their bread,
His father's faithful servants, and his own.
To place the foes of both around his throne.

Bad counsels he embrac'd through indolence,
Thro' love of ease, and not thro' want of sense.
He saw them wrong, but rather let them go
As right, than take the pains to make them so.
Women rul'd all, and ministers of state
Were for commands at toilets forc'd to wait;
Women, who have, as monarchs, grac'd the law,
But never govern'd well at second hand.

To make all other errors slight appear
In mem'ry he'd, stand Dunkirk and Tangier.
In mem'ry he'd to deep, that time in vain
Shall strive to wipe those records from the brain.
Amboyna stands—Gods! that a king should loze
In such high estimate, vile, paucity gold,
And of his duty be so careless found,
That when the blood of subjects from the ground
For vengeance call'd, he should reject their cry.
And, brib'd from honour, lay his thunder dry.
Give Holland peace, whilst English victims grow;
And butcher'd subjects wander'd unatoned
O, dear, deep injury to England's name!
To them, to us, to all! to him deep shame!
Of all the passions which from frailty spring
A vice is that which least becomes a king.

To crown the whole, forming the public good
Which through his reign he little understood
Or little heeded, with too narrow aim,
He reasum'd a bigot brother's reign,
And, having made time serving tenacious hours,
Suddenly died, that brother best known



rine of Portugal, a virtuous princess, who could never engage the affections of her husband. He, however, left a numerous progeny, the fruits of his illicit love.

By Mrs. Lucy Walters, one son, James, duke of Monmouth, born in 1646.

By Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew, viscountess Shannon, one daughter, Charlotte-Maria Henrietta Jemima-Maria Fitzroy, married first to James Howard, and afterwards to the earl of Yarmouth.

By Mrs. Catherine Peg, one son, Charles Fitz-Charles, earl of Plymouth, born in 1658.

By Mrs. Barbara Villers, duchess of Cleveland, three sons, and as many daughters; Charles Fitzroy, created duke of Southampton, and, after his mother's death, duke of Cleveland; Henry Fitzroy, duke of Grafton; and George Fitzroy, duke of Northumberland: Anne Fitzroy married to the earl of Suffex; Charlotte Fitzroy, married to the earl of Litchfield; and Barbara, who took the veil in the nunnery of Pontoise in France.

By Loise de Querouaille, dutchess of Portsmouth, Charles Lenox, duke of Richmond.

By Mrs. Eleanor Gywnn, an actress, one son, Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Albans. And

By Mrs. Mary Davis, a lady of the same profession, one daughter, Mary Tudor, married to the earl of Derwentwater.

Independent of Historical facts, the following are the most remarkable occurrences which happened in this reign.

In 1663 news-papers were first printed in England.

The year 1665 gave rise to the Gazette Royal, which was first published at Oxford (the court being

there) in a folio half sheet on the 7th of November. On the removal of the Court to London the title was changed to the London Gazette; the Oxford Gazette was published on Tuesdays, the London on Saturdays, and these have continued to be the days of publication ever since.

In 1666 happened the fire of London.

The year 1676 is remarkable for the invention of callico printing, which was first executed in London.

In 1678. Tea was first brought to England by Lord Ossory from Holland. and being admired by persons of rank it was imported from thence, and generally sold for 60s. per pound, till our East-India Company took up the trade.

The year 1680 is distinguished by St. James's Park being laid open for the use of the public, and the game of mall played in it by the nobility. The place still retains the name, and the irons and side-guards for the bales were not removed till so lately as 1752.

The same year (viz. 1680) was first printed the votes of the House of Commons.

In 1683 was one of the longest and hardest frosts that till then had happened in England. It began about the middle of December, and continued till the 5th of February. A fair was kept on the Thames, and oxen roasted on the ice: the coaches drove from the Temple to Westminster-hall on the river as frequently as in the streets.

During this reign the Scotch pedlars in Poland, amounting to 53,000, were numbered and taxed by the pole, by permission of the Polish monarch. The commissioners appointed for receiving this tax were Sir John Denham and Mr. Killigrew, who brought home 10,000l. sterling, besides defraying the expences of the commission, voyage and journey.

S E C T I O N II.

J A M E S II.

N O sooner did Charles II. pay the debt of nature than his brother James (notwithstanding the endeavours of the two last parliaments to exclude him from the throne) was proclaimed king without the least opposition from any of the people. But James himself dreaded the consequences that might result from the more zealous part of his subjects, on account of his religion, which he was resolved to support, and, if possible, to re-establish in England. He therefore thought it would be the most prudent method immediately to assemble the privy-council, and by delivering a flattering speech, filled with promises he never intended to perform, endeavour to dissipate the fears too many had entertained of the consequences that might result from his religious principles.

Accordingly, when the council assembled, James, after bestowing some praises on the memory of his predecessor, proceeded in the following manner: "I have been represented as infatuated with principles of arbitrary power; nor is this the only calumny that has been thrown upon me. But I now declare that I will endeavour to maintain the government both in church and state, as by law established. I am sensible that the church of England is favourable to monarchy, and that all the members of it have shewn themselves faithful subjects. I shall therefore apply

myself to support and defend it. I am sensible, at the same time, that the laws of England make me as powerful a prince as I can wish to be; and my object is to preserve the prerogative of my crown without invading the privileges of my subjects. I have often exposed my life in defence of the nation, and am still ready to expose it for the maintenance of its just rights and privileges."

It is no wonder that a speech, filled with such noble sentiments, should be received with general applause, and that it should revive the spirits of the English, who had formed the most alarming apprehensions of his conduct. James had established his courage and conduct as a seaman, and he was considered as one of the most able persons in Europe, with regard to maritime affairs. His friends magnified his probity to the skies; and the people readily believed them, because they wished it to be true. Addresses were sent from every quarter of the kingdom, filled with the warmest expressions of duty and respect. Even the quakers followed the general practice, and waited on the king with a congratulatory address, in which was the following remarkable paragraph: "We are come to signify our affliction for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy to see thee made the ruler of the people. They tell us, thou art not of the church of England any more than we; so we hope

hope thou wilt allow us the same liberty that thou takest thyself: and if thou dost, we wish thee all manner of prosperity."

From the general marks of respect which James received from his subjects he had reason to think that, notwithstanding the violent efforts made by the country party for his exclusion, he was firmly seated on the throne of England. But though the generality of the people entertained the most flattering hopes from their new monarch, yet the thinking part of the nation, particularly those who were best acquainted with his temper, were not to be imposed upon by specious assurances. It was, indeed, a kind of infatuation to suppose, that he really entertained the sentiments he professed. They had known him, while duke of York, to be a bigot to the Romish religion, and a zealous opposer of the reformation: they had been often witnesses that his disposition was merciless and cruel; and that he totally disregarded the liberties of the people, and the established form of government. They knew he was the principal adviser and promoter of all the unpopular and arbitrary measures pursued by his brother during the latter part of his reign; and that he himself was the sworn friend of Lewis XIV, whose ambition all Europe dreaded; and like that monarch, an inveterate enemy to all whom the Romish church styled heretics. Was it therefore reasonable to suppose that he would entirely alter his sentiments when he came to the throne? James was sensible, penetrating, and enterprising; but he was also headstrong, violent, and arbitrary; and his judgment by no means clear. How could it be expected that a king, with this mixture of good and bad qualities, could ever render his people happy?

James did not long keep his subjects in suspense with respect to his real sentiments and intentions. The very first Sunday after his accession he went publicly to hear mass, though contrary to the established laws of England; and the priests and jesuits became his principal confidants. He also published a proclamation for levying the duties of excise and customs granted to his predecessors, as if given by parliament, though he well knew that the grant expired with the life of his brother. He, however, took care not to shew much partiality to those of his own communion, in settling the officers of his household; for all who possessed posts under the late king were continued in their respective offices.

The great number of priests and jesuits, who now basked openly in the sunshine of the court, gave great offence to the people: But they were still more irritated when it was known that James had sent a messenger to Rome, in order to make submission to the pope, and to pave the way for a re-admission into the bosom of the catholic church. Innocent XI, who at this time filled the papal chair, very prudently advised the king not to be too precipitate in his measures, nor rashly attempt what repeated experience might convince him was absolutely impracticable. The Spanish ambassador also, knowing the tranquillity of England absolutely necessary for the support of Spain, used the freedom of making the like remonstrances. He observed how busily the priests appeared at court, and advised the king not to listen with too great facility to their dangerous counsels. "Is it not customary in Spain," replied James, "for the king to consult his confessor?" "Yes," replied the ambassador, "and it is for that reason our affairs succeed so ill."

The late king having been intreated privately, and at a very little expence (a poor return for the tenderness he had shewn to his brother all his life time) James and his queen were crowned by archbishop Sancroft, on St. George's day, April the 23d, 1685. The king would not receive the sacrament, but all

the rest of the ceremony was performed according to the form of the church of England.

James now thought proper to shew his resentment against those who were the principal witnesses for the popish plot. Among these the most conspicuous was Titus Oates, who was tried in the court of King's-bench on two indictments for perjury, and found guilty of both. He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, to stand five times every year on the pillory, and to be whipped first from Aldgate to Newgate, and the second day after from Newgate to Tyburn. But notwithstanding this dreadful punishment, which was executed with such severity that he fainted away several times, he would confess nothing. He continued in prison till the revolution, when he obtained his liberty, and a pension of 400l a year.

Dangerfield, his principal associate, was also tried for writing a seditious libel, and convicted. He was sentenced to stand twice on the pillory, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn another, and to pay a fine of 500l. As he was returning in a coach from his second whipping, he was insulted by one Francis, a barrister of Gray's-Inn. Dangerfield resented the unmanly treatment, and spit in his face. This so provoked the barrister, that he pushed his cane with the utmost violence in the face of Dangerfield, and striking him directly on the eye, he died in torture a few hours after. Francis was immediately apprehended, tried for the offence, and executed at Tyburn.

Though James had expressed his dislike to parliaments, and was confirmed in his sentiments by the queen and his popish priests, it was absolutely necessary, at the beginning of a reign, to summon that assembly. The low condition into which the whigs, or country party, had fallen during the last years of Charles's reign; the odium under which they laboured on account of the Rye-house conspiracy, caused the elections in general to fall on the tories. At the same time the general resignation of the charters had rendered the respective corporations absolutely dependent on the crown; and the recommendations of the court, though, at that period, little assisted by pecuniary influence, were become very prevalent. All these motives contributed to fill the house of commons with tories and zealous churchmen; and were from their affections, were strongly biassed to comply with the measures of the crown.

The parliament met on the 19th of May, when James opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which, after solemnly repeating the promise he had made before the privy-council, of governing according to the laws, and of preserving the protestant religion, he plainly told them he expected they would settle his revenue during his life, as they had done that of his brother. "I might," said he, "use many arguments to enforce this demand, the benefit of trade; the support of the navy; the necessities of the crown; and the well being of the government itself, which I must not suffer to be precarious. But I am confident that your own consideration, and your sense of what is just and reasonable, will sufficiently suggest to you what is to be done on this occasion, might be enlarged upon. I need not, indeed, use any popular argument, which may be used against complying with my demand. Men do not think that by feeding me from time to time with supplies, as they see convenient, they will better the state of the nation. I have spoken to you from the throne, I must plainly tell you that such an expedient will be very improper to employ with me; and that the best way to engage you to meet me often is, to use me well."

This speech wanted no comment to explain its meaning. It was sufficiently evident, that James had already formed a resolution of setting parliaments wholly aside, in case he met with any opposition. The parliament, however, thought proper to dissemble their apprehensions, and voted the king the fixed revenues of his predecessor; but added, that they depended upon his royal word for the performance, with regard to his maintaining the religion of the church of England, as it was beneath the dignity of a king to falsify his promise.

The obliging disposition of the parliament gave James the highest satisfaction, and he flattered himself with the hopes of a peaceful and happy reign. But he soon found himself greatly mistaken. The earl of Argyle, who had been obliged to fly from Scotland during the late reign, on an accusation of his having been concerned in a scheme formed by the duke of Monmouth for exciting a rebellion in that kingdom, flattered himself that the time was now come, when he might successfully stir up his countrymen against James, whom he considered as the sole author of his disgrace and misfortunes. He imparted his design to Monmouth, who was then an exile also in Holland; and that giddy prince immediately consented to the project.

Accordingly they hired a few ships of the Dutch, and got together about 2 or 300 of the English exiles in Flanders, men of desperate fortunes, and who had no means of retrieving their affairs but by a change of government at home. This was the whole force the duke and earl had to depend upon, except their hopes of being joined by a formidable number of the whig party, in case they could effect a successful landing either in England or Scotland.

These measures being concerted, the two chiefs separated in order to carry their design into execution. Argyle, at the head of a small company, but with arms sufficient for 5000 men, sailed from Holland in the beginning of May, and made a descent on the coast of Scotland. But he soon found himself deceived in the hopes he had entertained of being joined by a great number of his friends. He was, indeed, fortunate enough to collect about 2000 men, chiefly belonging to his own clan in the highlands. But the government having received advice of his intended enterprise, were prepared for his reception. A considerable body of troops were sent against him soon after his landing; while he, by the help of his ships, transported his men from place to place, till two or three of the king's ships arrived in these parts, when he was compelled to quit the sea-coasts, and march into the country, where he was incessantly pursued by the royal army. His followers, now perceiving that opposition was in vain, abandoned their master; and he himself was soon after seized and conveyed to Edinburgh, where he was publicly executed, and his head placed on the Tolbooth. Rombold, the contriver of the Rye-house plot, and some others who had fled from justice, and returned with Argyle, were also taken and executed.

Monmouth was no less unsuccessful in his attempt. He sailed out of the Texel on the 8th of May; and after having been detained nineteen days at sea by contrary winds, landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire on the 11th of June, with about eighty followers, but with arms for a much larger number. Some of his officers departed themselves about the country, in order, if possible, to engage the people to join him. They were so successful, that in a short space of time the duke's little army was increased to near 2000 men. On his first landing he published a manifesto, in which he declared, that the sole intention of his coming was to assert his natural right, and deliver the nation from the tyranny of the duke of York, whom he accused

of being the principal author of that dreadful conflagration which laid the capital in ashes; of the late popish plot for assassinating the king, and subverting the protestant religion; of the murder of the earl of Essex in the Tower; and of having actually imprisoned the king his brother. He represented the duke as being incapable, by his religion, of swaying the sceptre of England, which could never hope for peace and safety while a papist and a tyrant filled the throne.

This declaration, which upon the whole was fuller of invective than sound reasoning, produced very little effect in the duke's favour. Few persons of any distinction joined his standard, and the greater part of those who did were a rude, undisciplined rabble. On his reaching Taunton his army was increased to about 5000 men; but instead of marching directly to Bristol, which was in no condition to resist him, he spent several days in making preparations for a splendid procession when he was proclaimed king, which was performed on the 18th of June. This ridiculous piece of ostentation gave James time to assemble his forces, which were now in full march against him, under the command of the duke of Albemarle.

Monmouth began now to be sensible of the rashness of his project; but it was too late to retreat. A single alternative only remained; he must either conquer or perish. A council of war was called, when it was determined to march and meet the royal army, in order to prevent a surprize, which must have been fatal. When the duke came in sight of the royalists, he found them drawn up in excellent order on Sedgely-moor near Bridgewater. Early the next morning (July 6) the fight began. Monmouth's horse, commanded by lord Grey, fled at the first charge, owing to the inexperience, cowardice, or treachery of their general. He was himself taken prisoner, but readily obtained the king's pardon. The foot stood firm, and maintained their ground for a considerable time with great resolution; but being deserted by the horse, and exposed to a most dreadful fire from the artillery of the royal army, they at length gave way, and a most dreadful carnage ensued. Three hundred were killed upon the spot, above 1000 in the pursuit, and as many taken prisoners.

The duke, after using every method in his power to retrieve the fortune of the day, and displaying the most noble efforts of valour, was obliged to have recourse to flight. His assumed sovereignty vanished like a dream, and all his mighty prospects disappeared in an instant. He fled, attended only by one servant, till his horse dropped under him with fatigue. This incident obliged him to pursue his way on foot, till he reached a poor cottage, where he changed clothes with the peasant, and continued his flight till he was wholly spent. Reduced to this extremity, he laid himself down in a ditch, covered with fern. Unfortunately for him, a party of the king's soldiers passing the next day by the same cottage, one of the officers knew the duke's clothes, in which the countryman was dressed. He was immediately seized; and to extricate himself from danger, pointed out the road the duke had taken; and, after a strict search, he was discovered in his hiding place, with his pockets filled with green peas, the only food he had eaten since his defeat. He was carried immediately to London, and committed to the Tower.

Monmouth, brave as he was in arms, was not proof against this cruel reverse of fortune. On his arrival in London he wrote to the king, his uncle, in the most abject terms, humbly imploring his pardon, and protesting, by the most solemn asseverations, that if his majesty would be graciously pleased to overlook his former errors, he would endeavour, by his future conduct, to render himself worthy of so great a favour. All these submissions, however, were of

of no effect; for James was inexorable. The duke sued for an interview: James granted it; but it was only with an intent of making his own advantage by it. He thought his wretched prisoner might be induced, through fear of death and hope of pardon, to impeach his accomplices: but no such infamy dwelt in the heart of Monmouth; culpable and mistaken as he was, he refused to purchase life at the expence of honour. He resigned himself to his fate; and James, forgetful of the blood from whence he sprung, and regardless of his brother's recommendation of this unhappy youth to his favour, ordered him for immediate execution.

The duke's conduct in his last moments proved that his abject behaviour, on his first being apprehended, was the mere effect of human nature, oppressed by great calamity. He met his death in a manner that became his rank and character. On the 15th of July he was brought to the scaffold, attended by the tears of the multitude. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Ruffel, where he was obliged to redouble the blow. But this precaution had not the desired effect, for it so intimidated the man, that he could strike only a feeble blow on the neck of Monmouth, who raised his head from the block, and looked him in the face as if reproaching him for his failure. He again laid down his head, and the executioner struck him twice, but without effect; on which he threw aside the axe, and declared himself incapable of finishing the bloody office. The Sheriff, however, obliged him to renew the attempt; and at two blows more the head was severed from the body. Thus died James duke of Monmouth, whose character, in many respects, was truly amiable: he was brave, gentle, generous, sincere; but too open to flattery, and too warmly addicted to pleasure, the effects of his education in a court which was the emporium of debauchery. He was the darling of the people; the consciousness of which, and the allurements of ambition, had engaged him in enterprizes for which he was of all men the least qualified, and which, in the end, cost him his life.

The execution of Monmouth was followed by many others of the most barbarous nature. The lord chief-justice Jefferies (the greatest tyrant that ever filled the seat of justice) was sent into the west, to try the unhappy persons, who had been concerned in the late rash, and ill-concerted rebellion. Colonel Kirke, a soldier of fortune, who had long served at Tangiers, and, from his intercourse with the Moors, had contracted a disposition more inhuman than any known in Europe, attended him with a body of troops to keep the people in awe. The bare recital of the barbarities committed by these two inhuman monsters is sufficient to fill the reader with horror. Thirty were hanged at one time, as a diversion to colonel Kirk and his officers while they were at dinner. One execution was attended with such circumstances of perfidy, as well as barbarity, that its equal cannot, perhaps, be found in the history of any other country. A young maid, frantic with grief, repaired to the colonel, to implore pardon for her brother. She threw herself at his feet, armed with all the charms that beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could possibly bestow. Fired with lust, rather than softened by love and clemency, he promised to grant her request, provided she, on her part, would condescend to satisfy his desires. The struggle was severe between virtue and her affection for her brother. The latter at last prevailed; she submitted to the conditions; but after passing the night with this inhuman ruffian, he shewed her next morning, from the window of the apartment, her brother, the dar-

ling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had privately caused to be erected for his execution. The shock was too great for human nature: rage, despair, and indignation, took at once possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses. All the inhabitants of the country, innocent as well as guilty, were exposed to the ravages of this barbarian. The soldiers were suffered to live at free quarters; and his own regiment, instructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, distinguished themselves in a more particular manner, by their outrages. By way of pleasantry, he used to call them his "Lambs," an appellation long remembered in the west of England with horror.

The chief-justice Jefferies was equally cruel, and demands a severe reprehension, because his office should have taught him humanity. Mercy was a stranger to his breast; few escaped with life that were brought before him. He gloried in cruelty, and boasted of the numbers he had put to death. A lady of the anabaptist persuasion was burnt for extending her charity to one of the rebels who had implored her assistance. The wretch she had entertained was pardoned for turning evidence against her. Lady Lisle, though herself a loyalist, and her own son a volunteer in the king's army, was beheaded for entertaining a presbyterian minister in Monmouth's party, though he had not been mentioned in the proclamation. The jury were melted into pity, and thrice refused to find a verdict against her; but at last the menaces of the inhuman Jefferies prevailed; and the lady, who was above eighty years of age, suffered on a scaffold. Father Orleans pretends, that James disapproved of these cruelties, expressed his indignation, and repaired the injustice to the utmost of his power. But this is a proof that bigotry is capable of sacrificing the most obvious truths to the support of its party. James was so far from disapproving the cruel proceedings of Jefferies, that he created him a peer at his return, and rewarded him with the post of chancellor.

Besides the instances of cruelty inflicted on the western rebels, a great many more were exercised in London, and different parts of the kingdom, on the protestant party, under pretence either of their having been concerned in the Rye-house plot, or of favouring Monmouth's attempt. These measures were equally influenced by revenge, and the favourite design of establishing popery in these kingdoms. This scheme had been long since formed by James while duke of York; but never openly attempted till now, when being freed from Monmouth's rebellion, the king thought himself capable of carrying it speedily into execution. He accordingly began in Ireland, where he dissolved the privy-council, appointed a new one, and took care that the majority of the members should be papists. The protestants in that kingdom were every where disarmed, while means were found to keep on foot a standing army of catholics. Colonel Talbot, afterwards earl of Tyrconnel, by cashiering such officers and soldiers as he thought proper, and filling their places with others, soon modelled the army to the purposes it was intended to serve.

The situation of James was at this time as prosperous as any sovereign could wish. He had a standing army at his command: a parliament ready to second him in all his desires; passive obedience and non-resistance were inculcated as articles in the English creed; while the foreign states were vying with each other in courting the favour of a monarch, who confessedly held in his hands the balance of Europe. But James wanted prudence to take the advantage that now offered. Instead of inspiring him with a

Engraved
for *Rufus's History*
of *England*.



(GENERAL KIRK'S)
accrued freely to a Young Lady
who bore her Brother's Life

conduct suitable to the station he filled among the princes on the continent, which would not in the least have impaired his power, it served only to intoxicate him.

Persuaded he had no longer any occasion for disguising his sentiments, or suffering any restraint on his actions, James began to discover his designs in a manner too plain to be mistaken. He opened the session of parliament on the ninth day of November, with a speech, in which, after congratulating them on the happy suppression of the late rebellion, he observed, that the great reinforcements the rebels had received before they were quelled, had been entirely owing to the want of a regular force to disperse them at the first breaking out of the insurrection. He added, that the house must be sensible the militia was very insufficient for the defence of the kingdom in such emergencies, and, therefore, plainly told them, that he was determined to support the regular troops he had raised, amounting to fifteen thousand men, and demanded a supply for their maintenance. At the same time he desired the parliament not to take exception at his having admitted some catholic officers into the army, and dispensed with the test act in their favour. "They are, continued he, well known, and have served me faithfully during the late commotions: and I will deal plainly with you; having received the benefit of their services at a time of so much danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them."

The members of this parliament had, ever since their election, shewn the greatest approbation of passive obedience and non-resistance, and given very signal proofs of their attachment to the king's person. They had increased his annual revenues, rendered them perpetual, and, during the rebellion, granted him supplies greater than he could have asked. Could it therefore be suspected, that so compliant a parliament would have made any difficulty in passing a law as the test-act? James was persuaded they would not; but he was mistaken. Incompliant, this submissive parliament, still remembered, that there was such a thing as liberty entailed on the people of this happy land; and that they were the sworn conservators of that inestimable treasure in behalf of the people. They would have gone any decent lengths rather than come to a rupture with the king, or incur his displeasure: but this open declaration on his part to govern without the law, and even to act repugnant to them, roused them from their lethargy; and some who had been the warmest opposers of the exclusion bill, began to be alarmed at the large strides the king had made towards establishing arbitrary power. The motion for a address of thanks to the king for his speech met with great opposition in the house of lords, and was only passed by a small majority, the house refused to take the speech into further consideration. But it was different in the house of commons; for William Middleton, secretary of state, made a motion for thanking the king for his speech from the commons. Several of the members refused it; and a motion being made for an address to the king against employing popish officers in the army, contrary to the known laws of the land, it was carried in the affirmative, and the address was accordingly presented.

James was so highly offended at this liberty taken by the commons, that he sent them a very sharp remonstrance; and absolutely told them that he was fixed in his resolution both with regard to keeping up a standing army, and employing catholic officers. Terrified by this haughty message, the commons consented to indemnify the officers already employed; and to pass a new act for qualifying a certain number

whom the king should name. But so imperious was James's temper, so lofty the idea he had entertained of his own authority, so violent the schemes suggested by his own bigotry and that of his priests, that, without any delay, or waiting for any farther provocation, he immediately prorogued the parliament; and a short time after dissolved that assembly.

A. D. 1686. These arbitrary proceedings of the king struck the whole nation with terror. The church, which had hitherto supported the monarchy, was terribly alarmed, and even the army, by whose assistance alone he could now propose to govern, were highly disgusted. The former horror against popery was revived by polemical books and sermons; and in every dispute the victory seemed to be gained by the protestant divines, who conducted the argument with more learning and eloquence.

During these disputes an incident happened that displayed popery in all its terrors. After Lewis XIV. had long molested and harassed the protestants, he at last entirely revoked the edict of Nantz, which had been enacted by Henry IV. for securing them the exercise of their religion, and which had been declared irrevocable. All the cruelties inseparable from persecution were practised on these religionists, who became obstinate in proportion to the oppressions they suffered; and either covered, under a feigned conversion, a more violent abhorrence of the catholic communion, or sought in foreign nations that liberty they were denied in their native country. About half a million of the most useful and industrious subjects deserted France, and exported, together with immense sums of money, those arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom. They propagated every where the most tragical accounts of the tyranny exercised against them, and revived among the protestants all those sentiments of the bloody and persecuting spirit of popery, to which experience in all ages had given too much foundation. Near fifty thousand refugees passed over into England, and all men were disposed, from their representations, to imbibe the utmost horror against the projects which they apprehended were entertained by the king against the protestant religion.

When a man of so much humanity and signal prudence as Lewis could be engaged by the bigotry of his religion alone, without any provocation, to embrace such sanguinary and impolitic measures, it was asked, what might be dreaded from James, who was so much his inferior in those virtues, and had already been so highly exasperated by such violent opposition. It was in vain that the king seemed to blame the persecutions of France; in vain he afforded the most extensive protection and assistance to the distressed hugonots: all these symptoms of toleration were regarded as fallacious, and entirely opposite to the avowed principles of his test, and belied by his severe administration in Scotland against the non-conformists.

But neither his own promises, the complaints of his subjects, nor even the remonstrances of some of the most sensible and prudent of his popish counsellors, could divert James from the pursuit of his darling purpose, the establishment of the Romish religion in these kingdoms. Deaf to all reasonable and sober advice, he listened only to the dictates of his own superstition: and finding himself deserted by the church party, he affected to care for the presbyterians.

Accordingly, he sent his declaration into Scotland, suspending by virtue of his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, all oaths, &c. imposed upon non-conformists, who professed the christian religion. In this declaration he permitted the moderate presbyterians to meet in their private

houses only ; but forbade all field conventicles under the severest penalties. He permitted the quakers to meet according to their form, in any place appointed for their worship. At the same time, the catholics were declared to be relieved from the penalties inflicted by any act of parliament made against those of their faith. In this declaration the king likewise reiterated his promises made for maintaining the protestant religion, as by law established, and its bishops and regular clergy in the full enjoyment of their rights, liberties, and privileges.

Soon after this a similar declaration was published for liberty of conscience in England. It is not surprising that the several sects of protestant dissenters should at first consider these declarations as instances of great indulgence in the crown for the ease of tender consciences. Accordingly, addresses from all parts of the kingdom were sent to his majesty, filled with the most fulsome flattery. They even exalted the royal power beyond all bounds ; especially the addresses presented by the presbyterians, who had first set the example, in the reign of Charles I. to the rest of the nation, for prescribing the strictest limits to the royal authority. Human nature is always the same. The dissenters thought themselves unkindly used by that monarch ; they thought that James treated them like a tender parent, but they soon discovered that this act of the king was nothing more than a snare laid for extirpating the whole protestant interest in the kingdom : and therefore readily joined with the church of England in opposing the destructive doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance.

A. D. 1687. James, finding the non-conformists were no longer to be deluded by his promises, determined to pursue openly the resolution he had formed with regard to the establishing the popish religion. Accordingly he sent the earl of Castlemaine ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the pope ; and to reconcile his kingdom to the catholic communion. Never man, employed on so important an errand, met with so many neglects, and even affronts, as Castlemaine. The pope, instead of being pleased with this precipitate step, concluded, that a scheme, conducted with such indiscretion, could never be successful ; and being then engaged in a violent quarrel with the French monarch, a quarrel which interested him much more than the conversion of England, he had little regard for James, whom he considered as too closely connected with his capital enemy.

The king, therefore, received only one proof of complaisance from his holiness ; that of sending a nuncio into England, in return for the embassy. Every communication with the pope was, by act of parliament (that assembly not being at this time dissolved) declared high-treason : yet so little regard did the king pay to the laws, that he gave the nuncio a public and solemn reception at Windsor. The duke of Somerset, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, was dismissed from his employment, for refusing to assist at this ceremony. The nuncio resided publicly in London during the remainder of this reign. Four catholic bishops were consecrated in the king's chapel, and sent out, under the title of vicars apostolical to exercise the episcopal functions in their respective dioceses. Their pastoral letters, directed to the lay catholics of England, were printed

and published by the express allowance and permission of the king. The regular clergy of that communion appeared at court in the habits of their respective orders ; and some of them were even so indiscreet as to boast, they hoped, in a little time, to walk in procession through the capital.

In the mean time the whole power in Ireland had been committed to the catholics. In Scotland all the ministers, in whom the king placed any confidence, were converts to that religion. Every great office in England, civil or military, was gradually transferred from the protestants. Rochester and Clarendon, the king's brothers-in-law, though they had always been very faithful to his interest, could not, with a view to services, atone for their adherence to the protestant religion, and had accordingly been dismissed from their employments : even the inhuman Jesuits themselves, though he had prostituted honour, justice, and humanity to the arbitrary schemes of the court, declined every day in the king's favour, because he refused to abandon his own religion.*

The only matter that now seemed wanting was to procure admittance for the catholics into the churches and universities. James determined to use his best efforts to gain these points ; by which he had a friend and adherent among the protestants. The first attempt was made on the university of Cambridge ; but that proving abortive, a second was made at Oxford, and prosecuted with more inflexible obstinacy. This university had lately, in a famous debate, made a solemn profession of passive obedience, and thence the court probably suspected that they would shew their sincerity, when their turn came to profess that doctrine. The principal of Magdalen college, one of the richest foundations in Europe, and about this time, a mandate was sent in favour of Farmer, a new convert, but one who, besides his being a catholic, had not in other respects the qualifications required by the statutes for enjoying that office. The fellows of the college made very submissive applications to the king for recalling his mandate ; but before they received any answer, the day came on in which they were required by the statutes to proceed to the election. They therefore chose doctor Hough, a man of virtue, and also endued with that firmness and vigour so necessary for maintaining his own rights, and those of the university in this critical conjuncture. In order to punish the college for this act of contumacy, an ecclesiastical commission was sent down to Oxford, and the new president called in and cited before that court. So very little regard had been paid to any other consideration, except that of religion, that Farmer, on enquiry, was found guilty of the meanest and most scandalous vices, so that the ecclesiastical commissioners, were ashamed to confirm his election. A new mandate was therefore issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of a prostitute character, but who, Farmer, had atoned for all his vices, by his willingness to embrace the catholic religion. The college represented, that all presidents had been appointed by elections, and there were several instances of the king's interposition in favour of a candidate ; that having already made a bad use of a president, they could not, without depriving him of his office, and substituting another in his place, that even if there was a vacancy, by the statutes of their founder, could not be filled

* No suggestion was made by James to his favourite religion, that he even considered to convert him to become a convert. The barbarian told him, that he would have been extremely willing to gratify his majesty in this particular, but that he was unhappily

pre-engaged, having already given his promise to the king, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would be a Muslim.

that they had all of them bound themselves by oath to observe these statutes, and never on any account to accept of a dispensation. They added, that Magdalen college had at all times distinguished itself for its loyalty, that nothing but the most invincible necessity could now oblige them to oppose his majesty's inclinations. These reasons availed them nothing. The president and all the fellows, except two, who complied, were expelled the college, Parker was put in possession of the office, and the places of the deprived fellows were filled by papists.

James having now sufficiently convinced the nation that he intended to reduce it to the most abject state of submission, bitter reflections, pathetic remonstrances, and loud complaints against the court, filled every mouth, and made the subject of almost every publication. The king was not insensible of the great popularity possessed by the prince of Orange in England, and that the prince's heir to the crown: he was therefore very desirous of knowing their opinion concerning the penal laws and test, flattering himself, if he could procure their concurrence to a repeal, it would have great weight with the nation. By order of the king, one Mr. Stuart wrote to Fagel, the pensionary of Amsterdam, to sound the prince and princess on this subject. Their answer was very disagreeable to the court; notwithstanding which it was contentedly asserted that they had both declared their approbation of the repeal. Being informed of this report, their highnesses ordered Fagel to draw up a letter to the court of England, which might contradict it, and inform the world of their true opinions. In this letter the pensionary declared, "That, although their royal highnesses were for a full liberty of conscience, and wished not that any one should be persecuted or punished for differing from the established religion; yet they could by no means consent to the repeal of the test and the other penal laws, which tended to the security of the protestant religion, especially as those laws could not be said to carry in them any severity against the Roman catholics on account of their consciences, being only provisions for qualifying persons for a seat in parliament, or the enjoyment of public offices." The publication of this letter produced very different effects in the king, and the nation: to the former it gave the severest mortification, but to the latter it afforded the highest satisfaction.

A. D. 1688. On the 2d of January a proclamation was published, declaring the queen to be pregnant, and ordering a thanksgiving for so happy an event. The extravagant joy of the papists on this occasion, and the sanguine expressions of the priests, who asserted the conception was miraculous, and that the queen would certainly have a prince, induced the majority of the protestants to entertain suspicions of a design, as a scheme of the papists to establish a monarchy in England, by imposing an heir on the king, and from this time they seem to have been governed by hearing principles, and to have taken a resolution of opposing the baleful designs of the court with manly.

Desirous of confirming his despotic power, and of displaying his zealous zeal, James, on his side, seemed no longer to keep any measures with his subjects. On the 7th of April he published a second declaration of indulgence, almost in the same terms as the former, and he subjoined an order, that, after divine service, it should be read by the minister in all the churches. This was a manifest violation of the liberties of the established religion, and it already began to drive them to extremities, and to the advantage of their non-compliance

with the royal mandate. Some few of the bishops obeyed, but the far greater number refused to read it. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Ken, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chelmsford; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawny, of Bristol, met privately at the archbishop of Canterbury's palace, and concerted the form of a petition to the king: wherein they, in few words, represented, that, though possessed of the highest sense of loyalty, a virtue of which the church of England had given such eminent testimonies; though desirous of affording ease in a legal way to all protestant dissenters; yet, because the declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative, formerly declared illegal by parliament, they could not, in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties as the distribution of it all over the kingdom would be interpreted to amount to. For which reason they besought his majesty not to insist upon their reading the declaration.

The bishops, headed by Sancroft the primate, presented this petition to the king in the most humble and supplicating manner. But James, ever haughty and impatient of controul, dismissed them from his presence with telling them, that if they had forgot he was the supreme head of the church, he knew how to make himself acknowledged as such. As the petition was delivered him in private, he summoned them before the council; and there questioned them whether they would acknowledge it. The bishops saw his intention, and seemed long desirous to decline answering; but being pushed by Jeffries the chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury at last acknowledged that it had been written by him, and the rest declared they had signed it. Jeffries then asked them if they would give bail to appear in the court of King's-bench, and answer to the charge which should be brought against them for this libel. They replied, no; that their privileges as peers exempted them from the necessity of giving security, on being charged with a misdemeanor; and that they were bound by oath to maintain the rights of the peerage as well as the rights of the church. Jeffries, enraged at this answer, told them, that unless they instantly retracted their assertions, and withdrew their petition, he would send them to the Tower. They answered, "That they submitted to his majesty's pleasure, whatever it should be; that their own consciences told them they had acted nothing but what was agreeable to the laws, and the sacred character with which they were invested; and that they depended on the king of kings to be their protector." A warrant was immediately issued for committing them to the Tower; and the crown lawyers received direction to prosecute them for a seditious libel.

All ranks of people were seized with astonishment, when they found these fathers of the church, these noble opposers of tyranny and oppression, were to be dragged away to confinement. The court had ordered that they should be conveyed from Whitehall to the Tower by water, in as private a manner as possible. But the alarm was soon spread, and the shore lined with innumerable spectators, who deplored the fate of these good prelates, and on their knees intreated their blessing. The conduct of the bishops on this occasion increased the love their sufferings had begun; they checked the transports of the multitude, and exhorted them to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. Even the soldiers, moved by the sympathy of example, flung themselves on their knees, craved the benediction of these criminals, whom they were appointed to guard, and expressed themselves in the bitterest terms of resentment against their prosecutors.

Then trial came on in the Court of King's Bench on the 29th of June. They were attended to Westminster

minster-hall by an infinite crowd of people, among whom were twenty-nine temporal peers, and numbers of the principal gentry. The lawyers for the prisoners were, Sir Robert Sayer, Sir Francis Pemberton, Pollexfen, Treby, and Sommers. They pleaded that the law allowed subjects, when aggrieved, to address themselves by petition to the king: that an active obedience, in cases which were contrary to conscience, was never pretended to be due to government; and law was allowed to be the great measure of the compliance and submission of subjects: that when commands were imposed on a person, which he could not obey, it was more respectful to offer to the prince his reasons for refusal, than to remain in an obstinate and refractory silence: that it was no breach of duty in subjects, even though not expressly called upon, to discover their sense of public measures, in which every one had so much concern: that, in the present case, the bishops were called upon, and must either express their approbation by compliance, or their disapprobation by petition: that it could be no sedition to deny the prerogative of suspending the laws, because there was really no such prerogative, nor ever could be, in a legal and limited government: that even if this prerogative was real, it had been frequently disputed before the whole nation, in Westminster-hall and in both houses of parliament: and no one had ever thought of punishing the denial of it as criminal: that the prelates, instead of making an appeal to the people, had applied in private to his majesty, and had even delivered their petition so secretly, that, except by the confession extorted from them before the council, it was found impossible to prove them the authors: and that though the petition was afterwards printed and dispersed, it was not so much as attempted to be proved, that they had the least knowledge of that publication.

Though these arguments were received with approbation by the audience, and even some of the judges declared themselves in favour of the prisoners, yet the jury took several hours to deliberate; during which the people were in the most anxious expectation. But when they at last brought in their verdict "Not guilty," the hall resounded with shouts of joy. The happy news was instantly communicated to every part of the city, and from thence dispersed with infinite joy throughout the kingdom. It happened that the king had that day reviewed his army, and was just retired into the general's tent, when the news of the bishops' acquittal reached the camp; on which the whole army gave a loud shout, attended with the most extravagant symptoms of joy. The king enquiring, with some degree of astonishment, into the cause, lord Feverham answered, "It is nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing," (replied the king) "but so much the worse for them."

As James had fixed his chief dependence on the submission of the army to his will, he was greatly alarmed at this incident; and determined to be satisfied how far he might depend upon the assistance of his forces. He accordingly ordered lord Litchfield's regiment to be drawn up, and appeared himself at their head. After walking for some time between the ranks, and commending their appearance, he gave orders that all the officers and soldiers who would not consent to the repeal of the test and penal laws, should lay down their arms: but his astonishment may be better conceived than expressed, when he saw the whole regiment, captains and a few popish soldiers only excepted, lay down their muskets. He stood speechless for some minutes, and then, with a sullen air, bid them take up their arms, adding, "that for

the future he would not do them the honour of asking their advice."

A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, the queen was (or supposed to be) delivered of a son, afterwards baptized by the name of James. This event, which inspired the catholics with joy, was published by a proclamation; and a general thanksgiving was ordered to be observed throughout the kingdom. The people in general, were, however, possessed with a notion, that this was only a supposititious child, in order to cut off the prince of Orange from the succession; and what tended to confirm them in this opinion were several mysterious circumstances, particularly with regard to the pregnancy and delivery of the queen. At the same time, the proceedings of the court were so preposterous, that they rather augmented than removed the suspicions of the populace. At the time of the queen's delivery, the prince of Denmark was at Bath, whither she had retired a few weeks before, at the earnest intreaty, if not by the command, of her father. The archbishop of Canterbury was in the Tower; and the Dutch ambassador, who should have been present at the labour, in behalf of the prince and princess of Orange, was not called. In short, the birth of this child, which, according to the common rule of things, ought to have proved the bond of union between James and his people, had the very contrary effect. Both parties, protestants and catholics, laboured under such violent prejudices at this time, as could not fail of influencing their judgments. It is therefore no wonder if the latter strenuously asserted the legitimacy of the child; and the former insisted that the whole was a deception.

The people were now fully convinced, that James was absolutely determined to subvert the constitution both in church and state; and therefore thought it high time to form a scheme for preventing the destruction of their laws, religion and liberties. Accordingly, many persons of eminence and interest, both clergy as well as laity, who had gone very great lengths in support of the royal authority, thought it more prudent to retract their doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, than bring their country to the brink of ruin by an obstinate adherence to it. At the same time, they entered into a strict union with the non-conformists for their mutual security and for inviting over the prince of Orange, in order to his heading the country party against the king. The prince no sooner received an intimation of this disposition in the English, to free themselves from the yoke of his father-in-law's government, than he took every prudent precaution to render it successful. He had sent over Zuytelstein, one of the gentlemen of his bed chamber, to congratulate James on the birth of his son. This minister had orders to discover the real sentiments of some of the greatest persons in the kingdom, with regard to this dangerous undertaking. Zuytelstein soon informed his master that every thing appeared extremely favourable to his views: that the whole nation was ready to rise, and wanted no more than a chief to head them. Several of the nobility going abroad, on various pretences, visited the prince at the Hague, and confirmed this intelligence. As an uninterrupted correspondence was carried on between England and Holland, a mutual intercourse was supported between the English protestants; and by letters and messages that negotiations were concerted, which at last delivered the nation from papal tyranny.

The situation of affairs in Europe was also very favourable to this design. The marriage treaty of James in favour of the ambitious scheme of Louis XIV. had alarmed not only the protestants, but

the Roman catholic powers, who dreaded nothing more than a coalition between the courts of England and France. They saw no hopes of safety for themselves but by a revolution in that kingdom. Innocent XI. known by the name of the protestant pope, on account of the wise disregard he paid to the attempts of James to introduce popery into England, was far from being averse to the intended reformation in the English government. The design was, however, managed with great secrecy both at London and at the Hague. But, when it came to be known, was approved by the whole nation; and even by all the courts of Europe, that of France only excepted. The prince of Orange, however, refused to engage in this scheme, till he had received a formal invitation from such persons, whom he knew had every thing to fear from a miscarriage of their enterprize. This invitation was soon procured, and sent by Zuylewstein on his return from his embassy; when the prince readily accepted of the offer made him, to undertake the defence of the nation, against the machinations of James, and the catholic party.

No sooner was this invitation dispatched, than the leaders of the party dispersed themselves in the distant counties, in order to gain the populace over to their interest, and, by aggravating the measures of the court, to spirit them up to a general revolt. In the mean time the prince of Orange conducted the necessary preparations with wonderful prudence and policy. Under pretence of interfering in the dispute then subsisting between prince Clement of Bavaria, and the cardinal of Furstemberg, with regard to the election of an archbishop of Cologne, he collected an army of 9000 men, and ordered them to encamp near Nimeguen; a fleet of 50 sail of men of war, and a sufficient number of transports, were by degrees assembled in the Dutch harbours, waiting only for orders to take on board the troops designed for England. These measures were conducted with a circumspection and address, which sufficiently displayed the great capacity and abilities of the prince of Orange, who could conceal the intention of these powerful preparations under such pretensions as prevented the English court from suspecting their true destination. He was, indeed, greatly indebted to the complaisance of the states, who, on this occasion, heartily concurred with him in all his measures.

After the prince had determined to put himself at the head of the protestant party, he desired the English lords at the Hague to demand the assistance of the states, in the name of the whole kingdom. Little persuasion was necessary to induce the states to grant their request. They were indeed equally concerned with the English themselves, as the destruction of Holland must doubtless have soon followed the slavery of England. Nor was it Holland alone that countenanced the prince's enterprize: many of the neighbouring princes promised their assistance; the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the whole house of Lauenburg, agreed to unite their forces, and protect the united provinces, during the absence of their Stadtholder.

James did not, for some time, suspect that his son-in-law had formed any design against him; or that the forces that prince had assembled were destined for invading England. Lewis, however, having received intelligence from the count d'Avaux, his ambassador at the Hague, of what was likely to be the event of these powerful preparations, transmitted it to James, and at the same time, made him an offer of any number of troops he might think necessary for his defence: he offered to send immediately ten,000 men, and to put Portsmouth into their hands, in order to preserve a free communication with France. These offers were laid before the

council; but the earl of Sunderland, who was prime minister, and not without reason supposed to have already entered into a private correspondence with the prince of Orange, strenuously opposed their being accepted. He alledged, in support of his opinion, that a small body of foreign troops would be disadvantageous, as they must excite the murmurs of the people, without being able to keep them in subjection. He added, that the English soldiers were so naturally averse to act in concert with foreigners, that they would take every opportunity that offered to desert. On the other hand, he observed it would require no less than 40,000 men to quell the discontented part of the nation: that such an army would naturally receive all its orders from the court of France; and that while these foreign forces kept the English in awe, the state of the king himself would be reduced to little less than that of a viceroy to the French monarch.

These arguments, though dictated by perfidy carried with them the appearance of sound argument. The council subscribed to the minister's opinion: and James refused, though with many expressions of gratitude, this important offer.

Lewis was still unwilling to abandon his friend and ally, in whose welfare he considered himself as deeply interested. He therefore sent orders to d'Avaux, to remonstrate with the states in his name, against the preparations they were making for a descent upon England. "The strict friendship and alliance," said d'Avaux, subsisting between the two nations, will induce my master to consider every attempt against his ally as an act of hostility against himself." But this remonstrance was so far from intimidating, that it served only to incense the states. They demanded, with great firmness, what was the purport of the late alliance between France and England, which had been concluded with so much secrecy? Whether it was of the same nature with the former, intended for the destruction of the protestant religion? If it was, it behoved them to provide instantly for their safety; and to render abortive those projects that had been formed against them.

The king himself was highly provoked with Lewis for taking this rash step, and finding he had been advised to it by Skelton, the English envoy at the Hague, he immediately recalled that minister, and committed him to the Tower; disclaiming publicly, at the same time, all alliance with France; and his having any knowledge of the remonstrance. Whatever truth there might be in this assertion, neither the states nor his own subjects gave the least credit to it. The English in particular were more than ever incensed against their sovereign, whom they firmly believed had entered into a scheme with the French king for reducing them to absolute slavery, and rendering himself arbitrary.

While James was distracted with fear and apprehensions, he received certain advice of the prince of Orange's designs, and that he might soon expect to see the Dutch fleet upon the coast, with a land army on board, accompanied with many English noblemen and persons of distinction, who had for some time concealed themselves in Holland. Terrified at this intelligence, neither James nor his council could form any plausible scheme for opposing this invasion. The protestants, who composed the bulk of the nation, were known to consider themselves as victims devoted to destruction; and therefore would naturally join the prince in their own defence. It was even more than probable, that he was coming over on their express invitation. Both the English fleet and land forces had already discovered their little inclination to support the king in his designs: or rather their resolution to oppose him to the utmost of their power.

James determined in this alarming exigency to place his dependence on the church of England, and by revoking several of his late unpopular edicts, to endeavour to retrieve the good-will and affections of his subjects. Accordingly, after consulting the bishops then in London, he abolished the commission for ecclesiastical affairs; took off the bishop of London's suspension; restored the charter of the city; removed the popish magistrates, and filled their posts with protestants in their room, and took some other steps towards the redress of grievances. But these popular measures failed of producing the desired effect: they came too late, and were generally considered as the result of fear, rather than that of inclination, or a real change of sentiment. James seems also to have been at some pains to confirm his people in this opinion: for in the midst of all his present distresses, he could not, at the baptism of the young prince, forbear requesting the pope to be one of the godfathers, a step which naturally rendered all his other proceedings suspected.

The prince of Orange during these transactions applied himself, with the greatest assiduity, to complete his armament, and as soon as every thing was finished, he published a manifesto, explaining the true motives for his expedition. Copies of this declaration were sent over to England, and carefully dispersed through every part of the nation. He solemnly disclaimed all thoughts of conquest, or of giving his father-in-law any disturbance in the enjoyment of his sovereignty; declaring that his sole intention was nothing more than that of maintaining the protestant religion, the laws and liberties of these kingdoms, which had been so openly violated; and the procuring a free and general parliament, which might at once settle all the rights of the subject, and the prerogatives of the crown on a firm and permanent basis. He added, that he had undertaken this necessary and difficult task at the invitation of many lords both ecclesiastical and civil, by numbers of gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks in these realms.

The prince's measures were all so well concerted, that in three days above four hundred transports were hired; and the army being embarked, quickly fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen. The artillery, arms, stores, and horses were embarked; and the prince sailed from Helvoet Sluys, with a fleet of near 500 vessels, and an army of 14,000 men. After sailing about 14 leagues, the wind shifted to the west, and blew so violent a storm, that, in a very few hours, scarce three ships were to be seen together. But this loss being soon repaired, the fleet put again to sea, under the command of Admiral Herbert, and stood away with a fair wind towards the west of England. The same wind which favoured the Dutch detained the king's fleet, in the river and gave the prince an opportunity of passing the straits of Dover without molestation. Both shores were covered with multitudes of people, who, besides admiring the grandeur of the spectacle, were held in anxious suspense at the prospect of an enterprize, the most important that had for some years been undertaken in this part of the world.

After a prosperous voyage the prince landed his army safely in Torbay, on the 5th of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder treason. The Dutch army marched immediately to Exeter, and there the prince's declaration was published. But the whole county was so terrified at the dreadful executions that had ensued on Monmouth's rebellion, that nobody for several days joined the prince. The bishop of Exeter fled with the utmost precipitation to London, and carried to court the first intelligence of this invasion. The king was so pleased with this instance of zeal, that he rewarded the prelate with the arch-

bishopric of York, which had been long kept vacant, with an intention of bestowing it on some catholic.

Major Barrington was the first person who joined the prince, and his example was soon followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which every one signed. By degrees, the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Ruffel, son to the earl of Bedford, Messrs. Wharton, Godfrey, and Howe, came to Exeter: the whole kingdom was in commotion. Lord Delamere took up arms in Cheshire; the earl of Danby seized York; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; and the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the same cause; and every day discovered some effect of this universal combination, into which the kingdom had entered against the measures of James. Even those who did not take the field against him were able to embarrass and confound his councils. A petition for a free parliament was signed by 24 bishops and peers of the greatest distinction, and presented to the king; who returned for answer, that there was nothing he more earnestly desired than a free parliament, and that the moment the prince of Orange had quitted the kingdom, he would grant their request with the greatest dispatch; but could not think of summoning that assembly while an enemy continued in the heart of the kingdom, and could command so many members to be returned. But the most alarming symptom was, the disaffection, which, from the general spirit of the people, not from any particular reason, had crept into the army. The officers all seemed to prefer the interest of their country and of their religion, before those principles of honour and fidelity, which are esteemed the most sacred ties by men of that profession. Lord Colchester, son to the earl of Rivers, was the first officer who deserted to the prince, but he was followed only by a few of his troops. Lord Loveless made a like effort, but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken prisoner. Lord Cornbury, son to the earl of Clarendon, was more successful: he attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry, and actually brought a very considerable part of them to the prince's quarters. Several officers of distinction informed Feverham their general, that they could not in conscience fight against the prince of Orange, who came to defend the protestant cause.

Among others lord Churchill, afterwards the famous duke of Marlborough, had been raised from the rank of a page; invested with a high command in the army; created a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty. Yet even this person could not resist during the present extremity, to desert his unfortunate master, who had always reposed unlimited confidence in him. He carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late king, colonel Berkley, and his troops of dragoons. This conduct was a signal transgression of every duty in private life, to the happiness of his country.

The king received this fatal news on his arrival at Salisbury, the head quarters of his army. He was, though a severe enemy, had always appeared to the prince as a steady, and sincere friend; and was now extremely shocked at this, and many other instances of perfidy, to which he was unhappily exposed. He remained none about his person, in whom he could confide. The whole army had discovered symptoms of discontent, whence he concluded it to be the effect of treachery, and being deserted by those whom he had most favoured and obliged, he no longer expected that others would hazard their lives in his service. Distracted and perplexed at these alarming circumstances

circumstances, James suddenly took the resolution of returning to London: a measure which could have no other tendency than that of betraying his fears, and provoking farther treachery. But this was not the only, nor indeed the severest blow which Churchill had prepared for his benefactor. Himself and his lady had acquired an absolute ascendance over the family of prince George of Denmark; and a seasonable opportunity now offered for overwhelming the unhappy king, who was staggering under the violent shocks he had received from his adverse fortune.

The first stage of his majesty's retreat towards London was Andover, and there prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond, Sir George Huet, and several other persons of distinction, deserted him in the night, and retired to the camp of the prince of Orange. As soon as this news reached London, the princess of Denmark, pretending to dread the king's displeasure, withdrew herself, in company with the bishop of London and lady Churchill. She fled to Nottingham, where the earl of Dorset received her with the greatest respect; and the gentry of the county soon formed a troop for her protection.

Overwhelmed already with misfortunes, the wretched king was no ways prepared for this astonishing event. He burst into tears, when the first intelligence was conveyed to him. In this incident, he doubtless foresaw the total expiration of his royal authority. But the nearer and more intimate concern of a parent seized his heart, when he found himself utterly abandoned by a virtuous child, whom he had always regarded with the most tender affection. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!" But so great were the prejudices which then prevailed, that this wretched father, who had been deserted by his favourite child, was believed, on her disappearance, to have put her to death; a rumour that might have produced the most fatal consequences, had not the truth been immediately discovered: for the populace, and even the king's guards themselves, seemed determined to revenge the death of the princess, by a general massacre of the priests and Roman Catholics.

The prince of Orange, having received advice of the king's return to London, advanced with his army to Sherborne, and thence to Salisbury, which he entered in triumph, the king's forces having some days before retired to Reading. Surrounded with distress, and having no trully friend, the king assembled all the protestant peers in town, and desired their advice. He particularly addressed himself to the earl of Bedford in the following manner. "My lord you are a good man, have great influence, and can do me signal service." "Alas!" replied the earl "I am a feeble old man, very incapable of performing any considerable service; but I had a son," added he, with a sigh, "who, if now alive, could serve your majesty in a more effectual manner;" alluding to the lord Russell, who, towards the end of the late reign, had fallen a sacrifice to the vengeance of the king then duke of York. James was so thunderstruck with this answer that he remained for some time, speechless; but having recovered himself, it was proposed to call a free parliament, and to send commissioners to treat with the prince. The king readily complied with, and the lord chancellor was ordered to issue the necessary writs for that purpose. The Catholics were removed from the high offices they held about the court, Sir Edward Hyde, a person of that communion, and commander of the Tower, was removed from his post, and succeeded by Sir Bevil Skelton. Father Peters, the

king's confessor, seeing the storm rise to such an alarming height, wisely consulted his own safety by escaping into France. The marquis of Halifax, the earl of Northampton, and the lord Godolphin were sent to treat with the prince, who delivered to them a paper, containing certain proposals. The chief articles were, that a free parliament should be called; that all papists should be disarmed, and deprived of all the offices they enjoyed; that all proclamations against himself should be recalled; that the command of the Tower should be put into the hands of the lord-mayor; that if the king should think proper to reside in London during the session of parliament, the prince should also reside near the same place, with an equal number of guards; or that the king and himself should reside at an equal distance from London: that both armies should be removed thirty miles from the city: that no new forces should be brought into the kingdom: that Tilbury-fort should be put into the hands of the city magistrates: that till the parliament met, part of the revenue should be appropriated to the maintenance of the prince's army: and, in order to prevent an invasion from abroad, Portsmouth should be committed to the care of some person, equally agreeable to the king and the prince.

James, when these proposals were presented to him, affected to think them as moderate, or even more so, than he could have expected in the present posture of affairs; but, in all probability, his real sentiments were otherwise. Finding himself attacked and pursued by one of his sons-in-law; abandoned by the other; deserted by his own daughters and bosom friends, and hated by his subjects, he considered his fortune as desperate.

Her majesty, likewise, observing the fury of the people, and knowing how much she was the object of general abhorrence, was struck with the deepest terror, and began to apprehend a parliamentary impeachment, from which she was told the queens of England were not exempted. The popish courtiers, and particularly the priests, being aware that they should be the first sacrifice, and that their perpetual banishment was the smallest penalty they could expect from national resentment, were desirous of carrying the king with them, whose presence they knew would be some resource and protection to them in a foreign country; and whose restoration, if it ever happened, would again re-inflate them in power and authority. The general defection of the protestants induced the king to consider the Catholics as the only subjects on whose counsel he could rely; while the fatal catastrophe of his father afforded them a plausible reason for making him apprehensive of a similar fate. The infinite difference of circumstances was not, in this crisis of distraction, sufficiently weighed. Prudence gave way to danger, and self preservation became the principal object of regard.

Barillon, the French ambassador, and other emissaries of that nation, were busy about the king; and entertained a false notion, which they instilled into him, that nothing could more certainly retard the public settlement, and produce universal confusion, than his deserting the kingdom. The prince of Orange, on better reasons, had embraced the contrary opinion, and considered it as extremely difficult to find expedients for securing the nation while the king kept possession of the throne. Attuated, therefore, by these motives, and perhaps equally by private ambition, he was determined to employ every expedient that had any tendency to intimidate the king, and make him desert that throne which he was unable to fill.

During these transactions the news that arrived from all quarters helped to continue the pains into which the

the king was fallen, and which his enemies endeavoured to improve to their own advantage. Colonel Capel, deputy-governor of Hull, made himself master of that important fortress, and threw lord Langdale, the governor, into prison; together with lord Montgomery, both of them catholics. The town of Newcastle received the lord Lumley, and declared for a free parliament. The duke of Norfolk, lord lieutenant of the county of that name, engaged the shire in the same measures. The prince's declaration was read at Oxford by the duke of Ormond, and was received with great applause by that loyal university, who, at the same time, made an offer to the prince of their plate. Every day, some person of quality or distinction, and, among the rest, the duke of Somerset, went over to the enemy. A very violent declaration was dispersed the prince's name, but not with his participation; in which every one was commanded to seize and punish all papists, who, contrary to law, pretended to carry arms, or exercise any acts of authority.

Scotland was not free from the contagion of mutiny and disobedience; whence the regular forces, contrary to the advice of Balcarras the treasurer, were withdrawn, in order to reinforce the English army. The marquis of Athol, together with the viscount Tarbot, and others, finding a favourable opportunity now offered, began to form intrigues against Perth the chancellor: and the presbyterians and other malcontents flocked to Edinburgh. Apprehensive of the consequences, the chancellor thought it expedient to withdraw; and the populace, as if that event was a signal for their insurrection, immediately took up arms, and rifled the popish chapel in the king's palace. All the catholics, and even the zealous loyalists, were obliged to conceal themselves, and the privy-council, instead of their former submissive strains to the king, and violent edicts against their fellow subjects, now made application to the prince of Orange, as the sole restorer of liberty and law.

The general dissatisfaction alarmed the king every moment with new proofs of the disaffection of the people. Therefore not daring to repose confidence in any but those equally exposed to danger with himself; agitated by indignation at the ingratitude of some, by despair at the infidelity of others; impelled by fears for his own and his adherents safety, he precipitately embraced the resolution of withdrawing to France: and accordingly sent off, before-hand, the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French monarch. He himself disappeared in the night, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, a new convert, and made the best of his way to a ship, which waited for him near the mouth of the river.

James left a letter behind him for his general the earl of Feverham, in which he declared, that if he could have relied upon all his troops, he should not have been driven to this extremity; and at least have hazarded one battle in support of his crown and dignity. But as the whole army seemed disposed to desert him, he thought it madnets to venture himself at their head against the prince of Orange: he thanked the general and all the officers that had been faithful to him; desired them not to hazard their lives and fortunes by an unavailing opposition: but at the same time cautioned them not to enter into any association against his interest.

Language cannot describe the surprize that seized the city, the court and the nation, at the king's flight: and the more to increase the confusion which James knew must be the natural consequence of his taking such a step, he did not name any person who should, in his absence, conduct the affairs of the public. He threw the great seal into the river: burnt all the writs

which had been made out for electing a new parliament; and caused a caveat to be entered against those which were actually issued.

As soon as the general was informed of his majesty's retreat he disbanded the troops which were in the neighbourhood of London, and without either paying or disarming them, left them to plunder the country at pleasure. The populace of London assembled, and pulled down the mals-houses, not only the houses of several of the foreign ambassadors, to escape their fury, from a notion that many rich catholics had deposited in them their most valuable effects. Jefferies, the chancellor, who had concealed himself in a house at Wapping, while he waited for a ship to carry him over to France, was discovered and seized by them, and treated so severely, that the lord mayor, in order to prevent his being torn to pieces, was obliged to send him to the Tower, where he died soon after of the bruises he had received.

The bishops and peers who were in town, being the only remaining authority of the nation (for the privy-council, composed wholly of the king's creatures, was totally disregarded) thought proper to assemble, and to interpose for the preservation of the community. They chose the marquis of Halifax their speaker; gave directions to the mayor and lord-mayors to keep the peace of the city; and issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the army, and all the garrisons. They also made applications to the prince, whose enterprize they highly applauded, and whose success they congratulated with the most joyful demonstrations.

The prince, on his part, was not wanting to improve the tide of success which now flowed in upon him, or backward to assume that authority which the present crisis had thrown into his hands. Beside the general popularity attending his cause, a new incident rendered his approach towards London still more welcome. In the present trepidation of the people, a rumour arose, either from chance or design, that the disbanded Irish had taken arms and began a universal massacre of all the protestants in England. This ridiculous belief was spread all over the kingdom in one day, and occasioned every where an universal consternation. The alarm bells were rung; the beacons fired; men fancied they saw the smoke of burning cities, and heard the groans of those who were slaughtered in the neighbourhood. It is surprizing that the catholics did not all perish amidst the rage always attending such popular panics.

The prince of Orange in the interim arrived at Windsor in his way to London to settle the affairs of the nation with the lords, by whom he was expected, on the supposition that the king was fled over the continent, and had totally resigned the reins of government. But to the no small surprize of the people, news suddenly arrived, that his majesty had been discovered at Feverham in Kent, on board a vessel, in which he was waiting for a vessel to carry him to France; and was confined in prison after suffering every indignity from the populace, who not having his person, had mistaken him for some person of quality endeavouring to make his escape. The people hearing that his majesty was still in his own dominions, sent down the earls of Middleton, Aylmer, Yarmouth and Feverham, with a detachment of guards, to attend the king to London, whither he immediately returned. The populace, moved with compassion for his unhappy fate, received him with shouts and acclamations of joy. An express was immediately dispatched to the prince of Orange, acquainting him with the return of his majesty to London.

Trifling, however, was the homage paid to him during his abode at Whitehall, by any of the

Engraved for
Peep's History
of England.



JUDOE JEFFRIES

in the Peep Show of 1666
at the Peep Show of 1666

*Engraved for Puffet's
History of England.*



— JAMES II. —

*throwing the Great Hall of England
into the Thames, near Whitehall.*

lity or persons of distinction. They had, indeed, been greatly disgusted on account of his extreme partiality to the catholics, and well knew that they were now become more criminal in his eyes by their late applications to the prince of Orange. Nor did the king himself shew any system of spirit, or discover any intention of resuming the reins of government he had so lately thrown aside. It was therefore evident that his authority was now plainly expired, and as he had exercised his power while possessed of it, with very precipitate and haughty council, he relinquished it with a despair equally precipitate and pusillanimous.

Nothing now seemed wanting in this alarming crisis on the side of the victorious party, than how to dispose of the king's person: For tho' the prince may justly be supposed to have possessed more humanity and generosity to an unhappy monarch so nearly related to him, yet he also knew that nothing would so effectually promote his own views as the retreat of James into France; a country at all times sufficiently obnoxious to the English. It was therefore determined to push him into that measure, which he himself seemed very ready to adopt.

Being determined on this measure, the king sent lord Feverham on a civil message, desiring a conference with the prince, in order to settle the nation; but that nobleman was put under an arrest on pretence of his wanting a passport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where the king then lodged, and displace the English; while Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, brought a message to the king, after midnight, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and repair to Ham, a seat near the coast. This sufficiently proved that the artifice had taken effect, and that the king, terrified with this harsh treatment, had renewed his former resolution of leaving the kingdom.

James, although he did not intend to return to Whitehall, thought proper to continue some days at Rochester, under the protection of a Dutch guard, hoping he might yet receive an invitation to keep possession of the throne. He was doubtless sensible, that as he had at first depended too much on his people's loyalty, and in confidence of their submission had offered the highest violence to their principles and prejudices; so had he, at last, on finding his disappointment, gone too far in the other extreme, and as hastily supposed them void of all duty or allegiance. But, observing the church, the nobility, the city, the country, had all concurred in neglecting him, and leaving him to follow his own counsels, he submitted to his melancholy fate; and being urged by earnest letters from the queen, he presently embarked on board a frigate, which waited for him, and arrived safely at Ambleteuse, in Picardy, on the 22d of December. On his landing in France, he hastened immediately to St. German's,

where Lewis received him with the highest generosity, sympathy, and regard; a conduct which contributed far more to the real honour of that monarch, than all his boasted triumphs.

The unhappy king left a paper behind him containing his reasons for withdrawing a second time, wherein he observed that it would be strange, if the world should blame his conduct, after the prince of Orange had made the earl of Feversham prisoner, whom he had sent to procure a friendly conference, and commanding his own guards to take possession of Whitehall after eleven at night, without acquainting him with it; and even sending him an order, after he was in bed, commanding him to leave the palace. After such conduct, he could have very little to hope from a person who had invaded his kingdom, and called the legitimacy of his son in question. At the same time, he appealed to all that knew him, and even to the prince himself, if they could believe him guilty of so unnatural a villainy. He added that, being born free, he was desirous of preserving his independence, and for that reason had again withdrawn himself though not for ever; for whenever the nation should be convinced, that they had been abused and imposed upon, by the specious pretences of religion and property, he would be ready to assist them, and break the chains forged for them by ambitious men.

The reign of James certainly might have been as happy as any of his predecessors, had not his mistaken notions of prerogative his excessive bigotry to the Romish religion, hurried him into measures which rendered his government intolerable to a free and generous people; whose inherent principles of liberty would not permit them to submit any longer to a prince, whom they saw totally guided by the violent councils of a popish jesuitical faction, and blindly adopting their slavish superstition. In domestic life his conduct was irreproachable, and he is intitled to our approbation. And hence we should learn how dangerous it is to allow any prince, infected with Romish superstition, to fill the throne of these kingdoms.*

Of fourteen children, whom James had by his two wives, Anne Hyde, daughter to the earl of Clarendon, and Maria d'Este, daughter to the duke of Modena, three only survived him, viz.

Mary, his eldest daughter, born the 30th of April, 1662, and married to William Henry of Nassau, prince of Orange, afterwards king of England. Anne his second daughter, both by his first wife, born the 6th of February 1664, (and married to George prince of Denmark) afterwards queen of England.

James Francis Edward his imputed son, commonly known by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, or the Pretender, who resided at Rome, where he died in the year 1766, aged 78. This son (if really so) was by his second wife.

The

* As we gave the celebrated Churchill's character of Charles I. we shall here present our readers with the character of his brother James II. drawn by the same admirable pen.

But such a reign—So glaring an offence
In every step 'gainst freedom, law, and sense,
Against all the rights of nature's general plan,
Against all which constitutes an Englishman,
If it the relation would mere fiction seem,
The mock creation of a poet's dream,
And the poor bard would in this sceptic age,
Appear as false as their historian's page.
Ambition folly seiz'd the seat of wit,
Churchians were forc'd by bigots to submit,
Ple without sense, without religious zeal,
Made daring inroads on the commonweal,

Stern persecution rais'd her iron rod,
And call'd the pride of kings, the pow'r of God;
Conscience and fame were sacrific'd to Rome,
And England wept at freedom's sacred tomb.
Her laws despis'd, her constitution wrench'd
From its due, natural frame, her rights retrench'd
Beyond a coward's suff'rance, conscience forc'd,
And healing justice from the crown divorc'd,
Each moment pregnant with vile acts of pow'r,
Her patriot Bishops sentenc'd to the tow'r:
Her Oxford (who yet loves the Stuart's name)
Brandish'd with arbitrary marks of shame,
She wept—but wept not long; to arms she flew,
At honor's call th' avenging sword she drew,
'Torn'd all her terrors on the tyrant's head,
And sent him in despair to beg his bread

The only remarkable civil occurrence in this æra, was the establishment of Charity-schools, which happened in 1668. Those useful institutions were entered into in order to prevent the seduction of poor children into Popish Seminaries.

The most eminent persons in literature, who flourished during this and the preceeding reign, were,

Boyle, who was born the same year the great chancellor Bacon died, seems to have inherited the penetrating genius of that illustrious philosopher. We are at a loss which to admire most, his extensive knowledge or his exalted piety. These excellencies kept pace with each other: but the former never rendered him vain, or the latter enthusiastical. He was himself the christian virtuoso he so well described. He particularly applied himself to chemistry; and made such discoveries in that branch of science as would hardly be credited by a less authority than his own. He greatly improved the air pump, invented by Otto Guericke, by which he was enabled to make a great variety of new and various experiments on the air and other bodies. Hence he was enabled to write a treatise on the weight and spring of the air; a work which acquired him the great reputation he so well deserved. He was a strenuous supporter of the mechanical philosophy, recommended by the great Bacon, and carried to such an amazing degree of perfection by himself and his illustrious associates.

In Sir Isaac Newton this island may boast of having produced the greatest and most penetrating genius the world ever saw. This prodigious man was satisfied it was time to banish from natural philosophy all vague hypotheses and conjectures; or, at least, to lay no stress upon them, and that this science should be entirely subjected to experiment and geometry. It was perhaps with this view that he began by inventing the doctrine of fluxions and infinite series, whose uses in geometry are very extensive, but of still greater advantage in determining the complicated effects observed in nature, where every thing seems to be performed by species of infinite progressions. He discovered the force that retains the planets in their orbits; he shewed us at once how to distinguish the causes of their motions, and to calculate them with an exactness that could hardly have been expected from the joint labour of ages. His immortal *Principia* appeared during the short reign of James II. a work that at once astonished the world, and occasioned the greatest revolution in the science of philosophy ever known before. It affords an illustrious proof of the vast power of the human mind: it being the highest instance that ever was, and probably ever will be, given of the exertion of that faculty. He formed a system of optics entirely new, and shewed mankind the nature of the rays of light by decomposing them. He merits our highest acknowledgements for the infinite number of discoveries with which he has enriched philosophy, and for his caution in keeping that science within proper bounds: the first causes of the phenomena of nature always were, and ever will be, a secret to mankind.

“ Nature and nature’s laws lay hid in night,

“ God said, Let Newton be, and all was light.

Lock attempted the metaphysical parts of science, which Newton neglected, or at least never published his thoughts on that subject. Metaphysics may be said to have been invented by Locke, as philosophy was by Newton. He rightly judged that the abstractions and ridiculous questions which had till then been debated, and falsely supposed the substance of philosophy, ought entirely to be rejected. Accordingly, on examination, he found, that these abstractions, and the abuse of words, were the primary source of all

our errors. In order to discover the nature of the human ideas and affections, he declined the study of books, as they would only have been productive of errors; he entered deep into himself, and after contemplating and surveying what he experienced, published, in the reign of James II. his “*Essay on Human Understanding*,” which he presented to mankind as a mirror in which they might view themselves. He reduced the science to what it really is, The experimental philosophy of the soul.

Polite literature did not make the same progress in England during this period, though the nation abounded with men of great genius and abilities. Their productions fell far short of that correctness and delicacy we so much admire in the ancients. Most of the writers of this age remain monuments of genius perverted by indecency and bad taste: the immeasurable licentiousness indulged in the court of Charles II. was more destructive of polite learning than the fanatical enthusiasm that prevailed during the commonwealth.

Dryden was the great reformer of English versification, and a striking instance how far a great genius can be perverted by the bad taste and licentiousness of the age. The unhappy effects of his penury and dependence tended greatly to enervate his performances. He was not at liberty to pursue his own inclination, but frequently obliged to prostitute himself to such persons and things, as a man of his genius and talents must have despised. He failed in most of his dramatic writings; the prefaces, prologues and epilogues, are generally more valuable than the piece to which they are affixed. There was a native fire in this poet, which poverty could not damp, nor old age itself extinguish. He was still improving as a writer, while he was declining as a man; and not advanced in years when he wrote his “*Alexander’s Feast*,” which stands confessedly at the head of his poems, and is written in the true spirit of the ancients. His *Abdolem* and *Achitophel* contributed to the triumph of the Tories over the Whigs towards the end of Charles’s reign, and is one of the best performances of this celebrated writer.

“ Dryden himself to please a barb’rous age,
“ Was forc’d to let his genius stoop to rage.
“ Count not the writer’s then, but people’s fault;
“ Almanzor’s rage, and raunts of Maximus.
“ That fury spent in each elaborate piece,
“ He vies for fame with antient Rome and Greece.

Few poets ever touched the passions with a more masterly hand than Otway. He was acquainted with all the avenues to the human heart, and at once knew and felt all its emotions. He could rouse us to rage, or melt us into tenderness. His language is the language of nature, and therefore the simplest and most forcible. Hence his tragedies were received with silent tears rather than loud bursts of applause.

Butler stands unrivalled in burlesque poetry. *Hudibras* is a remarkable instance of the force of human genius. It abounds with uncommon learning, new rhymes, and original thoughts. Its images are truly and naturally ridiculous: we are never struck with excessive distortions and grimace; nor is human nature degraded into monkeys. It abounds with strokes of temporary satire; there are also some satires and allusions which cannot be discovered till the distance of time.

But notwithstanding all the merit of Dryden, Otway, and Butler, the court suffered them to live in poverty, and die in distress. Charles, with more taste and knowledge, perhaps, than Lewis XIV. knew so well how to immortalize himself by rewarding merit. This is more surprising in Butler than in any other, as the royal cause derived very singular advantage from his writings.

rages from his poem, which displayed the fanaticism and false pretences of the parliamentary party, in the most ridiculous point of light.

Wycherly was a careless and negligent writer. His comedies are conformable to his personal character, which consisted of a large share of wit, more libertinism, and very little virtue. These acquisitions were indeed considered in the reign of Charles II. as the first qualification of a fine gentleman, and the strongest recommendations to the favour of the court. His "Plain Dealer," and his "Country Wife," are esteemed the best of his productions. The character of the widow Blackacre in the former is truly original, and the master-piece of Wycherly.

The duke of Buckingham, the earls of Mulgrave, Dorset, and Roscommon, wrote in a good taste; but their pieces are either feeble or careless. They, however, tended greatly to reform the licentious manner of writing so generally practised in this age of pleasure and dissipation.

But among all the writers of this period, Sir William Temple was, perhaps, the only one, who kept

himself unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiousness which overwhelmed the nation. He was truly an honour to his country. To the gift of genius and the acquisition of philosophy, he added what was then so uncommon, the merit of respecting morality, and the laws. He was as much above the common level of politicians, as he was above the common herd of authors.

Among a great number of physicians that flourished about this time, Dr. Thomas Sydenham is justly placed at the head of that profession. He was a person of great penetration and experience, and added considerable improvements to the healing art. He dared to deviate from the common practice, where nature and reason pointed out a better method; and was the first that introduced a cool regimen in the small-pox; a discovery which has been since followed with amazing success. His works are still in the highest esteem with the faculty.

Besides Sydenham, Wallis, Sir George Ent, Glisson, Plunket, and Sir William Petty made several useful discoveries in physic, anatomy and botany.

B O O K XIV.

From the Abdication of JAMES II. to the Accession of the Brunswick Line.

S E C T I O N I.

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

THOUGH the deliverance of these kingdoms was now effected by the prince of Orange, who expelled from the throne a powerful prince, supported by a formidable fleet and a numerous army, still the more difficult task remained; that of obtaining for himself the crown, which his father-in-law had abdicated. Some lawyers, entangled in the subtleties and forms of their profession, advised the prince to claim the crown by right of conquest; to assume immediately the title of sovereignty; and to call a parliament, which, being thus legally summoned, by a king in possession, could ratify whatever had been transacted before they assembled. But this measure, being destructive of all the principles of liberty, was prudently rejected by the prince, who, secure of the good opinion of the people, resolved to leave them entirely to their own guidance and direction.

About 90 peers and bishops drew up an address, wherein they desired the prince to summon a convention by circular letters: in the mean time, to assume the management of all public affairs, and to concert measures for the security of Ireland. But he seemed to hesitate to act upon an authority, which he deemed so imperfect, and expressed himself desirous of obtaining a more express declaration of the public consent; to obtain which, the following judicious expedient was proposed. All the members, who had sat in the house of commons, during any parliament of Charles II. were invited to meet; and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and 50 of the common-council of the city. When this representative of the people, the most proper which could be summoned at

the present crisis, was assembled, the members unanimously voted the same address with the lords. The prince, being thus supported by all the legal authority, which could possibly be obtained at this juncture, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England; and his orders were universally complied with. The fleet obeyed his commands. The army allowed him to re-model them, without murmur or opposition. The city supplied him with a loan of 200,000*l*. In a word, the prince's administration was submitted to, as if he had succeeded in the most regular manner to the most vacant throne; and a profound tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom.

Many Scotchmen of rank being in London, the prince summoned them together, and asked their advice in the present state of affairs. This assembly, consisting of thirty noblemen and about eighty gentlemen, chose duke Hamilton for their president. The duke was determined to pay court to the present authority; but his eldest son, the earl of Argyll, professed an adherence to king James, whom he proposed to invite back upon conditions. He was violently opposed in this motion by Patrick Hume, and not one member rose to second it, whereupon the assembly made an offer to the prince, of the present administration, which he willingly accepted; and having soon after sent circular letters into Scotland, a convention was summoned on the 22d of March at Edinburgh; and it was soon visible that the interest of the malcontents would entirely prevail, for the royalists, regarding this assembly as illegal, had neglected

neglected to appear at elections, by which means members of the other party were returned for most places. The revolution was not in Scotland, as in England, effected by the coalition of whig and tory. The former party alone had overpowered the government, and were too much enraged by the injuries they had suffered to admit of any composition with their former masters. Accordingly, the purpose of the convention was no sooner discovered, than the earl of Balcarras, and the viscount Dundee, the leaders of the tories withdrew from Edinburgh, and the convention having passed a vote, that king James, by his mal-administration, and his abuse of power, had forfeited all title to the crown, they made a tender of the royal dignity to the prince and princess of Orange.

Much about the same time it appeared that the members of the English convention were chiefly chosen from among the whig party; and after thanks were unanimously given by both houses to the prince of Orange for the deliverance he had brought them, a memorable vote was passed by the commons, and sent up to the house of peers for their concurrence. It was contained in these words; "that king James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and having, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when carried to the upper house, was strongly opposed, the cause of which we shall here explain.

In the interim the tories, perceiving themselves at once menaced with the loss of their laws and religion, had generously promoted the revolution; and, on that occasion departed from those principles of passive obedience and non-resistance, of which they had, while the king favoured them, made such strong professions. But their present apprehensions had prevailed over their political tenets, and the unfortunate James, who had too much relied on those general declarations, which will never be reduced to practice, found in the issue, that both parties were secretly united in an opposition to his measures. The danger, however, was no sooner over, and the general fears somewhat allayed, than party prejudices returned, in some degree, their former ascendancy, and the tories were ashamed of the victory their antagonists had, during the late transactions, obtained over them. They were therefore inclined to steer a middle course; and though, in general, determined to oppose the king's return, they resolved to refuse their consent for dethroning him, and altering the line of succession. A regent, with kingly power, was the expedient they proposed; and a late instance in Portugal seemed to give some authority to such a plan.

It was urged in favour of this scheme, that by the uniform tenor of the English laws, the rights of the crown were ever regarded as sacred; and could, on no account, nor by any mal-administration, be forfeited by the sovereign: that to dethrone a king, and to elect a successor, was a practice entirely unknown to the constitution, and tended to render all kingly power dependent and precarious: that where the prince, from his tender years, from lunacy, or any other natural infirmity, was rendered incapable of holding the reins of government; both the laws and former practice agreed in appointing a regent, who, during the interval, was invested with the whole power of the administration: that the inveterate and dangerous prejudices of king James had rendered him as unfit to sway the English sceptre, as if he had fallen into lunacy; and therefore it was natural for the

people to have recourse to the same remedy: that the election of one king was a precedent for the election of another; and, by that means, would either degenerate into a republic, or, what was still worse, into a turbulent and seditious monarchy: that the case was still more dangerous, if there remained a prince who claimed the crown by right of succession, and disputed, on so plausible a foundation, the title of the present sovereign: that though the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance might not, in every particular circumstance, be absolutely true, yet the belief of it was extremely expedient; and to establish a government which should have the contrary principle for its basis, was to lay the foundation for perpetual revolutions and convulsions: That the appointment of a regent was, indeed, exposed to many inconveniences, yet, while the line of succession was continued entire, there was still a prospect of terminating, some time or other, the public disorders; and that few, if any, instances occurred in modern times, especially that of England, where a disputed succession had not been attended with much greater evils than those the people had sought to avoid, by departing from the lineal successor.

The leaders of the whig party, on the other hand, asserted, that if there was any danger in the precedent, that danger would result as strongly from establishing a regent, as from dethroning one king and appointing a successor. Nor would the one expedient, if wantonly embraced by the people be less the resource of public convulsions than the other: that if the laws gave no express permission to depose the sovereign, neither did they authorize the withholding his authority, or separating the power from the title: that a regent was unknown, except where a prince, by reason of his tender age, or his infirmity, was incapable of a will: that then, indeed, his power was involved in that of the regent: that it would be the height of absurdity to try any person for an offence by virtue of a commission received from a prince whom we ourselves acknowledged to be the lawful sovereign; nor would any jury be so absurd as to condemn such a criminal: that even the prospect of being delivered from this alarming inconvenience was, in the present situation of things, more distant than that of putting an end to a disputed succession: that allowing the young prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried abroad; would be situated in principles destructive to the constitution and established religion; and he would probably leave a trail liable to the same insuperable objections, that if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would at some time forget or neglect their claim, an advantage which could not be hoped for while the administration was still conducted in their name, and while they were still acknowledged to possess the legal title: and that a nation, thus governed by regents or proxies, approached much nearer to republicanism than to monarchy, whose regular hereditary succession, as well as present authority, was fixed and appointed by the people.

Subsequent to a long and violent debate, the question was carried by two voices only, fifty on against forty nine. All the prelates except two, the bishops of London and Bristol, voted for a regent, the primate, a disinterested but pusillanimous man, kept at a distance both from the prince's court and from parliament.

A question of such importance being thus ended, the house of lords proceeded to examine the different parts of the vote sent up to them by the commons. They debated whether there was an original contract between the king and people, and the affirmative was carried by fifty-three against forty six, a point of

between the combined interests of the whigs, the tories were already losing ground. The next question was whether James had broke that original compact; which was carried in the affirmative. The lords then proceeded to consider the word "abdicated;" and it was carried that "deserted" was more proper. The concluding question was, "whether king James, having broken the original agreement and deserted the government, the throne was thereby vacant?" This question was debated with more heat and contention than any of the former; and, upon a division, the tories prevailed by eleven voices. In consequence of this it was carried to omit the last article; and the vote, with these amendments, was sent back to the commons. The great majority of voices in the last question was occasioned by the earl of Danby, who had embraced the project of bestowing the crown solely on the prince of Orange, and estimating her, as the hereditary, legal successor to king James, passing by the infant prince, as illegitimate, or illegitimate.

The vote, however, was still insisted on by the lower house, and the commons sent up a resolution, why they should depart from their amendments. But tories not thinking them sufficiently conclusive, now thought necessary to have a free conference, in order to settle this controversy. Certainly no national debate was ever of more importance, or managed by more able speakers; yet it is surprising to find upon very frivolous matters, upon by both parties. In public transactions, indeed, the true motives which produce any measure are seldom avowed. The whigs, now the ruling party, having united with tories, in order to bring about the revolution, paid much deference to their new allies, that they did not insist upon a declaration, that the crown was broken on account of the king's maladministration. Such a declaration, they thought, would censure the history principles, and appear too favourable to the crown. They therefore agreed to blend together the king's abusing his power, and his withdrawing from the kingdom, calling the whole an abdication; and he had given a virtual, though not a verbal consent to his dethronement. The tories took advantage of this notorious impropriety, which had been occasioned by the complaisance or imprudence of the whigs, and they insisted on the word "desertion," which was more significant and intelligible. It was told them, that, however that expression might be applied to the king's withdrawing himself, it could not with any propriety, be applied to his violating the fundamental laws. And thus both parties, each for prudential reasons, concealed their differences from their antagonists, till the day of conference and unanimity.

The first particular urged by the managers for the whigs, was that even allowing the king's abuse of power to be equivalent to an abdication, or, in other words, to a natural death, it could operate no otherwise than as a voluntary resignation, or his natural death; and therefore could only make way for his successor. But according to the English law, "that the throne is never vacant," but instantly on the decease of one prince, is filled with his legal heir, who was entitled to the succession of his predecessor, and, however unfortunate in his situation, though he was even a captive in the hands of a public enemy; yet, as there is no just reason could be assigned why, without any default of his own, he should lose the crown to which he is, by birth, fully entitled.

Objections of restoring might have been opposed, but they were met by the commons, with many specious and plausible arguments. But they were contented with maintaining the vote of the commons by

sophistical reasonings and evasions; so that this conference ended without any determination.

It was impossible, however, for the public affairs to remain long in their present situation; and, therefore, by the determined perseverance of the lower-house, the lords were obliged to comply; and by the desertion of some peers to the whig party, the vote of the commons passed in the upper house without any alteration, by a small majority; and received the sanction of every part of the legislature, which then subsisted.

The behaviour of the prince of Orange, during these transactions, was highly meritorious, and discovered great moderation and magnanimity. He entered into no intrigues with the leaders of parties, but kept a profound and unconcerned silence. At length, however, he thought proper to open his mind, and to express, though in a private manner, his sentiments on the present situation of affairs. He summoned together several of the peers, and told them, that having been invited over to restore their liberty, he had engaged in this enterprize, and, at last, effected his purpose: that it belonged to the parliament, now chosen with freedom, to concert measures for the public settlement; and he pretended not to interpose in their determinations; that he heard of several schemes proposed for establishing the government: some insisted on a regent; others on bestowing the crown on the prince of Orange. It was their concern also to choose that plan of administration which was most advantageous to them: that if they chose to settle a regent he had no objection; he only thought it incumbent on him to inform them, that he was determined not to be that regent; nor even engage in any scheme which he well knew would be attended with such insuperable difficulties; that no man could have a juster sense of the merits of the prince of Orange, than he; but he would rather remain a prisoner than enjoy a crown which must depend on the will or the life of another; and that they must themselves consider, if they were inclined to pursue either of these two plans of settlement, that it would be totally out of his power to assist them in carrying it into execution; that his affairs abroad were too important to be abandoned for so precarious a dignity, or even to allow him so much leisure as would be requisite to introduce order into their disjointed government.

The prince of Orange, devoted to her husband, entered into his views, as did also the prince Anne, her sister. The former declared, that, being the prince's wife, she would never accept of any honour, but in conjunction with her husband, and should take it very unkind in any one who should endeavour to separate their interests.

These resolutions put an end to all debates in the convention, and the two houses agreed, that the prince and prince of Orange should reign jointly as king and queen of England; but that the administration should be vested in the king alone; and that the prince Anne should succeed after their death.

In consequence of this determination, on the 4th of February, the prince and prince of Orange being seated on two large chairs in the banquetting house at Whitehall, both houses of the convention waited upon them in a body when the clerk of the crown read, in the names of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons assembled at Westminster the following "declaration of their rights," which they had had been violated by king James.

"That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by royal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal;
"That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by royal authority,

“ as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is
“ illegal.

“ 3. That the commission for erecting the court
“ of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all
“ other commissions and courts of like natures, are
“ illegal and pernicious.

“ 4. That the levying of money for the use of the
“ crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant
“ of parliament for longer time, or in any other
“ manner than the same is, or shall be granted, is
“ illegal.

“ 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition
“ the king, and all commitments and prosecutions
“ for such petitioning is illegal.

“ 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army
“ within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be
“ with the consent of the parliament, is against
“ law.

“ 7. That the subjects, being protestants, may
“ have arms for their defence, suitable to their con-
“ dition, and as allowed by law.

“ 8. That the elections of members of parliament
“ ought to be free.

“ 9. That the freedom of speech, or debates and
“ proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeach-
“ ed or questioned in any court or place, out of par-
“ liament.

“ 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required,
“ nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel nor unusual
“ punishments inflicted.

“ 11. That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and
“ returned; and jurors which pass verdicts on men
“ for high-treason ought to be freeholders.

“ 12. That all grants and promises of fines and
“ forfeitures of particular persons before conviction,
“ are illegal and void.

“ 13. And that, for redress of all grievances, and
“ for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of
“ the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

“ And they do claim, demand, and insist upon, all
“ and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights
“ and liberties; and no declarations, judgments,
“ doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the
“ people, in any of the said premises, ought in any-
“ wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or ex-
“ ample.”

Such were the rights and liberties demanded by the
convention; and the declaration in which they were
contained concluded in the following manner :

“ Having therefore an entire confidence that his
“ highness the prince of Orange will perfect the de-
“ liverance so far advanced by him, and will still pre-
“ serve them from the violation of their rights which
“ they have here asserted, and from all other attempts
“ upon their religion, rights and liberties, the lords
“ spiritual and temporal and commons assembled at
“ Westminster, do resolve, That William and Mary,
“ prince and princess of Orange, be, and be de-
“ clared, king and queen of England, France and
“ Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to
“ hold the crown and royal dignity of the said king-
“ doms and dominions to them the said prince and
“ princess during their lives and the life of the sur-
“ vivor of them, and that the sole and full exercise of
“ the royal power be only in, and executed by, the

“ said prince of Orange, in the names of the said
“ prince and princess, during their joint lives; and
“ after their decease, the said crown and royal dig-
“ nity of the said kingdom and dominions to belong
“ to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and
“ in default of such issue, to the princess Anne of
“ Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and in de-
“ fault of such issue to the heirs of the said prince of
“ Orange.”

As soon as the reading of this declaration was
finished, the marquis of Halifax, as speaker of the
upper-house, made a solemn tender of the crown to
their highnesses, in the name of the peers and com-
mons of England. The offer was accepted in the
most obliging manner by their highnesses; and the
same day they were proclaimed, with the usual cere-
monies, by the names of William and Mary, king and
queen of England.*

King William began his reign by a proclamation,
confirming all protestants in the offices which they
enjoyed on the 1st day of December. His next step
was, to settle his privy-council; after which, on the
23d of February, he gave the royal assent to an act
“ to remove and prevent all questions and disputes
concerning the assembling and sitting of this present
parliament;” by which act the convention, which had
settled the crown on the prince and princess of Orange,
was changed into a parliament.

The king, a few days after, opened the session with
a speech from the throne; in which he thanked them
for the great confidence they had reposed in him by
choosing him to be their sovereign, assuring them
should be his study to preserve the good opinion they
had conceived of his integrity. He laid before them
the critical situation of affairs in Europe, and parti-
cularly in these kingdoms; and concluded with
earnestly requesting them to concur in the most speedy
and effectual measures for the welfare of the nation.

Soon after the king sent a message to the house of
commons, informing them that he had received certain advice
the late king having sailed from Brest, with a powerful
armament, to invade Ireland. Upon receiving this
intelligence both houses came to a resolution to support
his majesty with their lives and fortunes; they voted
temporary aid of 420,000*l.* to be levied by means of
assessments; and both houses waited on the king to
signify this resolution. This vote was, however, far
from being carried unanimously in the parliament;
for several of the lords, both spiritual and tempo-
ral, absented themselves from the assembly, rather
than take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy
required.

The friends of James began now to form a party
disturbing the new government, and several of the
of the Scottish nation, at this time in England, were
apprehended for treasonable practices and lodged in
Tower. Informed of these commotions, and that a
Scottish regiment of Dumbarton had declared for
James, the commons enabled the king to suspend
the habeas corpus act, till the 1st of April, 1689.
This was done in order to bring more effectually
all disturbers of the peace to justice; but was certainly
a signal instance of confidence in the prince, who
gave the prince such a power, as few princes could
be trusted with. They also brought in a bill to
abolish the oath of abjuration.

* On this occasion the former oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated, and the following ordered to be taken by all persons instead of them.

“ I, A. B. do solemnly promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties king William and queen Mary. So help me God.”

“ I, A. B. do swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest,

and abjure, as impious and heretical, the doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated by the authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever; and that I will not give aid or comfort to any foreign prince, person, prelate, potentate, or state, who shall attempt to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, privilege, exemption, or immunity, within this realm of England.

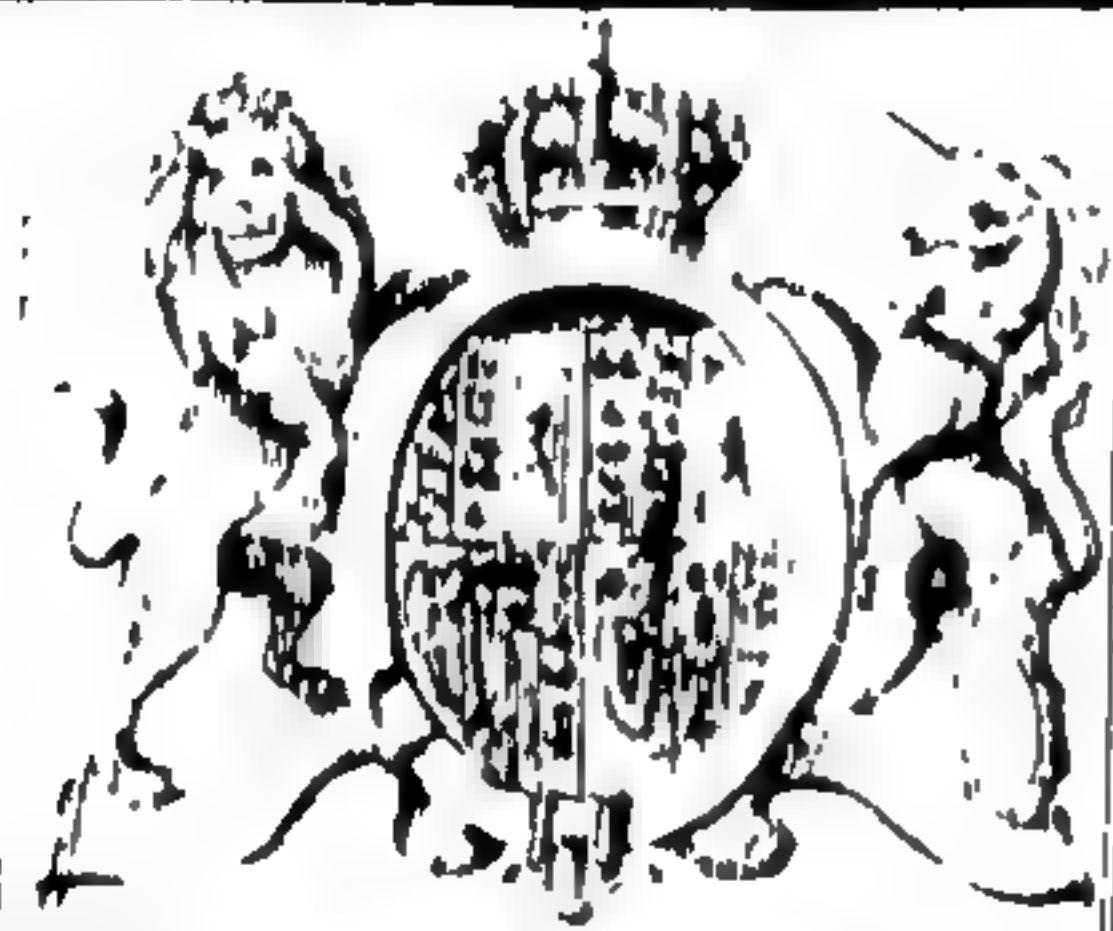


MARY II



W. D. H. 1702

W. D. H. 1702



punishing mutiny and desertion in the army, which soon passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

On the 11th of April the king and queen were solemnly crowned by the bishop of London, who officiated, at the king's desire, in the room of the archbishop of Canterbury, a member of the discontented party. This ceremony being over, the king made a thorough change about the court. Several who had been driven from their posts, by the late administration, were restored with signal marks of honour and favour. The papists, who had so lately carried all before them, were now forced to submit to their more successful adversaries: the laws against the former were renewed and strengthened; while all such as had been, in a manner, instrumental in effecting the revolution, were rewarded in proportion to their services. At the same time, that the meanest of his subjects might receive some benefit from his accession, and be thereby more firmly attached to his person and government, the king, about this time, recommended to the parliament (who readily acquiesced in his desire) the abolition of the tax of hearth-money, which he understood was a grievous imposition upon the people. This was certainly a very politic measure, and contributed greatly to gain the affections of the populace to their new sovereign.

William, who was equal to most princes in political abilities, and was well acquainted with the genius of the people he was called to govern, well knew that the most effectual way of preserving peace at home, was to find his subjects employment abroad. The great scheme he had formed, when only stadtholder, of a confederacy against France, began about this time to take effect. The princes of the empire assembled at the diet of Ratisbon, earnestly importuned the emperor Leopold to declare war against the French king, who had, in numberless instances, broke the several treaties he had concluded with the German potentates; and, without the least provocation, had invaded their country, and indicated a design of making himself the master, or rather the tyrant of all Europe. The states-general issued a declaration against Lewis, as the common enemy; and were followed by the elector of Brandenburg, while the marquis de Callanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, in answer to Lewis, who declared war against his master, entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with the states-general; binding the contracting parties, to co-operate with their whole power, against France and her allies. William, who was strongly importuned to join this confederacy, as king of England, and who heartily wished for the opportunity, found no great difficulty in persuading the emperor to draw the sword against their old enemies. And after the proper steps for that purpose were taken, both houses joined in a dutiful address to his majesty, desiring him to take such measures as should be sufficient to reduce the French king to a condition, as to render him incapable of disturbing the peace of Europe, or prejudicing the trade and prosperity of England, assuring his majesty that they would depend on his parliament for the necessary assistance.

In consequence of these assurances from his parliament, William declared war against the French king on the 11th of May. This declaration was signed by the masterly hand of Somers, afterwards chancellor. Lewis was charged with having invaded the territory of the emperor, and commenced war against the allies of England, in violation of the treaties concluded under the auspices of the English crown: of having taken possession of the liberty of Newfoundland, in the Caribbean islands: forcibly seized the

“ provinces of New York and Hudson's-bay: countenanced the seizure of English ships by French privateers: prohibited the importation of English manufactures: disputed the right of the flag: and persecuted many English subjects on pretence of religion, contrary to express treaties and the law of nations.”

Ireland was far from imitating the examples of England and Scotland, in acknowledging William's title to the crown; and it was more than two years before that kingdom was entirely reduced. The earl of Tyrconnel, inviolably attached, both by gratitude and a similarity of principles to a prince, to whom he was indebted for his dignity and fortune, exerted himself in the most indefatigable manner in his service. On the first news of James's retreat from England, he secured the most important places in Ireland, of which he was governor; and joining his natural hatred of the protestants to what he thought motives of policy and prudence, he treated them in so rigorous a manner, that they were forced to retire to their brethren in the north, who seizing on Kilmore, Coleraine, Iniskilling, and Londonderry, declared for William and Mary.

Such was the state of affairs in Ireland, when Lewis XIV. undertook to support his old friend and ally in the recovery of one part at least of his dominions. Perhaps there was hardly ever a more striking contrast than between these two princes. The one acted the part of a generous monarch, the other that of a mere devotee, always surrounded by Jesuits, and neglecting his own business and situation, that he might attend to their ecclesiastical controversies and metaphysical distinctions. Little success could be expected from the attempts of a prince of so bigotted a disposition. Lewis, however, furnished him with 5,000 forces under the command of M. de Lauzun. These troops were embarked at Brest on board a fleet consisting of fourteen ships of the line, six frigates, three fire-ships, and a sufficient number of transports. Lewis also furnished him with arms for 40,000 men, a large sum of money and superb equipages. At their parting, the French monarch embraced him, and said, “ I cannot wish you better than that I may never see you more.”

James sailed from Brest on the 14th of March, attended by the count d'Avaux, in quality of ambassador, and several other persons of distinction; and on the 22d he arrived safe at King'sale in Ireland. From hence he repaired in a few days to Cork, where he was received by the earl of Tyrconnel, who had collected an army of 30,000 foot, and 8,000 horse, for his service. But adversity had not yet taught James wisdom and precaution: he acted with as little prudence, as he could have done, had he no opposition to encounter; and was so far from endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the protestants, which in common reason and common policy he ought to have done, that he gave repeated proofs of his thorough hatred to them, and frequently punished them with death on the most trifling occasions. One of the magistrates of Cork was executed by his orders for having declared for the prince of Orange. In short, instead of endeavouring to win over his adversaries by mildness and popularity, he only exasperated them the more by his cruelty and arrogance.

James, after refreshing his forces, marched for Dublin, and entered the city in triumph. He was met at the Castle gate by a procession of popish bishops and priests, in their pontificals bearing the most odious which he knocked down in public. He immediately dismissed all the protestant members of the council, and filled their seats with papists. He published, indeed, several proclamations, promising protection to all his protestant subjects, who should preserve their constancy;

constancy; but so little regard was paid to his promises, that they all resolved to imitate the example of their friends, and stand in their own defence.

James soon made himself master of Coleraine and Kilmore, and exercised the most brutal cruelty on all the protestants who fell into his hands. Terrified at these inhuman proceedings, and alarmed by the report of a general massacre intended to be perpetrated on all who adhered to the reformed religion, they fled from all parts of the country, and shut themselves up in Londonderry, fully determined to suffer all the horrors of famine rather than submit to so brutal an enemy. An express was dispatched to England, imploring immediate assistance. Some arms and ammunition were accordingly sent them; but no considerable reinforcements till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived at Loughfoyle, under the command of the colonels Cunningham and Richards.

By this time James's army had reached the neighbourhood of Londonderry; and advice of the enemy's approach was sent to Lundy, the governor, by Mr. Walker, a protestant clergyman of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of himself and his brethren. Lundy immediately summoned a council of war, at which both Richards and Cunningham assisted. Whether the members were affected with cowardice, or treachery, is uncertain; but they came to a resolution that the town was untenable, and that it would therefore be imprudent to land the regiments. Walker was of a very different opinion, and used every argument in his power to prevail upon the governor to take the field immediately, and bring on a general engagement with the enemy, promising that the protestant inhabitants would do their duty, and fall nobly in the contest, rather than submit to an enemy whose very religion rendered them inhumanly cruel. But all his endeavours were in vain; Lundy listened only to his own pusillanimous apprehensions, and which were greatly heightened when he found that James was advancing at the head of his troops to the walls of the town. The inhabitants and soldiers were so exasperated at the cowardice of their governor and the two colonels, that they flew to arms, and would have made their lives pay the forfeit of their perfidy, had not the former kept himself concealed in his chamber, and the other two found means to escape on board their ships.

In the mean time major Baker, their deputy governor, fired so warmly from the walls upon James's troops, that they were obliged to retreat to St. John's town in some disorder. Walker and Baker made use of this repulse to press Lundy to exert himself as became a loyal subject and a good soldier; and to undertake the defence of the place; but such was the governor's cowardice or treachery, that he absolutely refused to have any thing to do with the government, and soon after made his escape in disguise.

It was now unanimously agreed by the inhabitants to bestow the government of the place on Mr. Walker and major Baker; in consequence of this they immediately prepared for a vigorous defence; fully resolved to defend their religion and liberties to the last extremity, and bury themselves under the ruins of the town, rather than submit to the enemy. They immediately formed the inhabitants, amounting to seven thousand men, into different regiments, taught them the manner of using their arms, the firing of cannon, and other particulars necessary to be known at this alarming crisis. Their religious sentiment inspired them with a noble contempt of death, and they determined to conquer or perish.

On the 30th of April James's army opened the trenches, and their batteries began to play on the

town, which was but poorly fortified, having only twenty pieces of cannon on the walls, and those wretchedly mounted. The besieged, however, animated by the example and spirited harangues of Mr. Walker, held out with astonishing resolution, and bravely repelled all the attacks of the enemy.

James was with his army at the opening of the trenches, but he soon returned to Dublin in order to open the session of parliament, which he had appointed to assemble on the 7th of May. He left the command of the army to the marquis de Rolane, one of the French generals, a man of more than average haughtiness and cruelty of disposition. Incensed at the opposition he met with from what he called an handful of half-starved peasants, he determined to vent his rage in the most inhuman manner. He informed the besieged, that, unless they instantly submitted to their lawful sovereign, he would not throw one stone upon another in the town, nor allow one person alive to carry the news of their destruction. It is a mark of true courage to look upon the threatenings of arrogance and vanity with contempt. The governors and garrison answered his threat only by doubling their resistance, though their provisions were now all expended, and they were reduced to a dreadful necessity of supporting life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, and every other loathsome food. They, however, supported their courage, and a proclamation was published, forbidding, under pain of death, any person to surrendering.

The French general, finding that menaces had no effect, formed a design for forcing them to submit, which seemed to be rather the dictates of a conqueror than of a human being. He sent detachments of his soldiers through the adjacent country, with orders to seize all the protestants they could find, without distinction of age or sex, strip them naked, and drive them, in that condition, under the walls of Londonderry. This order was executed with a cruelty equal to that of the giver of it. Upwards of four thousand of these miserable objects were exposed to the view of the besieged; who from their ramparts, beheld, with an horror not to be described, the forlorn condition of their fellow protestants, many of whom were every moment expiring with fatigue, cold, hunger, and the cruel diseases they had received from their bloody persecutors.

This sight, however, had a very different effect upon the garrison from what Rolane expected. It felt the deepest compassion for the distressed brethren; but their compassion was mingled with such indignation against the author of that affliction, and such apprehensions of what would be their own fate, if they should fall into his hands, that they unanimously determined to perish rather than submit to such a barbarian.

Walker caused gibbets to be erected on all sides, and informed the French general, that, if he suffered these wretched people to retire, he would immediately hang up every catholic in the town, together with all the prisoners they had taken. Convinced by their whole behaviour, that they would certainly carry their threat into execution, Rolane ordered the prisoners to be put to death after they had been detained three days without tasting any kind of food. Number of the prisoners died by famine and fatigue in their removal to the houses, and many of those who survived this additional misfortune to find their habitations effectually destroyed by the moving parties of the country, so that the greater part of the protestant people fell victims to the insatiable rage of the popish foe.

The intrepid garrison of Londonderry

reduced from 7,000 to 5,700: and these were driven to such extremity of distress, that they were on the point of coming to the dreadful resolution of feeding upon their prisoners, when major-general Kirk, who had rendered himself so infamous for his cruelties after Monmouth's rebellion, arrived in the Lough with a reinforcement of nine thousand men. He had received orders to relieve the town at all events; and accordingly sent three ships, laden with provisions, up the river, under the protection of the Dartmouth frigate. The enemy well knew that it would be impossible to conquer the town by famine, unless all communication with the sea, by means of the river, was cut off. They had, accordingly, erected several strong batteries on both sides of the stream, and drawn a strong boom across the channel. These precautions were thought sufficient to render every attempt made by sea, for the relief of the place, abortive. But here the enemy was mistaken. One of the ships, taking the advantage of the tide and a strong gale of wind, advanced through the fire of the batteries, with full sail, against the boom. The shock was too violent to be resisted; the boom gave way, and the other vessels following her, they all anchored in safety before the town.

It is impossible to describe the universal joy of the inhabitants at this happy event; while the discouragement of James's army was equally remarkable; they now despaired of succeeding in their enterprize, raised the siege that very night, and retired with the utmost precipitation, after losing near 8,000 men in this fruitless attempt. Kirk now landed at the town, and Walker, at the earnest request of the inhabitants, sailed over to England, to return their grateful thanks to their majesties for their generous succour. He was received by the king and queen with that honour and respect so justly due to his distinguished valour.

This was not the only instance of defence made in support of the protestant cause. The inhabitants of Londonderry, on receiving intelligence that Londonderry had denied entrance to the troops in James's service, resolved not to admit any garrison of his party; and having raised a regiment of twelve companies, the inhabitants shut their gates, and appointed Gustavus Hamilton their governor. He was a zealous protestant, and an officer of known courage and conduct. Having thus determined to oppose the popish army of James, they proclaimed king William and queen Mary. The lord Gilmoy, who had declared for James, appeared before their walls, and summoned them to surrender; but was, by the resistance they made, obliged to raise the siege, which, on their refusal to capitulate, he had undertaken. Not was this the whole; for the day before Londonderry was relieved, the brave Inniskillingers advanced, with their handful of men, against six thousand Irish, and totally defeated them at a place called Newton butler; killing near three thousand of the enemy, with the loss of only twenty killed and fifty wounded.

During these transactions the Irish parliament met at Dublin, pursuant to James's proclamation; and was opened by that prince with a speech from the throne. He first thanked them for their zeal and loyalty, lavished the highest encomiums on the humanity and generosity of his good brother and ally, the king of France, displayed towards himself, his son, and his son, in affording them an asylum, when expelled their lawful dominions; and in consequence enabled him to visit one part of his realm in person. He then declared his fixed resolution to grant to all his subjects full liberty of conscience, which he considered as the only certain method of procuring a happiness, as well as his own, looking

upon himself as the common parent of all his people. He concluded with assuring both houses of his hearty concurrence with them in enacting such laws, as might tend to the tranquillity and settlement of his dominions.

No sooner had James left the house, than the commons (who were almost to a man papists) came to a resolution of presenting an address of thanks to his majesty, and of desiring the count d'Avaux to offer their most grateful acknowledgements to the French king for the friendly assistance he had given to their sovereign. They next ordered a bill to be brought into the house for recognizing James's title, and to express their abhorrence of the prince of Orange's usurpation, as well as of the disloyalty and treasonable conduct of the English.

James now published a declaration, in which he complained of the many false and invidious reports that had been spread against his person and government; insisted upon his own impartiality in preferring his protestant subjects to places of trust and profit; his care in protecting them from their enemies; redressing their grievances, and indulging them with liberty of conscience: promising that he would, for the future, take no step without the concurrence and consent of his parliament; offering a free pardon to all who should abandon his enemies, and join him in twenty-four days after this declaration was published; and charged all the blood that might be spilt in this contest upon those who should persevere in rebellion.

The conduct of James, however, soon evinced that he meant not to keep his promises any longer than they answered his convenience; for two days after a bill was brought into the house of commons, by Nugent, lord chief justice of the king's-bench in Ireland, for repealing the act of settlement, which passed without the least opposition. By this repeal, two thirds of the protestants in the kingdom, who held their fortunes by virtue of the above act, were dispossessed of their estates, and exposed to misery and want; while papists seized on all their acquisitions. Some of the members of the upper house opposed this bill, especially the bishop of Meath, who, in a most pathetic and eloquent speech, exposed both the injustice and absurdity of it; and endeavoured to prove that it had no tendency to promote either the good of the king, or the happiness of the public. That, on the contrary, it tended not only to ruin the king, and destroy the public; but was at once impolitic and inconvenient in point of time. This reasoning, though founded on the most acknowledged principles, had no effect on the house: the parliament was determined to ruin the protestants in the most effectual manner, and accordingly the bill passed into a law, by receiving the royal assent.

Two days after the signing of the above act, a bill of attainder was passed against all those who were absent from the kingdom, and refused to acknowledge the authority of king James, or held any correspondence with the rebels, or who had any ways assisted the prince of Orange since the first of August last. By this act no less than three thousand protestants were attainted by name, among whom were two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, as many bishops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergymen, all of whom were declared punishable by death and forfeiture. A bloody proscription, which has not its parallel in the records of the most tyrannical government; especially when it is remembered that all the proscribed were excluded from all hopes of pardon, and all benefit of appeal, unless enrolled by the king's order, before the full day of the ensuing month of December.

In the mean time William was not idle in his preparations for the relief of his protestant subjects. He was informed that another strong fleet, as a convoy to some transports laden with arms, ammunition, &c. was soon to sail from France to Ireland; and therefore the king detached admiral Herbert from Spithead, with twelve ships of the line, one fireship, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. The English admiral having, for some time, been blown about by contrary winds, reached at length the Irish coast, and on the first of May discovered the French fleet, consisting of no less than twenty-eight ships of the line, most of them from sixty to seventy guns, and five fireships, lying at anchor at Bantry-bay. The French admiral no sooner saw the English fleet, than he immediately gave orders for getting under sail, and giving the enemy battle. Herbert, having for some time endeavoured to gain the weather gage of the French, and finding it impossible to succeed, thought it highly imprudent to fight the enemy so superior in force, while he laboured under so particular a disadvantage. He therefore stood off to sea, and maintained a running fight; till the evening began to approach, when the enemy tacked about, and returned to Bantry-bay. This trifling skirmish was by the French represented as a signal victory, though, with all their superiority of strength, they neither took nor sunk a single vessel. William, however, was so satisfied with the behaviour of his admiral on this occasion, that when the latter returned to Portsmouth, his majesty, in an excursion he made thither, to hasten the naval preparations then carrying on at that port, dined on board Herbert's ship, and declared his intention of creating him an earl in consideration of his services: at the same time he conferred the honour of knighthood on captain Cloudesly Shovel, another sea officer, who had served in this expedition, and bestowed a gratuity of ten shillings on every private sailor.

Notwithstanding all the assiduity of William in hastening the naval and military preparations, James had been six months in Ireland before an English army was ready to embark for that kingdom. At last eighteen regiments of foot, five of dragoons, and a suitable train of artillery, being ready, the duke of Schomberg was appointed general, and the forces landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus on the 13th of August. About 10,000 foot and dragoons were detached to take possession of Belfast, which was abandoned by the enemy at their approach. They, however, retired no farther than Carrickfergus, where they proposed to make a stand against the English; but the latter attacked the place with so much intrepidity, that they were masters of it in four days. Newry, Dundalk, and other places opened their gates at the first summons; and had not so many delays have been made in sending the general the train of artillery he had left behind him in England, Schomberg would have made a much greater progress; but in consequence of this strange conduct he was obliged to continue inactive during the remainder of the campaign. On the approach of winter, both the English and Irish retired into quarters.

The same delays that had prevented Schomberg from pursuing his conquest, also rendered the designs of the naval armaments abortive. Admiral Herbert, now earl of Torrington, did not sail again for Ireland till the season was far advanced. His intention was to surprize the city of Cork, but he was diverted from his purpose by false intelligence, that James with his whole army was encamped in the neighbourhood. It was therefore thought imprudent to attack the city, and the whole fleet, after a short stay on the Irish coast, returned to England, and came to an anchor in Torbay.

The English parliament met on the 19th of October, when the king explained the necessity of a prompt supply to carry on the war; desired they would be speedy in their determinations on that subject, as they would have the greatest influence on the princes and states concerned in the alliance against France, as a general meeting was appointed to be held at the Hague in the month of November. The houses were then prorogued for four days, when they were assembled; and the commons taking the king's speech into consideration, unanimously resolved to assist his majesty in reducing Ireland, and joining his arms abroad, for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France. They accordingly voted a supply of two millions, to be raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and additional duties upon coffee, tea and chocolate.

Party disputes between the Whigs and the Tories were now carried to the greatest height. William was not calculated for joining in these contests; he saw them with regret and concern. Cold, reserved, silent, generally shut up in his closet, without a title for any thing but the chase, most commonly at Hampton-court, because the air of London did not agree with his constitution, he was by no means popular, and began to lose the affections of the English. He saw his error, and policy for once prevailed over nature. He suddenly adopted the old popular mode, was present at horse races, and shewed himself affable and complaisant. He dined with the lord-mayor of London, accepted the title of citizen, and submitted to be appointed master of the Grocers company, a condescension which would have been too great, had he known, at the same time, how to support his dignity.

The church of England, which hated popery, was far from being fond of Calvinism in the prince; and William, who was sufficiently aware of the danger attending religious disputes, made another effort to uniting the church and presbyterians. But his endeavours were soon rendered abortive. The lower house opposed the attempt with the utmost firmness. On this occasion they had recourse to the phrase used by the ancient barons: "We will not have the laws of England changed." This increased the animosity already sufficiently alarming, between the two parties. The Tories, persuaded they should gain the ascendant by making their court to the king, made him the most pompous promises of supplies, provided he would pass an act of oblivion and dissolve the present parliament. The Whigs soon discovered the design of their antagonists, and in order to render the attempt abortive, they introduced a bill for restoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges, to which a clause was added, denouncing the same penalties against those who had been any way concerned in delivering up the charters. The Tories opposed this clause with their utmost force, and at length rejected. The bill, however, passed the houses; but the lords were so equally divided on the occasion, that the majority consisted of a single vote only. Both parties now made the strongest applications to the king to bring him over to their respective interests. William was under the greatest perplexity how to determine: the behaviour of the Whigs had given him sufficient reason to think that they were tainted with republican principles, and consequently enemies to the regal power. He was therefore persuaded, that by giving the royal assent to the bill, he must in a manner be dependent wholly on them, and therefore retain nothing more than the shadow of a king. On the other hand, he was no less sensible of the attachment of the Tories to the divine right of kings, and therefore it would be the height of imprudence to place in them an unlimited confidence.

A. D. 1690. At this juncture William formed the resolution of going over to Ireland in person to finish the war. In consequence of which, on the 17th of January, he went to the house of lords, and after declaring his intentions, prorogued the parliament till the 22d of April; but on the 6th of February he dissolved it, and issued writs for calling a new one to meet on the 20th of March. By this means the bill was rendered abortive, after it had passed both houses.

The election was so favourable to the Tories, that they had a considerable majority in the lower house, and the assembly was agitated with the most violent debates. Two bills in particular were violently opposed and as violently defended. The one for ratifying the acts of the preceding parliament; the other for requiring all persons in office, on pain of imprisonment, to take an oath, abjuring king James. The first passed, notwithstanding the opposition of the most violent amongst the Tories. The house was apprehensive of the consequences, if that parliament, by virtue of which the present government was established, should be declared illegal. The second, which the Whigs supported in concert with the ministry, with all their power, was more obstinately opposed. The king, apprehensive that an open rupture between the two parties would be the consequence desired the ministry to give up the point. This interposition of the king so highly disgusted the earl of Srewsbury, then secretary of state, that he immediately resigned his post; nor could all the remonstrances of the king, who was no stranger to his great abilities, prevail upon him to keep the seals, till his return from Ireland. The Whigs had also the mortification to see an act of oblivion passed in favour of their antagonists.

In the mean time the parliament, being sensible how desirous the king was to set out for Ireland, dispatched the business before them with the greatest facility; and the royal assent being given to several money bills, the act of indemnity, and some other acts of a similar nature, together with a bill for investing the queen with the administration of the government during the king's absence, his majesty put an end to the session with a short speech from the throne.

During these transactions in England, James had very little reason to expect he should long govern Ireland. Lewis had indeed sent him a reinforcement of 5000 men, under the command of count de Lauzun, besides those he carried over with him, so that James's forces at present amounted to 7000 French and 14 Irish, most of them veteran troops; the rest, which formed another body of 10 or 12,000 men, were new raised, undisciplined, and not to be depended upon. William, on the other hand, had increased his army to near 40,000 men, all regular forces well disciplined, and commanded by brave and experienced officers. A superiority which assured him of success; and he determined to drive the enemy out of Ireland.

After continuing the queen regent during his absence, William embarked for Ireland on the 4th of June, and landed on the 14th at Carrickfergus, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough and Manchester, and many other persons of distinction. He repaired immediately to Belfast, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major general Kuke, and other principal officers.

The whole face of affairs was immediately changed on the king's arrival. The military operations had been for some time suspended by the address of the duke of Schomberg, who carefully avoided coming to an engagement with the enemy, before his ma-

jesty's arrival to head his troops in person. James, wearied with a perpetual state of uncertainty, seemed desirous to determine his fate by one decisive action. William was equally willing to put a final period to all contest for the crown of England. Thus determined, the two rivals, with their whole forces, moved towards each other, to decide at once the quarrel, that had long divided the kingdom, and destroyed so many of the innocent inhabitants.

William, after refreshing his troops at Belfast, marched to Lillburne, where the duke of Schomberg had fixed his head quarters, and thence to Hillsborough, ordering the whole army to encamp at Loughbrillen. Here he reviewed his forces, and found they amounted to 36,000 effective men, well armed, and equipped with every particular.

In the mean time, James committed the care of guarding Dublin to a body of militia, under the command of Luttrell, and joined his army, now nearly equal to the English in number, exclusive of about 15000 men, left in different garrisons. After advancing to the banks of the river Boyne, he pitched his camp in a very advantageous situation, having his front defended by that deep and rapid river, a rising ground and deep morass, so that the English could not attack him without exposing themselves to the most imminent danger. The Jacobite officers therefore were very pressing on James, not to venture an engagement; but rather reinforce his garrisons, withdraw to the Shannon, and wait the event of the naval preparations, then making in France for attacking the English, and sending succours to Ireland. But James, determining to decide the contest by a general battle, refused these salutary counsels, and made the necessary preparations for a decisive engagement.

William was equally prepared to receive him; but thought proper, before the battle began, to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy. Accordingly he advanced to the opposite side of the river, where, being singled out by the enemy, they brought down two field pieces by a hollow way, and planted them against his person. The first shot killed a man and two horses close by his side; and the second rebounding from the ground, grazed his right shoulder, and produced a considerable contusion. William did not betray the least emotion on this occasion; but after causing his wound to be bound up, he remounted his horse, and kept on his former pace, only saying, "there was no necessity for the bullet to come nearer." This accident, however, though of no great moment in itself, occasioned some confusion among his majesty's attendants; which being observed by the enemy, and they not seeing the king on horseback, concluded that their balls had effected the intended purpose, and that William was killed. They therefore gave a general shout, which was echoed through the camp. The news was even spread to Dublin, whence it was sent to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were suffered to express their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

William, to prevent any confusion in his own army, rode through the ranks, and by that means effectually removed the impressions which this false rumour might otherwise have produced on the spirits of his troops. About nine o'clock in the evening he called a council of war, and declared his intention of crossing the river, and giving battle to the enemy. Schomberg strongly opposed this measure; but the king being absolutely determined, his plan was adopted by the majority of the council. Schomberg therefore acquiesced, and proposed that part of the army, horse and foot, should be sent that night to Slane-bridge, in order to pass the Boyne, and post themselves between the enemy and the pass at Duleek.

This

This advice, which if pursued must have assured the English of success, was objected to, and over-ruled by the Dutch officers; at which the duke was so disgusted that he retired to his tent, whither the order of battle, after being settled in the council, was sent to him. This he considered as an additional affront: but the respect he owed his sovereign kept him from complaining. He only said, with some marks of discontent, that it was the first order of that kind he had ever received.

It was also agreed in council, that early next morning lieutenant general Douglas, with the right wing of the infantry, and Munhardt, count Schomberg, the duke's son, should pass the river at Slane-bridge; in order to post themselves between the enemy's camp and Drogheda, while a body of foot were to force a passage over the ford at Old-bridge.

James likewise called a council of war, when it was proposed, by lieutenant-general Hamilton, to send a strong party of dragoons to take possession of a ford, a little below the town of Drogheda, the securing of which was of the greatest importance. James, however, by an obstinate perverseness, would have only sixty dragoons on that service. The cannonade, which had continued pretty warmly ever since the two armies had come in sight of each other, ceased towards the close of the evening. William rode through the whole army by torch-light, and retired to his tent, after having given the necessary orders for the proper dispositions, and directed his soldiers to wear green boughs in their hats during the ensuing action, to distinguish them from those of the enemy, who wore in theirs pieces of white paper.

Early the next morning (July 1, 1690) general Douglas, with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland, and Overkirk, marched to Slane-bridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. On their gaining the opposite bank, they perceived a considerable body of the enemy, formed into two lines behind a deep morass, which secured their front. Douglas, on reconnoitering their disposition, thought it advisable to halt for the coming up of a fresh reinforcement, which he knew were on their march to join him; and on their arrival, he ordered the infantry to move towards the morass between them and the enemy, while count Schomberg with his cavalry, who could not possibly march that way, was sent round it in order to attack the Irish in flank. The enemy no sooner perceived the motion made by the English, than they wheeled about, and retreated towards the pass of Duleek: but being closely pursued by the cavalry under young Schomberg, numbers of them were cut to pieces in their retreat, or rather flight. In the mean time William, who was ignorant of what had passed between this part of the army and the enemy, but supposed that his men had, by this time, effected their passage over the river, ordered his main body, composed of the Dutch guards, the French protestant regiment, the Inniskilling foot, and four battalions of English, to pass the river at the Old-bridge ford, and attack the enemy. They accordingly forded the river though the waters were breast-high, and having gained the opposite bank, notwithstanding a body of mulqueeters sent to oppose them, they drew up into files, and attacked the Irish with such fury, that, unable to support the charge, they abandoned their intrenchments and retreated. James had imprudently removed his artillery from the bank of the river, which greatly facilitated the landing of the English; but before all the battalions could form, they were charged with great impetuosity by general Hamilton, at the head of a considerable body of horse and foot, and the dispute was, for some time, very obstinate. At last the Irish foot, who that day

behaved very ill, gave way, leaving their horse to sustain the whole fury of the combat. In the last attack, la Caillemont, the friend and inseparable companion of the intrepid duke Schomberg, received a mortal wound, at the head of the French protestants; and, as he was carrying back by four soldiers to the English camp, he encouraged his countrymen, who were still crossing the river, by calling out to them, "to glory my good lads, to glory."

Schomberg, informed of the furious attack made upon the regiments that had forded the river, and that the French refugees were without a leader, passed the stream immediately to head them. He had no sooner reached the opposite bank, than he rode full speed to the French protestants, and putting himself at their head, he cried out, "Behold your persecutors." Animated by his example, the refugees attacked the enemy with the utmost fury; but a party of James's guards, returning towards the main body of their army, surrounded Schomberg. Exasperated at the attempt, and desirous of revenging the insult, the refugees fired upon them with too little caution, for one of the balls striking the general put an end to his life. Thus fell the famous Schomberg in the eighty-third year of his age, after a long life replete with military glory.

This misfortune had like to have been fatal to the whole army. The forces that had hitherto fought with such remarkable intrepidity seemed to have lost their courage with their general: their arms remained inactive in their hands; they gazed at each other with silent astonishment, and gave ground apace. The enemy perceived it, and animated with so fortunate an incident, returned to the charge with such ardour and intrepidity, as seemed to command success.

William, who might be said to be every where during the whole action, perceived the advantage of the enemy, and brought up the left wing at the very moment when they were going to fall upon the center. Intimidated at his approach they halted, faced about, and retreated to a small village, called Dunsilly, about half a mile from the pass, where they made a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish, though headed by the king in person, were to sustain their terrible fire, gave way; and even the Inniskillings themselves shewed a backwardness to advance. Shocked at this timidity, William rode up to the latter, and asked, in a sharp tone, what was the behaviour he ought to expect from them. Stung by this reproach, and being acquainted that it was his majesty that now headed them, they nobly resumed their wonted courage, and returned to the charge with redoubled vigour. At the same time the Dutch horse rallying their separated ranks, rushed to the charge; and the enemy, after an bloody conflict, were beaten back with considerable loss. In this action lieutenant general Hamilton, who had been the principal support of the English during the whole engagement, was taken prisoner. This action so dispirited them, that they abandoned the field with great precipitation, but the French and Swiss guards retreated in good order. William, thinking it prudent to push the pursuit by the field of battle.

In the mean time young Schomberg, informed of his father's death, was inspired with much ardour to revenge his fate, that notwithstanding he opposed the fury of his arm. Animated also with a just resentment, and a noble thirst for glory, he drove the enemy several times beyond the pass of Duleek, flinging the ground with their dead. Nor could any thing restrain his fury, till he received positive orders from the king to put a stop to the slaughter, and return to the spot where the battle

A NEW
and accurate
MAP
of
IRELAND,
Drawn
from the best Authorities,
by Tho: Bowen,
1778.



halted, and where they continued under arms during the night.

Thus ended the famous battle of the Boyne, in which the loss of James amounted to about 1500 men, among whom were the lords Dongan, and Carlingford, Sir Neal O'Neal, the marquis of Eilochquincourt, besides several prisoners, the chief of whom was lieutenant-general Hamilton. The English lost about five hundred men; an inconsiderable number for the acquisition of so important a battle, had not the famous duke Schomberg, the most consummate general in Europe, been one of the number. William himself had nearly suffered the same fate; for a cannon ball carried away part of his boot.

All historians unite in giving William the highest praise for the admirable conduct, courage, resolution, and presence of mind, he displayed during the whole course of this memorable action. Even the Irish themselves are said to have declared, that if the English would change kings with them, they would fight the battle over again.

James, indeed, continued an inactive spectator of an action, on the success of which every thing dear to him, as a king, or a man of honour, absolutely depended. During the whole engagement he remained, with a few squadrons of horse, on the hill of Dunmore, till the count de Lauzun, after the retreat of the French and Swiss guards, came up to him, and representing that he was in the most imminent danger of being surrounded, desired him to think of a retreat. This advice was readily followed, and being attended by the regiment of Sarsfield, he marched to Duleck, and from thence to Dublin, where he immediately summoned the magistrates and council, and in a short speech resigned all his authority in that city. He complained of the cowardice of the Irish, by whom he said he had been betrayed; and declared his resolution of immediately quitting the kingdom.

Accordingly, the next morning James set out for Waterford, attended by the duke of Berwick, his natural son, the earl of Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis. At that port he embarked on board a vessel, which he had ordered Sir Patrick Trant, commissioner of the Irish revenue, to keep in readiness for him, in case of a defeat; and arriving safely in France, fixed his residence at St. Germain.

Immediately after James left Dublin, that city was abandoned by all the papists of any consideration: the government of the city was assumed by the protestants, who sent an account of these transactions, accompanied with a petition, to William, intreating him to honour the capital with his presence. This request was readily complied with; and after detaching Mr. de la Meloniere, with a sufficient force to reduce Drogheda, his majesty marched at the head of his army for Dublin: he entered the city in triumph, repaired immediately to the cathedral, and returned thanks to heaven for his late victory.

The next day William published a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had either remained at home, or been engaged in the army abroad, provided they returned to their respective dwellings before the full of August, and delivered up their arms to the justices of the peace as should be appointed for that purpose by his majesty. But with regard to those desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the Irish, authorized the brutish cruelties that had been exercised on the protestants, and rejected the pardon made them in the king's proclamation, published on the 6th of February, 1690, his majesty put them in a condition to make them sensible of their error, by leaving them entirely to the event of war, and by giving evident proofs of their repentance

they should deserve his mercy, which in that case should never be refused them.

While William was employed in the reduction of Ireland, his queen held the English reins of government with a steadiness and resolution that gained her the admiration of the whole kingdom. On receiving advice that a powerful fleet was fitted out at Brest, in order to make a descent on the west of England, she ordered the earl of Torrington, who then lay with his fleet in the Downs, to sail immediately to Portsmouth, and collect a number of ships sufficient to enable him to render the design of the enemy abortive. While the admiral lay at St. Helen's, advice arrived from Weymouth that the French fleet, consisting of seventy-eight ships of the line and two fire-ships, had entered the channel. The admiral had been lately joined by a squadron of Dutch men of war, but several ships expected from Plymouth had hitherto been prevented by contrary winds, from joining him. A council of war was immediately called, and it seemed to be the general opinion that it would be imprudent to meet the enemy, as the whole combined fleet did not exceed fifty-six sail; but before any resolution was taken, an express arrived from the queen, with positive orders to hazard an engagement at all events, rather than suffer the enemy to sail up the channel, and insult the English coasts and harbours.

In conformity to these orders, Torrington immediately stood out to sea, with the combined fleets of England and Holland. The enemy soon appeared in sight, and on the 30th of June the engagement began off Beachy-head about nine in the morning. The blue squadron engaged the French with the utmost bravery, but Torrington kept his division in a line, and fought at too great a distance. The Dutch, desirous of bringing on a closer engagement, advanced towards the enemy, and by that means were separated from the English. Tourville, the French admiral, perceived the imprudent valour of the Dutch had carried them too far, and determined to take advantage of their error. He accordingly collected all his ships that were now engaged with the English, and surrounded the Dutch squadron. All retreat was now cut off, and the whole squadron must have been taken, had not Cabanough the Dutch admiral fortunately ordered his ships to drop their anchors with all their sails standing. This saved his squadron. The tide set strongly up the channel, and there being very little wind, the French, who were ignorant of the stratagem, were driven away by the tide, while the Dutch continued safe at anchor beyond the reach of their cannon. They had, however, received considerable damage, their two vice-admirals were killed, and several of their ships so greatly shattered, that they were obliged to sink them, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The English lost two ships, two of their captains, and about 400 men. The next day the English admiral called a council of war, in which it was resolved to retreat without hazarding another engagement, and to destroy all the disabled ships should the enemy attempt a pursuit. Torrington, accordingly, retreated without much interruption to the mouth of the Thames, where Tourville, after continuing about five days in the channel, returned to Brest. The nation was at once exasperated and alarmed at this incident. It was the common opinion that if Torrington had followed the example of the blue squadron, and brought on a close engagement, the enemy must have been defeated; the consequence of which would, in all probability, have been fatal to the French, as it was almost impossible for them to have returned to Brest, a very considerable squadron then lying in Plymouth sound. Torrington's

rington's conduct was censured by his own admirals, and on his arrival in London he was sent to the Tower.

Though this defeat was attended with no very considerable inconveniences, yet it furnished the Jacobites with matter sufficient for an ungenerous triumph. The people, who see only the surface of things, were seized with the most gloomy apprehensions; a descent on the coast was every day expected; and a general panic was spread over the kingdom. The queen alone seemed unaffected with this unmanly fear; she behaved with admirable spirit and discretion. She made use of every precaution to render any attempts of the enemy abortive. The principal sea-ports were put into a good state of defence: proper orders were issued for refitting the ships and augmenting the navy: the militia of the western counties was embodied; and to strike a greater terror into the domestic enemies of the government, a proclamation was issued for apprehending several disaffected persons, who were either suspected or accused of holding a correspondence with James and his party, for disturbing the internal peace of the kingdom.

In consequence of this prudent and magnanimous conduct, the queen received addresses from the city of London, and most of the principal counties and corporations in the kingdom, who all declared their resolution of supporting her, her royal consort, and the present government, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. These addresses were very grateful to the queen, who pursued her measures with such prudence and success, that the clamour gradually subsided, and the tongue of envy was hushed to peace.

In the mean time William, having received satisfactory letters from the queen and council, determined to continue in Ireland some time longer. He therefore undertook the siege of Limerick, a town strongly fortified, and defended by the principal part of king James's army, who had escaped at the battle of the Boyne. But the enemy having found means to intercept and destroy his train of artillery, and the trenches being half filled with water by the wet season coming on, William thought proper to raise the siege, and put his army into winter quarters. This being effected, the king embarked at Waterford, with prince George of Denmark, and several other persons of distinction, on the fifth of September, and the next day landed at Pill near Bristol. He immediately set out for Windsor, where he was received by the queen with the highest expressions of joy.

Soon after William had left Ireland, the celebrated earl of Marlborough landed, at the head of 5,000 men, in the neighbourhood of Corke; and being joined by nearly the same number, under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg and general Scrivenmore, he undertook to reduce several of the principal places in Ireland. Success attended all his measures. He took the towns of Corke and Kinsale, which were of the last importance to James, on account of their maritime situation; and the count de Lauzun, who commanded the French troops in Ireland, despairing of James's cause, evacuated the kingdom.

By this time the grand alliance which William had formed against France was farther strengthened by the accession of the duke of Savoy, who, renouncing the neutrality he had hitherto observed, concluded a league with the emperor and the king of Spain, and openly engaged in the general confederacy. But Lewis XIV. was no sooner informed of the engagements the duke had entered into, than he sent 12,000 men into Piedmont, under the command of that brave officer, M. Catinat, afterwards a marshal

of France, with orders to demand from the duke, as a pledge of his fidelity, the delivery of his forces, together with Verrue, and the citadel of Turin, the capital of his dominions. Confounded at this unexpected demand, the duke endeavoured to amuse the French with submissions and offers, till he could procure alliance from the emperor and Spain; but finding these two powers returned him only empty promises, he had recourse to William and the states-general for support.

Pleased with the acquisition of so valuable an ally, William received his ambassador with the highest marks of respect, and promised to use his utmost endeavours to procure him every thing he desired. Lewis, who was not to be deceived by specious promises, ordered Catinat to begin hostilities in Savoy and Piedmont; while the duke exerted all his power to oppose the torrent which threatened to overwhelm his dominions with ruin and destruction. Though the duke was a great general, yet he committed a fatal mistake in drawing up his army in presence of the French general, near Saluzzo. He was totally defeated by Catinat, who, pursuing his advantage, made himself master of the greater part of Piedmont.

Lewis had another army in Flanders, under the command of the duke of Luxembourg: and the allies, dreading the power of France, which was daily increasing, both by sea and land, resolved that the army of the states-general, under the prince of Waldeck, should oppose Luxembourg; while the elector of Brandenburg should observe the motions of M. Boufflers, who commanded a third French army on the banks of the Moselle, in Germany. Part of this scheme was, however, rendered abortive; for before the troops of Brandenburg could be assembled, Boufflers found means to encamp his forces between the Sambre and the Meuse, and by that means opened a free communication between his own army and that of Luxembourg. Waldeck, sensible of the advantages of keeping the French on the other side of the Sambre, detached the count de Berlo, with three hundred horse, to discover whether the French were making any preparations for passing that river. The count, having advanced to the village of Flerus, found that a considerable part of the French army had already passed the Sambre, and sent immediate notice of it to prince Waldeck; but it was too late; for being surrounded by the enemy, his detachment was defeated, and himself slain. The next day the duke of Luxembourg attacked the main body under prince Waldeck, who, after a very obstinate engagement, was obliged to retreat, leaving about 4,000 men dead on the field of battle. The enemy took about 4,000 prisoners, but they bought their victory very dear; their loss being equal if not greater than that of the Dutch. It is said that the loss of this battle was wholly owing to the cowardice of the Dutch cavalry, who abandoned their infantry at the first charge; but the retreat of the foot was pursued never exceeded; for notwithstanding the battle was fought in a plain country, destitute of woods and other resources, and the troops charged both in front and flank by the enemy, they made such impression on the French by their regular, undaunted, and uniform fire, that the latter did not dare to follow them; they suffered the Dutch to march off with the utmost composure. This was the only action which opened in Flanders during the whole campaign. The allies, however, suffered an irreparable loss in the death of the duke of Wirtemberg, who expired a few hours illness, not without strong suspicion of his having been poisoned by the late French ambassador. He was succeeded by his brother, the duke of Saxe.

The English parliament met on the 11th of

October, when William opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he informed the commons that he had used his best endeavours for the reduction of Ireland, and had the supplies been granted early in the last session, he did not doubt but he should have succeeded effectually. He also desired them to remember, that he had asked no revenue for himself, but what had been charged to the uses of the war: he therefore recommended to them the clearing of his revenue, so as to enable him to subsist and support the charges of the civil government. Then addressing himself to both houses, told them, that he hoped they would proceed in their deliberations with spirit and unanimity; and that whoever tried to attempt diverting them from the important subject he had recommended to their consideration, could neither be his friends, nor friends to their country.

Both houses of parliament addressed him separately on this speech, in which they congratulated him on his success in Ireland, and on the queen's happy administration during his absence. The commons particularly told him, "That he too freely exposed his invaluable life, on which the whole protestant interest of Europe depended;" and concluded with assuring him, "that they should be always ready to assist him to the utmost of their power: and as the best and truest way of expressing their gratitude, they would endeavour effectually to support his government against all his enemies."

They were not long before they carried their assurances into execution: for the very day their address was presented, they voted a supply of 4,000,000 for the service of the ensuing year: a larger sum than had ever before been granted by an English parliament to their prince. Among other taxes for raising this prodigious sum, a land-tax of three shillings in the pound was imposed; the excise upon beer and ale was doubled; a duty was laid on all India goods, foreign wrought silks, and several other commodities imported, and a duty was imposed upon new wines and spirits of the first extraction. They also voted that 1,000,000 should be raised by the forfeited estates in Ireland, and that a bill should be prepared for confiscating these estates, with a clause empowering his majesty to grant one third of them to those who had served in the war. This clause was afterwards rejected, and many petitions were presented against the bill by creditors and heirs, who had continued faithful. These petitions were, however, laid aside by the commons, who, on this occasion, suffered their zeal for the king to get the better of that attention they owed to the lawful and just remonstrances of their fellow subjects, and unanimously passed the bill; but on being read in the house of lords, that august body thought it incumbent on them to examine the merit of those petitions; and this took up so much time, that the bill was dropped for the present session.

A. D. 1691. On the 5th of January the king went to the house of peers, and after giving the royal assent to such bills as were ready, he put an end to the session with a speech from the throne; wherein he assured both houses, that he entertained the most perfect sense of their liberality and dispatch; that the supplies they had granted should be faithfully employed in the services for which they were allotted; that he would make no grant of the forfeited estates in Ireland, till that affair should be fully settled in parliament, to the satisfaction of all parties. That he hoped they would take care to propagate in their several countries the same principles of zeal and attachment to his government, which they had so eminently displayed in parliament: and that he trusted the mutual understanding between him and his subjects would be more than sufficient to defeat the designs of

their secret foes, and the attempts of their open and avowed enemies.

The business of the nation being thus settled, William, on the 16th of January, embarked for Holland, in order to assist at a congress of the confederate princes and states, appointed to be held at the Hague, to concert measures for the defence of the liberties of Europe against the encroachments of France. On his arrival in the capital of the United Provinces, the states-general, the states of Holland, the council of state, and other colleges, waited on the king with congratulations on his safe arrival. On the 26th of January he made a public entry, and was received with great pomp, and the sincerest expressions of joy. Triumphal arches were erected in the principal streets through which he passed, filled with inscriptions expressing his great and generous actions in defence of public liberty.

The congress was opened soon after his arrival; it consisted of the imperial ministers, those from Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Brandenburg, Saxony, Trièves, Mentz, Cologne, the Palatine, Savoy, Zell, Munster, Hesse-Cassel, Wolfenbuttle, Hanover, Holstein Gottorp, Liege, and those from king William. The whole forming one of the most glorious assemblies mentioned in the annals of history, and convened for the noblest purpose, that of opposing the ambitious encroachments of an arbitrary prince, and securing the peace, tranquillity, and liberties of a whole continent.

William opened the congress with a pathetic speech, in which he displayed, in the most forcible colours, "the imminent danger to which they were at present exposed; plainly demonstrated the impropriety of their former conduct, and the absolute necessity of an immediate change of measures: that this was not the time to deliberate, but to act; that the enemy was already master of the principal fortresses which formed the barrier of the common liberty; and would soon be able to possess himself of all the inferior fortifications, if a spirit of division, selfishness and irresolution, continued to influence them: that every one ought to consider his own interest as involved in the good of the whole: that the forces of the enemy were numerous and powerful; and if not prevented, would sweep every thing before them like a torrent: that it was in vain to oppose the pretensions of injustice by unavailing complaints, unprofitable clamour, or fruitless protestations: that not the resolutions of a peaceable diet, nor the hopes of some men of fortune built on a sandy foundation, would be sufficient; but that of powerful armies, bold enterprizes, and a prompt and vigorous execution to accomplish the glorious work: that all these must be instantly employed against the common enemy, if they meant to check his progress, and to snatch from his hands the liberties of Europe, which he was now subjecting to a cruel and heavy yoke." He concluded with assuring them, "That, for his own part, he would neither spare his forces, his credit, nor his own person, to effect so noble a design; but would appear in the spring at the head of his troops, to fulfil faithfully his royal promises."

This speech was received with great applause by the whole assembly, and produced the most happy effect. A resolution was immediately taken to employ 205,000 men against France, of which the several princes and states were to furnish the following proportions: the king of England, 20,000; the emperor, 20,000; the king of Spain in Flanders, 20,000; the states-general, 25,000; the duke of Savoy, and the troops of Milan, 20,000; the elector of Bavaria, 18,000; the elector of Saxony, 12,000; the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, 8,000, the circles of Suabia and Franconia, 10,000; the duke of Württemberg, 6,000;

6,000; the elector of Brandenburg, 20,000; the elector Palatine, 4,000; the prince of Liege, 6,000; and the prince of Lunenburg, 16,000. Had these engagements been punctually fulfilled, a final stop would soon have been put to the conquests of France; but this was far from being the case. Few of the princes took any care to send their full quota of troops to the general rendezvous; so that England and Holland were obliged to bear almost the whole expence and burden of the war.

The congress broke up about the beginning of March, and king William was preparing to return to England, when his departure was retarded by advice that the French had collected all their forces, in order to take the field before the confederates could be ready to oppose them; and that Lewis in person had invested the city of Mons, accompanied by the dauphin, the dukes of Orleans and Chartres, and an army of 80,000 men. William upon this dispatched prince Waldeck to Halle, near Brussels, which was appointed for the general rendezvous of what forces could be drawn together: the king himself followed on the 27th of March, where he found an army of 50,000 men; but, through the neglect of the Spaniards, so miserably deficient in all kind of necessities for a march, before the troops could be put in motion. news arrived of the reduction of the place: the governor being reduced to the last extremity, after having in vain waited for relief, was obliged to capitulate on the 1st of April, and surrendered the town on very honourable terms. After this disappointment, there remained nothing to require the immediate presence of king William on the continent, who therefore returned to the Hague, and embarking for England, on the 13th of April, arrived safe in London.

The first information he received was, that during his absence the Jacobites had resumed their favourite scheme, in concert with France, of restoring James to the throne. The persons chiefly concerned in this conspiracy were said to be the earl of Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, the lord viscount Preston (a Scottish peer) and his brother Mr. Graham: and William Penn the famous quaker, the lord Preston, Mr. Ashton a servant of king James's queen, and Mr. Elliot, were pitched upon to go over to France, and concert measures at the court of St. Germans. With this view they hired a vessel of one Mr. Prat of Barking in Essex, who, suspecting something from the eagerness the conspirators shewed to get under sail, and the high price they offered for their passage, communicated the matter to the earl of Caermarthen, who reported the same to the queen and council; whereupon proper persons were dispatched to board the vessel, which lay off Gavelend, when the three conspirators were found concealed in the hold. The lord Preston, who had letters about him from the chiefs of the conspiracy to king James, endeavoured to secrete them, but was discovered, and the papers taken from him. Upon examination they were found to contain several circumstances of intelligence, and other matters of a very treasonable and dangerous tendency. Hereupon a bill of high-treason was preferred, and found against the offenders by the grand jury. The lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were brought to their trials on the 16th, 17th and 19th of January. Their design of going to France, and the treasonable papers found upon them, some written in the lord Preston's hand, and some in Mr. Ashton's, were fully proved; and for these practices they were found guilty and condemned. Ashton was executed, but lord Preston lay a long time under conviction by a reprieve, and his sentence was at last remitted. Elliot was not tried, there appearing no evidence against him. The earl of Clarendon was sent to the Tower,

where he remained some months, and was afterwards confined to his own house in the country; an indulgence which he owed to his near relationship to the queen, who was his first cousin. The bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn, absconded, and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

His majesty having settled affairs at home as well as the short space of time would admit, resolved to set out for Holland, in order to command in person the confederate army in Flanders, agreeable to the promise he had made the allies at the congress; but still he gave the necessary orders for the total reduction of Ireland, that he might have nothing to call off his attention from the war on the continent: and having appointed general Ginckle commander in chief of the army in that kingdom, his majesty embarked at Harwich on the 2d of May, set sail with a fair wind for Holland, attended by a squadron of men of war under rear-admiral Rooke, landed the next day near Maesland-sluyce, and arrived the same evening at the Hague, where we shall leave him to take a view of the operations in Ireland.

Lewis XIV. who still persevered in supporting James's desperate fortune, had sent his friends in that kingdom a large supply of provisions, cloaths, and ammunition, together with 3000 regular troops, under the command of M. St. Ruth, a brave and experienced general, who had greatly distinguished himself in Germany. On the other hand, general Ginckle, who in conduct and courage yielded to few commanders of his time, having been lately reinforced by a body of troops under major-general Mackay, took the field and invested the town of Ballymore, which was defended by 1000 men, under colonel Bourke. The batteries being raised quickly made such a breach in a place of no great strength, that nothing remained in a few days but to give a general assault; however, the enemy saved our troops that trouble, by submitting at discretion, after a few days siege only. There were taken 780 men, besides 100 field officers, and near 300 Irish free-booters, who had mixed themselves with king James's forces to wait the fortune of war.

After putting the place in a posture of defence, Ginckle marched to Ballymore-pals, where he was joined by the prince of Wirtemberg. Thus reinforced, it was determined to advance towards Athlone, a town situated on the other side of the Shannon, and defended by the French and Irish army, encamped in its neighbourhood. The English town situated on this side of the river was taken in two days; many of the Irish were slain in the attack, and many of them perished by falling into the river, in their retreat over the bridge.

Ginckle, elated at this success, erected batteries against the Irish town, which did such execution, that the castle and other strong places were soon reduced to heaps of ruins. The garrison, however, made so stout a resistance, that the English general thought it proper to call a council of war, to consider whether it was advisable to continue the attack, or abandon the siege. The duke of Wirtemberg, the general Mackay, Talmarth, Ravigny, and Tettréan, declared themselves strongly for continuing the siege; and proposed to pass the Shannon in order to attack the enemy; offering to conduct the attempt in person. Their opinions prevailed, and a detachment was sent to pass the stream, at a ford a little below the town. The river was deep and rapid, the bottom slippery and full of large stones, and the passage defended by a battery erected for that purpose. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the English troops, whose courage and intrepidity always met with dangers and difficulties, regardless of every thing but glory, threw themselves into the Shannon.

and passed the river through the thickest of the enemy's fire. Having reached the opposite bank, they threw in their hand grenades, and then discharged such a volley of small shot, that the enemy, unable to sustain the charge, abandoned their works. In the mean time, a reinforcement was sent to this brave detachment, and the English, in less than an hour, made themselves masters of the town.

The French general, from a propensity to that vanity and presumption, so common to his countrymen, treated the attempt of the English to force the passage of the Shannon, with a contempt that did little credit to that prudence and circumspection for which he had been hitherto distinguished. In vain did Sarsfield, the Irish general, press him to send succours to the town; he laughed at that officer's apprehensions; nor was he convinced, till too late, that English courage was equal to the most arduous enterprize. When they had taken possession of the town, St. Ruth ordered some detachments to march, and drive the English from their conquest; but the thunder of the cannon from the ramparts, which was now turned against the French, soon convinced him of his error, and that his own safety depended upon a precipitate retreat.

The English general, having repaired the fortifications of Athlone, marched in pursuit of the French and Irish army, which made a stand near Agbrim, a small town about ten miles from Athlone. Here the French general encamped in a very advantageous situation; and having, by draughts from different garrisons, increased his army to 25,000 men, resolved to hazard a general engagement.

Though Ginckle's army was very inferior in numbers (not amounting to more than 18,000) he determined to fight the enemy. The morning appointed for making the attack proved so foggy, that it was obliged to be postponed till noon, when the English crossed the river Sue, opposite the enemy's camp. The center of the French and Irish was posted on a rising ground, uneven in many places, and intersected with banks and ditches, lined with infantry, and secured in front by a large bog, almost impassable: their right was defended by entrenchments, and two Danish batts; and their left by the castle of Agbrim.

As soon as the English had effected their landing, they marched up to the edge of the great bog, and endeavoured to force the only two places by which it was passable, in order to gain the ground on the other side. The enemy made a very furious resistance and repulsed the English horse several times; but, at last, the troops on the right succeeded in their attempt by the use of some field pieces properly placed, and excellently served. So much time, however, was unavoidably spent in their manœuvres, that the general was obliged to defer the battle till the next morning; and in confusion he observed in the enemy's camp, which assured him that something extraordinary was in motion, and made him apprehensive, that they intended to retreat during the night. He therefore changed his opinion, and ordered his troops to prepare for the charge.

About five o'clock in the evening the English attacked the right wing of the Irish, from whom they expected to win a reception, that it required the most valour of their courage and resolution to make good their ground. The Irish infantry that lined the sides, were well supported by the horse, posted behind them, and maintained their post with the most obstinate firmness; nor would they fly from one side of the ditch, till the English presented the muzzles of their cannon on the other; and even then, by their constant communication, they immediately took post in the next ditch, where they continued to make the most resolute defence. St. Ruth perceiving that his

men were in danger of being overpowered, immediately reinforced them from his center and left wing. Mackey, perceiving this motion, instantly ordered two regiments to march round the bog, and fall on the enemy's left wing, weakened by the late detachments, and, at the same time, for the center to advance through the middle of the bog, though up to the waist in mud and water. After gaining, with unpeakable difficulty, the other side, they found themselves obliged to ascend a rugged hill, intersected with ditches and hedges, lined with musqueteers, stationed at proper distances with squadrons of horse: there the enemy made such a resolute stand, and fought with such perseverance, that they pushed the assailants into the middle of the bog, which St. Ruth perceiving, cried out, in a bravado, "That he now had the English at his mercy, and would drive them back to the very gates of Dublin."

The English were now thrown into the greatest confusion, which might have been attended with fatal consequences, had not general Talmash hastened, at this critical moment, to their relief, with a fresh body of forces, and given orders for the broken regiments to halt, and face about, which orders were immediately obeyed with unparalled alacrity and resolution. The English now attacked in their turn the Irish, (who had advanced upon them into the middle of the bog) with such fury, that 300 of them were killed before they could gain the firm land; and marching forward obtained the old spot, from whence they had been precipitately driven.

While the infantry was thus engaged, Ravigny's regiment of French Protestant horse, and Sir John Lanier's being posted on the right, moved to the left and did the utmost service. In the mean time the English cavalry was exposed to a dreadful fire from the enemy's dragoons posted under a cover, and obliged to press through a very dangerous pass. After surmounting this difficulty, they at last lodged themselves in a dry ditch, where they resolutely stood the fire of the enemy from Agbrim-castle.

For some time it appeared doubtful on which side victory would determine; but major-general Mackey, having timely reinforced the left wing with a body of horse and dragoons, at last turned the balance in favour of the English. Ravigny, who had distinguished himself by his diligence, courage, and activity, during the whole action, putting himself at the head of his own regiment of horse, scoured the side of the bog, bearing down all before him. St. Ruth perceiving the execution of this body of horse, determined to attack Ravigny in a hollow way, through which he knew he must pass in his return to sustain the center. Accordingly, he ordered a brigade of his own horse from the right wing to march to the left; and putting himself at their head, began to descend the hill towards the place, which he saw the English endeavouring to pass. But when he came near the spot, where the hottest part of the battle was fought, he was killed by a cannon ball.

This misfortune decided the fate of the day. The French and Irish were so much discouraged by the death of their general, that Sarsfield, who was second in command, endeavoured, in vain, to recover them from their disorder. Ravigny, observing their confusion, pressed boldly forward, and falling upon them sword in hand, drove them with very little resistance, to the top of the hill, where they had at first pitched their camp: but their whole line giving way at once, they threw down their arms, and betook themselves to flight. The English pursued them closely for three miles, and made a most dreadful slaughter: but night coming on, attended with a thick misty rain, prevented the English from cutting off the fugitives from taking shelter in an advantageous post between them and

Loughbreak. It was, however, computed that no less than 7000 of the Irish fell in the action; while the English lost no more than 600 killed, and 960 wounded.

The Irish now resolved to make a final stand at Limerick, hoping to receive such succours from France as would enable them to maintain that post, or obtain good terms from William; but they soon found that their hopes were built on a sandy foundation. General Ginckle, having allowed a few days for the refreshment of his troops, marched to Galway, one of the most considerable places left in the hands of the Irish; and immediately summoned the lord Dillon, the governor, to surrender the place. He, at first, refused to comply; but seeing part of the English army pass the river, and seize a fort the Irish were rebuilding, he changed his resolution and surrendered the place, on advantageous terms; the garrison being safely conducted to Limerick.

This was the last resource of the despairing Irish, and which was invested by general Ginckle on the 25th of August. The next day the English made themselves masters of Ireton's and Cromwell's forts, now called Mackey's and Nassau's, from their being taken by these commanders. Two days after Castle Connel, and Castle Garrick, two small forts standing on the Shannon a few miles below the town, were taken, and the garrisons of both made prisoners of war. These forts being taken, the batteries against the town were opened, and the attack carried on with the utmost vigour till the 17th of September. But the resistance of the enemy was so obstinate, and the place so well fortified, that a council of war was held in the English camp, to consider whether it would not be more eligible to pass the river, and cut off the enemy's forage and provisions, and turn the siege into a blockade, than to hazard the lives of so many brave men, in fruitless attacks. The former expedient was preferred, and some steps taken for putting it in practice. This inspired the Irish with the most flattering hopes, taking it for granted, from perceiving these motions in the English camp, that they were preparing to raise the siege. But these flattering appearances were of short duration; for on a second consultation of the English, it was resolved to press the siege, and, at all events, make themselves masters of the town. Accordingly the English, on the night of the 18th, threw a bridge over the river, about a mile above the camp, and a strong party of horse and foot were sent over it.

The enemy, who guarded the opposite side of the river, were struck with such a panic at this incident, that they threw down their arms, and sought their safety in flight. On the 22d, general Ginckle himself passed the Shannon, at the head of a strong party of horse and dragoons, ten battalions of foot, and fourteen pieces of cannon; leaving Wirtemberg, Mackey, and Talmash, to command the troops on the hither side of the Shannon. These measures being taken, the siege was pressed with redoubled vigour, and the batteries played against the town with great fury. In a few days, the English made themselves masters of several out forts, and made a lodgement at the foot of Thomond-bridge; the Irish finding themselves cut off from all hopes of relief, determined to capitulate, which they did on the 29th of September; and on the first of October the lords justices of Ireland arrived in the English camp, where they settled all the articles of the capitulation, which were finally concluded on the 3d of the same month.

By these articles the Irish were all indemnified and restored to the enjoyment of the exercise of their religion, which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. They were admitted to all the privileges of subjects on their taking the oaths of allegiance, without being

obliged to take the oath of supremacy; and not on the French, but as many of the Irish as chose to go over to France, had free liberty to follow their inclinations. On the other hand, Limerick, and all other towns, forts, and castles, which yet remained in the hands of the catholics, were to be delivered up within a limited time. Accordingly, the place was put into the hands of the English on the 5th, the French and many of the Irish were sent away in transport vessels, while the remainder of the army in the field submitted to be included in the amnesty.

Ireland was now entirely subjected to the crown of England, and a solid peace established between the two kingdoms, which has subsisted to the present time without the least interruption. On Ginckle's return to England, he was received with the highest applause, and, together with all his general officers, elegantly entertained by the city of London. The commons also, at the meeting of parliament, presented to the general, as a token of the important services he had performed for the state, the thanks of their house. Soon after his majesty created him earl of Athlone, and baron of Aghrim, that he might convey to his posterity the honour of his glorious achievements. At the same time, to enable him to support his new dignities, he was presented with lands in Ireland to a very considerable amount.

It is now time to return to king William, whom we left at the Hague. The French army took the field some time before the allies, and Luxemburg, with an army of 40,000 men, was advancing to besiege Brussels, while the marshal de Boufflers, with another army, sat down before Liege. As soon as advice of these motions arrived at the Hague, William put himself at the head of his troops, and arrived time enough to cover the siege of the former, and raise that of the latter. The allied army was now superior to that of the French, and the king did every thing in his power to bring Luxemburg to an engagement. But that able commander, who was thoroughly acquainted with all the arts of war, took sufficient care to baffle all the king's attempts, who, perceiving it impossible to succeed in his intention, caused the fortifications of Beaumont, a place he had taken, to be demolished, and marched his army towards Aeth, and afterwards passed to Loo, leaving the forces under the command of prince Waldeck. In his absence the French became somewhat more daring; but not till they found the confederate army was posted in a disadvantageous situation. For after remaining some time in the neighbourhood of Aeth to cover and secure the adjacent country from the roads of the enemy's parties; and having, as the general thought, made sufficient preparations for that purpose, he marched towards Benaum; when Luxemburg, taking advantage of this motion, marched with great expedition with several squadrons of the best horse, and fell upon the rear of the confederate army, as it was passing a little river and defile near Caloire. The charge was so furious, that the line of the confederates gave way and fell to the second; which also, after standing several days, was treated. But the officers, exerting themselves with unparalleled bravery, so animated the men that they soon returned to the charge; while the French, being dreading the consequence of being surrounded by the allied infantry, retired, and left the confederates to pursue their march without farther molestation. In this skirmish the loss was nearly equal, but notwithstanding the disadvantageous situation of the allies, the French lost near 500 of their best men slain on the spot, and many more who died of their wounds. The season being now far advanced, nothing farther was attempted during this campaign, both armies retiring into winter quarters.

William

William, after leaving the army, continued some time at the Hague, in order to regulate the measures of the next campaign; which having effected, he embarked for England, attended by a squadron of men of war under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel. He landed at Margate on the 19th of October, and the same evening arrived safe in London.

A few days after the king's arrival both houses of parliament met for the dispatch of business. The session was opened by a speech from the throne, wherein his majesty told the two houses, that he hoped the success his forces had met with in Ireland would be a great encouragement to them to assist him with fresh supplies: he recommended to them the necessity of keeping a strong fleet at sea, and an army of 65,000 land forces, that they might annoy the enemy in the most sensible part; adding, that they had now an opportunity of establishing the future quiet and prosperity of the nation; and which, if now lost, might never more be recovered.

Both houses presented addresses of congratulation to the king on his happy return, and also on the success of his arms in Ireland; promising to assist him in carrying on a vigorous war against France, in order to procure an honourable peace for his own dominions; and secure his friends from the ambitious designs of the common oppressor. A proclamation was also published for a public thanksgiving on the 26th of November. Addresses were also presented to the queen, acknowledging her prudent care in the administration of affairs during the king's absence.

Notwithstanding, however, all these expressions of gratitude, it soon appeared, that a strong party was formed by the Tories, against the government, who could not approve of the maxims or conduct of the king. They inveighed, both in public and private, against the folly and extravagance of keeping on foot a standing army; they insisted that England ought only to assist the allies with a certain quota of auxiliary troops; and that the management of affairs at sea were chiefly to be regarded. To this the advocates of the court replied, that without the interposition of England, the grand alliance would never have taken place; nor could a stop have been put to the spreading conquests of Lewis, who would soon have reduced both Flanders and Holland; and consequently have destroyed the commerce, and even the liberties of England. The arguments against continental connections were so well adapted to the taste of the public, that the present government was, in general, greatly censured.

Another principal cause of discontent was the evident partiality the king shewed to the Dutch over the English; and it was also universally asserted, that the former were the only persons favoured and trusted, while the English were wholly overlooked. It must, indeed, be confessed, that William took too little pains to remove the general disgust, which spread itself among both the English officers and nobility; or to gain the affections of his British subjects. He continued in his closet the greater part of the day with one or two of his particular friends, who were his own countrymen; and the sullen silence he generally observed, when any of the English nobility were admitted to an audience, was nearly as disgusting as an acute denial.

The discontent of the people, however, had very little effect on the commons; for, on the 9th of No-

vember, they voted upwards of a million and a half for the service of the navy and ordnance, and above two millions for the service of the land forces.

On the 24th of December the king went to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to several acts; after which his majesty made a speech to both houses, thanking them for their resolution of supporting him; but pressed them to hasten the remainder of the supplies, that the enemy might not take the field before him, as they had done the last campaign. But this dispatch, so greatly desired by the king, was retarded by several incidental affairs which engaged the attention of the house.

A. D. 1692. The funds for the ensuing year being at length settled, the king went to the house of peers on the 24th of February; and, after giving the royal assent to the bills that were ready, closed the session* with a short speech, in which he thanked his parliament for the zeal and attachment they had shewn for his government, and the liberality and dispatch with which they had provided for the necessities of the state; adding, that he intended speedily to pass over to the continent, in order to lead the allied army in person.

As soon as Lewis XIV. was informed that William had embarked for Holland, he engaged with the Jacobites in England to make another effort for restoring James to his throne. An invasion was immediately projected, and it was agreed that the troops should be landed on the coast of Sussex. So much precaution had been taken in France in carrying on the necessary preparations, that every thing was ready for executing the design before it was so much as suspected in England. The land forces consisted of four battalions of English and Irish troops, and about 9000 French, commanded by the marshal de Belfondes; so that the whole amounted to 20,000 men. A fleet of 300 transports was collected, and provided with every thing necessary for the invasion. The troops were ready to embark, and waited only the arrival of the count d'Etrees with a squadron of twelve men of war, appointed to escort the transports; while admiral Tourville cruised in the channel with the grand fleet.

Previous to these preparations, James sent over colonel Parker to England, to give his friends intelligence of his design. Parker, not content with executing his commission, formed a plot, with one Johnson, for assassinating William; but before an opportunity offered for executing their design, the king embarked for Holland; by which means the horrid scheme was rendered totally abortive.

A short time after Parker's arrival in England, James sent over a printed declaration, dated at St. Germain's; in which he openly avowed his intentions of using all the means in his power to recover the throne of his ancestors; and boasted of having obtained assistance from France sufficient, he hoped, to render the attempt successful. At the same time he exhorted all his faithful subjects to continue in their fidelity. He offered pardon and rewards to all the prince of Orange's soldiers, and others who should think proper to join him; and even proceeded so far as to except by name from this indemnity no less than thirteen noblemen, two bishops, seven barons, and a great number of the clergy and gentry. This declaration was ordered to be published as soon as the troops were ready to be embarked.

In

* The most remarkable transaction that happened during this session, was the disgrace of the earl of Marlborough, whom the king, after being informed, by the secretary of state, that having no farther occasion for his services, he must resign all his employments. His countess was also forbid the court; and the

princess of Denmark was desired to discontinue her family, which she refusing to comply with, it occasioned a quarrel between her and the queen, soon after which her royal highness removed from court to St. James's, which she borrowed of the duke of Somerset.

In the mean time Parker and his agents were busily employed in enlisting men privately in the northern counties; while Fountaine, as lieutenant-colonel to lord Montgomery, and colonel Holman, employed themselves in forming two regiments of horse in London, ready to join James on his landing. But their zeal for the service of their master carried them too far. Persuaded that every person in the kingdom, who was not a zealous friend to the established government, would readily join in an attempt to overturn it, they made no difficulty of applying to all who had shewn the least dissatisfaction at the public measures. Rear admiral Carter was known to have strenuously defended the rights of the people, and on this foundation only they made application to him as a friend to the dethroned monarch. Their bigotted prejudices prevented them from reflecting, that he who was a true friend to liberty must be an enemy to James, and every other prince who laboured to establish his throne on the ruins of English freedom. Carter immediately informed the queen and council of the offers that had been made him by Fountaine and Holman. Alarmed at this discovery, and desirous of procuring the necessary information, Carter was desired to continue his correspondence with the conspirators, and pretend an inclination of joining them. He fully performed the request of the council; and the conspirators, who exulted in having gained over to their interest so able an officer, made him acquainted with all their secrets. They immediately dispatched an express to lord Melfort, James's secretary, informing him of their success in corrupting Carter, who would take care to bring over all the officers of his squadron. At the same time they desired he would press the king of France to send peremptory orders to Tourville to sail directly, without waiting for d'Etrees. This proved the destruction of the whole scheme. James repaired to La Hogue, on the coast of Normandy, where the troops were ready to embark, and Tourville was ordered to sail immediately.

The manifesto of James was now published; in which the severities of the prince of Orange's government, the enormous expences to which he had put the nation, were enumerated, and the people invited to return to the allegiance of their native prince. He promised to protect the church of England, to establish an entire liberty of conscience, to make trade and navigation flourish, to redress all the grievances, and to confirm the happiness of the nation. These fine promises were not, however, sufficient to efface the remembrance of the many grievances which had forced the people to drive him from the throne. Whatever discontents might prevail in England, the animosity against James was much stronger than the numbers against his rival.

As soon as queen Mary received intelligence of the proceedings of James and the French king, she published a proclamation, requiring all papists to quit the cities of London and Westminster; a second for assembling both houses of parliament, and a third for apprehending the earls of Scarb'dale, Litchfield, Newburgh, Middleton, and Dunmore, the lords Giffin and Forbes; Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Sir Andrew Forrester, and several others, who were supposed to be in James's interest; and on the 6th of May the earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough, with the lords Brudenell and Faulkner, were sent to the Tower; and Mr. Edward Ridley, Mr. Knevitt, Mr. Hastings, and Mr. Robert Ferguson, to Newgate, on violent suspicion of high treason in abetting and adhering to their majesties enemies. Orders were sent to admiral Ruffel, then lying at St. Helen's, to hasten to sea, and the queen's majesty reviewed the trained bands of Lon-

don and Westminster, amounting to about 10,000 men.

William, on his arrival in Holland, immediately hastened the naval preparations there with the greatest diligence, so that the Dutch fleet was soon ready to be put to sea; and, about the middle of May, sailed under the command of admiral Allemonde, joined the fleet at St. Helen's, which was soon after further reinforced by the squadron under Sir Ralph Donnell, from the Mediterranean, and admiral Carter from the channel.

On the 18th of May admiral Ruffel left St. Helen's, and stood over towards the coast of France. About three the next morning, the scouts, sent out westward of the fleet, made the signal for discovery of the enemy, and orders were immediately given for forming the line of battle. This was soon effected, and the whole fleet stood towards the enemy in the following order: The Dutch squadron formed the van; the red squadron the center; and the English the rear. The French admiral was astonished when he saw the combined fleets of England and Holland. He had received no advice of their junction, and flattered himself with being able to defeat the English, unassisted by their ally. He had, however, declined an engagement; but he now received positive orders to fight the enemy, and he resolved to obey, and exert all his endeavours to execute the commands of his master, in becoming a good officer and an intrepid leader.

The combined fleet consisted of ninety-three ships of the line, and the French only sixty-three. About half an hour after eleven, Tourville, in the *Raison Sun*, a ship of 110 guns, brought to, began to fight with admiral Ruffel, and continued the engagement about an hour and a half, when he began to retreat in great disorder, his rigging, sails and topsails being very much damaged.

The wind had hitherto been westerly, but now shifted to the north-west; and soon after, the ships of the enemy posted themselves, three ahead and two astern of their admiral, and continued to fight very smartly till about three o'clock; when the fog came up, and the firing on both sides ceased; but it clearing up in a little time, the French admiral was discovered towing away to the north-west, and Ruffel ordered all the ships of his division to do the like. A small breeze from the eastward sprung up, and the signal was immediately given for chasing. About this time a continued firing was heard to the westward; and it soon appeared that Cloudesley Shovel, rear admiral of the English, had got to the windward of Tourville's division, and attacked then admiral of the blue. After the engagement had continued for some time, the two squadrons came to an anchor. In the afternoon admiral Ruffel ordered all the ships of his division to stand to the westward during the night, in expectation that the French would do the same, and then to cleave to Bristol. He was not mistaken; for in the morning he found himself much nearer to the coast than those who had come to an anchor. At night a firing was heard to the westward, and continued about half an hour, part of the French squadron having fallen in with some ships of the English during the fog, and in that dispute rear admiral Carter was slain. Finding his fall necessary, on the other hand, he begged his captain to let him live, as he would swim a sufficient proof of his loyalty, and not the least reason to suspect his fidelity to his country.

The fog continued during the whole night, and a very little wind, and in the morning the English

that few of the enemy's ships could be seen; but the weather clearing up about eight, the Dutch, who were at some distance to the southward, made the signal for seeing the French fleet, and soon after thirty-four sail were discovered about two or three leagues to the south-west, the wind being then at north-east. The English now crowded all the sail possible; and between eleven and twelve the wind came about to the south-west, when the French stood away to the westward, and the English after them. About eleven the next day the Royal Sun ran ashore, while two other large ships of the enemy stood as near her as possible. Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, was now ordered to destroy the Royal Sun, while the rest of the fleet continued their pursuit of the enemy. This service he effectually performed, and the finest ship in the French navy was reduced to ashes.

About four in the afternoon eighteen of the French ships, which had reached Cape Barfleur, haled in for La Hogue, and came to an anchor close under the shore. The next day Ruffel ordered Mr. Rooke, vice-admiral of the blue, with his squadron, the fire-ships, and all the boats of the fleet, to stand in and destroy those ships. He obeyed his orders, and burnt thirteen men of war, several transports, and some small vessels loaded with ammunition.

In this famous engagement two ships of 104 guns, one of 90, two of 80, four of 76, four of 60, and two of fifty-six guns, belonging to the enemy, were destroyed.

James was so sensibly affected at this misfortune, that, in a letter he wrote to the king of France on the occasion, he begged he would leave him to his fate. "I have hitherto (said he) supported, with some constancy and resolution, the weight of my misfortunes, while I myself was the only sufferer; but this disaster has overwhelmed me with grief, and left me no room for comfort. I know too well that my own unlucky star has drawn this misfortune upon your faces, always victorious but when they fought for my interest, and therefore I no longer merit the support of so great a monarch. Let me, therefore, intrust your majesty to concern yourself no longer for a prince so dreadfully unfortunate; but permit me to retire, with my family, to some corner of the world, where I may cease to obstruct the course of your majesty's successes and conquests, and where it will be the greatest of my consolations to hear of the quick return of your majesty's wonted triumphs, both by sea and land, over both your enemies and mine. This, I doubt not, will soon be the case when my interest shall be no longer intermixed with yours." Lewis endeavoured to alleviate his afflictions by every method in his power. He wrote him an answer filled with the kindest expressions, and promised never to forsake him in his misfortunes.

The queen was no sooner informed of this victory, than she sent 30,000*l.* to Portsmouth, to be distributed among the sailors; ordered medals to be struck for the officers, and caused the bodies of admiral Carter and colonel Hastings, who had fallen in the engagement, to be honourably interred. The French, in their turn, were threatened with an invasion, and about twenty thousand men embarked on board the fleet for that purpose. Great expectations were formed with regard to this expedition; but the advanced season of the year was thought a sufficient reason for laying it aside, and the troops were sent over to serve in Flanders.

But if Lewis was unfortunate at sea, it was different with regard to his army in the low countries. Sooner than opening the campaign, he laid siege to Namur, the strongest place in the Netherlands, both by its advantageous situation between the Sambre and

the Maese, and by its citadel, which is built on a rock. His army consisted of 120,000 men, with part of which he invested the town on the twenty-fifth of May; while Luxemburg, with the remainder, covered the siege. The operations were carried on with such spirit and resolution, that in eight days the French made themselves masters of the town, and of the citadel in twenty-two; while Luxemburg prevented William from passing the Mahaigne, who had advanced to the banks of the river, at the head of eighty thousand men, to raise the siege. Lewis, after making this conquest, returned to Versailles, leaving Luxemburg to oppose the army of the allies.

William, rightly imagining that it would be some reflection either on his conduct or courage, to have suffered a place of so much consequence as Namur to be taken in his sight, earnestly sought an opportunity of retrieving his reputation. Accordingly, he lost no time to surprize Mors; but being prevented in this enterprise, he determined to fight the French army at all events, especially as he had just received a reinforcement of eighty thousand Hanoverian forces. Luxemburg had pitched his camp in a very advantageous situation, covered by a wood, and thick hedges, between Eghein and Steinkirk. Here William resolved to attack them, from the information of some persons who were thought to understand the nature of the ground; though it was afterwards found that they were mistaken, the pass being much narrower than they imagined.

Accordingly, on Sunday the 24th of July, the army was ordered to march at break of day, and fall upon the enemy in their camp. The prince of Wurttemberg began the attack when the French were all asleep in their tents, not dreaming of such a disagreeable visit, and one whole brigade was cut entirely to pieces before the marshal was acquainted with the attack. He was at that time very ill; a fatal circumstance at a juncture when the utmost activity was necessary; but the greatness of the danger inspired him with new strength. He changed his ground; gave a field of battle to his army, which before was pent up; recovered the right wing, which was entirely in confusion; rallied his men three several times, and three times charged at the head of the household troops. These several actions were performed in less than two hours. He had with him the duke of Chartres, then not above fifteen years old, and consequently could not be supposed to be of any great service in such operations; but his presence greatly contributed to animate the soldiers. A grandson and a grand nephew of the famous Conde also served at that time under Luxemburg. The one was duke of Bourbon, the other prince de Conti. These were rivals in courage, ambition, and fame; and accordingly exerted themselves in a particular manner to retrieve the fortune of the day. These princes put themselves at the heads of the rallied troops, where they made a most furious and desperate resistance. Wurttemberg, unable to contend with such superior numbers, sent several messages to count Solmes, soliciting a reinforcement. But that nobleman, from some pique he had conceived against the English, disregarded his request.

William, informed of the danger to which his troops were exposed, sent peremptory orders to the count to march to their assistance; but the horse, on account of the unevenness of the ground, could be of no service; so that the British troops, assisted with a few Dutch and Danish, sustained the whole fury of the fight. At length Boufflers, who was posted with a strong body of dragoons at some distance from the field of battle, coming up and joining the French army, the confederates, unable to withstand this super-

riority, gave way, and retreated in good order; the French contenting themselves with having recovered their troops from the disorder into which they were thrown. Nor did William think it prudent to renew the engagement; and accordingly drew off his forces. In this desperate attack the allies lost five or six thousand men, and among them lieutenant-general Mackay, Sir John Lanier, the earl of Angus, Sir Robert Douglas, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the French was also very considerable, both in private men and officers of rank; and they would have suffered still more, had it not been for the treachery of one Millevoix, secretary to the elector of Bavaria, who had, for a considerable time, made it his practice to send intelligence to the enemy, of all the resolutions agreed to in the councils of the allies. Being detected on this occasion, he was hanged on a tree at the right wing of the confederate army.

But a scene of greater treachery was about this time brought to light. The French court, finding they could not destroy king William in open war, resolved to take him off by secret villainy; and, accordingly, an attempt was now formed against his life under the conduct of Barbesieux, secretary of state to Lewis, and one colonel Parker, who had fled to that court for protection. Grandval, a French knight of desperate fortune, was encouraged by considerable sums in hand, and still more considerable promises, to assassinate the king of England when he was riding at the head of his troops, or whenever he perceived a favourable opportunity. In order to encourage him to execute this piece of daring villainy, a body of troops was ordered to attend him at a distance, in order to carry him off as soon as the murder was perpetrated. Grandval admitted two other persons into the conspiracy as his assistants, Dumont, and Leefdale, a Dutch papist. These three inhuman monsters had several times attempted to put their infernal design into execution, both at Loo and in the camp. Dumont had entered into the allied army as a deserter, in order to have a better opportunity; but being at length discouraged by his disappointments, and struck with horror at the villainous design in which he was engaged, he made a full discovery of the whole plot. Grandval was accordingly seized as he was skulking about the king's quarters; and being examined before a court-martial, he, for some time, denied his having any knowledge of the intended assassination; till being confronted by Dumont, and several papers produced, in which the whole plan of operations was laid down, he confessed the design, together with all the circumstances that had attended it from time to time, and made a full discovery of the persons who formed the scheme, and had engaged to support him. Upon full evidence of his guilt, he received sentence of death, as in cases of high-treason, and was hanged, drawn, and quartered; his head and quarters being, by way of terror, set upon poles without the camp. Dumont and Leefdale were suffered to escape with their lives, on account of their having given evidence against Grandval.

A few days after the battle of Steinkirk, the count Senebas de Tilly fell in with a strong detachment of French sent out of Namur, to lay the country under contribution. This corps he totally defeated, took four hundred prisoners, and among them thirty officers of considerable note, who were sent to Hays. Among the slain was the marquis of Hacquincourt. Our army being about the same time reinforced by the recruits from England, under the duke of Lencster, a detachment from the camp, under the command of lieutenant-general Talmath, was sent to-

wards Newport, when they possessed themselves of Furnes, a very important post, fortified it, and seized on Dixmuyde, with the villages and all the dependent territories. Many skirmishes happened during these transactions, but none worthy of a place in a general history.

In the mean time the town of Reinfeldt was invested by count Tallard; while the duke of Savoy made an incursion into Dauphine, but soon retired; and the season being now advancing for closing the campaign, many of the troops were sent into winter quarters; but some still remained in the several posts to prevent the enemy from making incursions.

William, having conferred the command of the allied army on the elector of Bavaria, embarked for England on the 15th of October. He landed at Yarmouth on the 18th, and was met by the queen at Newhall on the 20th, from whence he immediately proceeded to the capital, where he was received by the people with the utmost demonstrations of joy.

We must here make a short digression to give an account of a very singular transaction that happened in Scotland during this year's campaign on the continent. About the time the king embarked for Holland, a very barbarous massacre was committed in that kingdom, which shewed at once the cruelty and treachery of some of those who had intrusted themselves into the king's confidence.

The earl of Braidalbin formed a scheme for enlisting all the highlanders, provided the king would defray the necessary expences, amounting to 12 or 15,000*l*. The offer was accepted, and the sum demanded remitted from England, with orders to divide it among the chiefs of the highland clans.

Braidalbin employed his emissaries among them, and told them that the best service they could do king James was to lie quiet, and reserve themselves for better times: and provided they submitted to take the oaths, the king would be contented, and they would be entitled to a share of this sum, which was sent down down to purchase a tranquillity for that country: but their demands rose so high, that the scheme became abortive. They knew that no nobleman had money to distribute among them: they were persuaded that he intended to keep the greater part of it for himself; and, therefore, they asked more than he was able to give.

Among the most obstinate and clamorous of those clans were the Macdonalds of Glencoe; who were suspected of having committed many robberies and murders, and gained too much by their barbarous methods of making war to be easily prevailed upon to give it over. The chief of that clan had provoked lord Braidalbin, by rendering his whole scheme abortive by his opposition, that he determined to take an ample revenge. William had already offered, by a proclamation, an indemnity to all the highlanders who had been in arms against him, on their coming in by a fixed day, and taking the oaths. This period had been twice or thrice prolonged, and at last with a positive threatening of military execution on all who should not submit by the last day of the present year.

This threatening produced the desired effect: they all came in; and even Macdonald himself appeared to the governor of Fort-William. But that commander, being only a military man, could not, or would not, tender the oaths; and Macdonald was obliged to have recourse to some legal magistrate to perform the office refused by the governor of Fort-William. The snows were then fallen, so that it took or five days passed before he could reach the place of any magistrate. He took the oaths in his presence, but, as the time of the last proclamation was elapsed, he

he could not, by the strict letter of the law, gain any benefit from his submission. The whole affair was represented to the council, who reprimanded the magistrate for giving him the oaths when the day was passed.

This particular circumstance was concealed from the king, when the earl of Braidalbin came to court to give an account of his diligence, and to return the money, as he could not perform the service for which he had received it. He laid an information against Macdonald, as the principal person who had defeated this good design; and, that he might at once gratify his own revenge, and render the king odious to the highlanders, he proposed that military execution should be performed on those of Glencoe. An instruction was accordingly drawn up by one of the secretaries of state, to be both signed and countersigned by his majesty, that no blame might fall on Braidalbin, but that it might lay wholly on the king. This instruction declared that all who had not taken the oaths within the time limited should lose the benefit of the indemnity; and he received only upon mercy. But when it was found that this was not sufficient to authorise what was intended, a second order was signed and countersigned, importing, that if the Glencoe men could be separated from the rest of the highlanders, some examples might be made of them, in order to strike terror into the rest: and the king, without any further enquiry, signed the order. In the mean time, William was totally ignorant of Macdonald's having offered to take the oaths within the limited time, and of his having actually taken them as soon as he could reach the house of a magistrate.

These orders being sent down to Scotland, the secretary of state wrote several letters to Levingstone, commander of the forces in that kingdom, giving him a strict charge, and particular direction, for carrying them into execution; cautioning him particularly to keep the passes of the valley, which were so exactly described, that the account must have been drawn up by some person well acquainted with the country. He also gave orders that no quarter should be given, in order to render the execution as terrible as possible. He pressed this upon Levingstone with such strains of vehemence, that the commander suspected there was something more than ordinary in it, though the secretary pretended it was wholly occasioned by his zeal for the king's service. Adding, it was necessary to make examples of such robbers and murderers.

In the month of February a company of soldiers were sent to Glencoe, where they were kindly received, and quartered in different parts of the valley; the inhabitants thinking themselves entirely safe from liberties. After staying a week among them, they took an opportunity, in the night, of killing six and thirty of them; the rest, taking the alarm, made their escape. This raised a general clamour, and was published by the French in their gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their libels, representing the king's government as cruel and barbarous; though it always appeared that his own inclinations were rather too mild and generous. His majesty sent orders to make a strict enquiry into the affair, but it appearing that so many were involved in it, William thought it not prudent to proceed no farther, contenting himself with dismissing the matter of State from his service.

The Highlanders were so enraged at this, that they were ready to break out into open rebellion on the first favourable opportunity. Indeed, the king's not punishing the authors of this massacre with the rigour which deserved was the greatest blot of his whole reign,

and considerably contributed to alienate the Scottish nation from the king and his government.--But to return to the affairs in England.

On the 4th of November the parliament met, when the king, in his speech to both houses, thanked them for their last supply, congratulated them on the late victory obtained at sea; condoled with them, on the bad success of the last campaign on the continent; and observed that the diligence of the French in augmenting their forces was so remarkable, that it was absolutely necessary to have as great a force to oppose them; and therefore demanded a supply suitable to the exigence. He expressed the greatest concern in being obliged to send such large sums out of the nation for the payment of the army, and wished they could find some method of removing so great an inconveniency; he intimated a design of making a descent upon the coast of France, and hoped that his parliament would dispatch so speedily the business of the supplies, that the preparations might be early and effectual: he declared that he had no separate interest from them, nor any desire but that of rendering them a happy people. "Hereto, added he in conclusion, I have never spared my own person for the good and welfare of this nation; and I am so sensible of your good affections to me that I shall continue so to do with great cheerfulness upon all occasions, wherein I may contribute to the honour and advantage of England."

A strong party, under the directions of the earl of Marlborough, was now formed in the upper house, against the measures of the ministry: so that instead of receiving the king's speech with that pleasure which was expected, they immediately began an enquiry into the commitment of those peers who had lately been sent to the Tower. This enquiry was carried on with great violence and animosity; but the king agreeing to release those lords upon bail, the affair was at length compromised.

On the 11th of November the commons presented an address to his majesty, thanking him for his speech; and another, desiring that the state of foreign alliances might be laid before them. On the twelfth, a bill was introduced for regulating trials for high-treason. At the same time, they voted their thanks to admiral Ruffel, and to the rest of the officers for their noble behaviour in the late fight off Cape La Hogue.

The next matter taken into consideration was, the article of supplies: and the proper estimates being laid before them, they resolved to grant the whole sum demanded, amounting to near five millions; two millions for the service of the navy and ordnance; above two millions for the land forces; and 700,000*l.* for making good the deficiencies in the last year's grants.

In order to raise this money, a tax of 4*s.* in the pound was laid on all lands according to their real value; and on all offices and employments of profit, except those belonging to the army or navy. They also empowered his majesty to borrow money on the credit of this tax, at the rate of four per cent. and also raise one million on the general credit of the exchequer, by granting annuities. This was the first annuity act, and became the principle cause of involving this nation in debt.

A third method of raising money consisted in levying additional duties on all goods and merchandise imported or exported; particularly the sum of 8*l.* on every ton of French wine. A new imposition of eight per cent. was also laid on the capital stock of the East India company, estimated at 7,400,000*l.* of one per cent. on the African, and of 2*l.* on every share of the stock, belonging to the Hudson's bay company.

company; and empowered his majesty to borrow half a million on these funds, which were entirely set apart for carrying on the war.

Among other bills brought in this session, was one for incapacitating persons, enjoying certain civil and military employments, to sit in the house of commons. The bill readily passed the lower house, but occasioned long and warm debates in the house of peers. In this contest the earl of Mulgrave distinguished himself by a spirited and elegant speech in favour of the bill. He observed, that the commons were the representatives of the people: "But if, says he, after they are chosen, they should change their dependence, and engage in employments evidently repugnant to the great trust reposed in them, what can the people expect from their services? A commoner who enjoys a command in the army must have a divided duty; and perhaps his troops or regiment may be engaged in some action abroad, at the time his presence may be necessary at home; so that he must either have the disgrace of being absent from his forces, or from the lower house, where he is intrusted with the liberties of the people. There is still, added he, another sort of incapacity worse than the former, that of parliament men holding such posts in the exchequer, whose principal profits arise from the money voted to the king in the house of commons. Would any of your lordships intrust a person to make a bargain for you, whose interest is concerned in making you give as much as possibly he can?" After several other arguments of a similar nature, he desired the house "to consider of how great consequence it was that so many votes should be free, when upon one single voice the whole security or ruin of the nation might depend; adding, that the people could never be prevailed upon to bear so great a provocation, as that of being debarred from a security in their own representatives; and would be easily persuaded by those whose interests it was to inflame their minds with discontent, that all those vast sums that had been, and must still be raised for carrying on the war, were not disposed of in so fair and equitable a manner as they ought to be; and thence very naturally conclude that their money is not given but taken." This bill, however, was thrown out, after a long debate, by a majority of two voices only; the argument against passing it being, that it seemed to establish an opposition between the crown and the people, as if those who were employed by the one were not fit to be trusted by the other.

About this time a grievance of a public nature was universally complained of, namely, the pressing of land-men for the sea service by the officers of the navy, who carried them over to Holland, and there sold them to the officers of the army; a villainous practice which would, in all probability, have passed unnoticed, had not a servant belonging to one of the members of parliament been thus taken away. Sir John Trevor, the speaker of the lower house, being ordered to lay this grievance before his majesty, the king was pleased to express his just resentment on the occasion; and ordered that no naval officer should presume to press landmen for the future, on pain of being cashiered.

The parliament next proceeded to take into consideration the state of Ireland, concerning which they examined a number of witnesses. Both houses then presented addresses to his majesty, wherein they complained of the conditions that had been granted to the Irish, on the surrender of Limerick, and of the king's having disposed of some of the forfeited estates and effects of the rebels in that kingdom: as also of the licentiousness of the soldiers for want of pay, which they were persuaded they had provided for. They complained of recruiting his majesty's forces,

with Irish papists, and of selling the forfeited estate, much under their real value, to the prejudice of the revenue; of the embezzlement of the stores in the towns and garrisons, taken from king James; and represented that certain additional articles to the treaty of Limerick, after the capitulation had been signed, had given too much encouragement to the Irish papists, and greatly weakened the protestant interest in that kingdom. These abuses, they besought his majesty to redress; particularly that the soldiers might be paid their arrears; that no Irish papist might be permitted to serve in the army in that kingdom; and that no grant might be made of the forfeited estates in Ireland, till that matter should be settled in parliament. The king answered, in general terms, that whatever was amiss should be remedied.

A. D. 1693. On the 14th of March the king came to the house of peers, and after giving the royal assent to several bills, he put an end to the session with a speech, in which he thanked the parliament for the large supplies they had given him; and recommended the peace of the several counties to their respective care. He told them that his presence was necessary abroad, but would take care to leave a sufficient number of troops to secure the peace of the kingdom; and concluded with assuring them, that he should continue to expose his person on all occasions for the happiness and security of these kingdoms; and that his sincere endeavours should never be wanting to render England a great and flourishing nation.

On the 31st of March the king embarked at Gravesend, and landed safely at the Maële in Holland, on the 2d of April. He soon after put himself at the head of the allied army, and advanced against the enemy. Luxemburg surprized and attacked him at Nerwind with a superior army. The king lost not a moment. He drew up his forces in order of battle, exposed himself to every kind of danger but was obliged at last to give way to the numbers of the enemy. Though vanquished, he made a glorious retreat, and was still respectable. Nor did the French reap any other advantage from their victory than that of making themselves masters of Charleroy.

William was thought to have gained more real honour in the battle of Nerwind than when he triumphed at the Boyne. His very enemies were charmed with his conduct. It was a common saying in the French camp, that "they wanted only such a king to make themselves masters of Christendom." The prince of Conti, in a letter he wrote to his comfort, used the following expression: "I saw the king exposing himself to the greatest dangers; and surely so much valour very well deserves the peaceable possession of the crown he wears." The king of France himself is reported to have said, "That Luxemburg's behaviour was like that of the prince of Conti, but William's like that of marshal Turenne."

At the same time Germany and Piedmont were all the theatres of war. The palatinate was miserably ravaged by the duke of Lorges. The duke of Savoy, who, the preceding year, had spread devastation through Dauphiny, was defeated near Marfeld in Catinat. But Lewis XIV. notwithstanding so many victories, found enemies in every quarter, capable of making the strongest resistance. The dreadful scourge of war, after throwing the plains with the bodies of the dead, frequently leaves nothing more behind than vain exultations on the side of the victor. The more dreadful scourge of famine followed close of war. Two harvests had failed, and the vines had suffered greatly, so that the French had neither bread nor wine. The utmost diligence was used to import corn from other countries, and the lower part

Dubart seasonably purchased large quantities both in Sweden and Denmark, conveying it safely into the harbours of France.

The affairs at sea this year were also far from being advantageous to England. The French had, in some measure, repaired their losses at La Hogue, and the commerce of the allies suffered greatly. The English and Dutch fleets were, indeed, very strong, and sailed early. The admirals were not at first restrained by any particular instructions, but ordered in general to destroy the ships of the enemy, and protect the trade; but they afterwards received particular instructions with regard to a large fleet of near 400 sail of merchant ships belonging to England, Holland, and Hamburgh. After several councils held on this occasion, it was determined that the whole fleet, together with the Mediterranean squadron, should proceed in junction thirty leagues west-south-west from Ushant; when Sir George Rook, who was appointed to command the squadron destined to convey them, was to proceed with them towards the ports to which they were bound. Accordingly Sir George, with all the Turkey ships, left the main body of the fleet on the 6th of June; and steering for the Streights, left by the way the vessels bound for Bilboa, Lisbon, St. Ubes, and other ports. When he was within sixty leagues of Cape St. Vincent, he discovered part of the French fleet; on which he immediately called a council of war, where it was resolved, that as the wind was northerly, and a fresh gale, the merchant ships should make the best of their way to Cadiz. This resolution was hardly taken, before the whole fleet of the enemy, consisting of eighty sail, under the command of Tourville, was discovered. Rooke was persuaded there was now no time to retreat; but Vandergoes, the Dutch vice-admiral, informed him, that he chose to avoid an engagement, which he thought extremely hazardous. Rook therefore followed his advice, and they both stood off with an easy sail, that the heavy ships might work up to windward. At the same time, the Sheerness was dispatched with orders to the small ships, near the land, to endeavour to keep close under the shore during the night, and take shelter in Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz. About six in the evening, the van of the enemy came up with the sternmost of the confederate fleet, consisting of three Dutch men of war. These bravely fought, first eleven, and then seven of the enemy's ships, for five hours together. They had the good fortune to clear themselves from the former; but were obliged to submit to the latter, after making a most obstinate resistance. The Dutch merchant ships immediately tacked and stood in for the shore, and the enemy after them. Rooke stood off to sea during the night; and the next morning fifty-four of the merchant ships, and several men of war, were about him; but no more than two of the latter belonged to the Dutch. Five sail of the enemy's ships were seen to leeward, and two to windward; the latter kept in sight of him till it was night. The next day the admiral called a council of war, where it was determined to sail directly to the Madeiras, in order to procure water, and thence either to Cork or Kingale. This resolution was accordingly executed, and Sir George conducted that part of the fleet back to Ireland in safety.

Had the enemy pursued their first advantage with the same conduct and resolution, hardly a ship could have escaped; for when the Dutch tacked and stood in for the shore, the van of the French were within cannon shot of the English admiral; but their tacking, and the Dutch gave the other part of the fleet an opportunity of escaping. The loss, however, was very considerable, and fell chiefly on the Hollanders, the van having taken above eighty sail of merchant

ships, and three men of war. The English lost only one man of war, and about five merchantmen.

After the engagement, the French admiral stood away for Cadiz, in order to attack that place, but he found the attempt impracticable. They then bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. From Gibraltar they entered the Streights, and proceeded along the coasts of Spain; burnt several English and Dutch ships at Malaga and Alicant; and returned to Toulon about the latter end of September.

In the mean time fifteen ships of the line and two frigates were ordered by William to Holland; and twenty-six men of war, and seven fire-ships, were destined for the winter fleet, which it was then thought would put an end to the naval operations this year: but it soon after appeared that a secret expedition had been formed, in order to check the immoderate boastings of the French for their successful expeditions at sea.

The English trade had, for a considerable time past, suffered very severely from the privateers of St. Malo's. Never did one port send out so great a number of those cruisers; or even acquire, in so short a space of time, so much wealth, without engaging in any branch of commerce: the sea was covered with their ships from the channel to the Mediterranean; and their very names were become a terror to the merchants of London, Amsterdam, and Cadiz. The repeated complaints of the sufferers by this depredatory war, so alarmed the English government, that a resolution was taken to destroy St. Malo's, the port of these formidable enemies to the trade of the confederates. Pursuant to this resolution, commodore Benbow, and captain Phillips a famous engineer, were appointed commanders of this expedition. Every thing being ready, they put to sea, with a squadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-ketches and other vessels, and arrived before St. Malo's on the 16th of November. After bombarding the town for three days, they took the advantage of a fresh gale of wind, a strong tide, and very dark weather, on the night of the 19th, when they sent in a fire-ship of a particular construction, with a design to lay the whole town in ashes. This would undoubtedly have been the consequence, had not the effect been prevented by an accident; for when she had arrived within pistol shot of the town, where they intended to have moored her, a sudden gust of wind drove her upon a rock, where she continued immovable. At last the engineer, who was on board, perceiving her sides beginning to open, and fearing she might sink, set fire to her. The explosion was so terrible, as to shake the whole town like an earthquake, unroof above 300 houses, and brake all the glass and earthen ware for three leagues round. The inhabitants were struck with such consternation that a small body of troops might have taken the place; but the ministry, by an effect of their usual inattention, or perhaps, by somewhat worse, had sent out this squadron without a single soldier on board. Sir George Rooke's squadron was by this time arrived in England, and laid up: and with Benbow's expedition ended the naval transactions of this year; as little to the honour of the English as any during the whole course of the war.

Such a continued series of misfortunes threw the whole nation into confusion: every individual in the kingdom exclaimed against the ministry, and even openly accused them of treachery to their country. It was asserted that the French court was privately acquainted with all the designs of ours, and thereby enabled to take the proper measures for rendering them abortive; while the English ministry remained, or affected to remain, totally ignorant of the schemes

of the enemy. The weight of this accusation fell chiefly on the earls of Nottingham, Killegrew, and Delaval; two of the admirals, the marquis of Caermarthen and the earl of Rochester. But whether they were or not guilty of the charge is uncertain: they were at least known to have been firmly attached to the late king, and not yet thoroughly reconciled to the present government, though they possessed some of the most lucrative and honourable posts in the administration.

The campaign being now closed in Flanders, William returned to England the latter end of October. His first care was, to silence the murmurs of the people, by making a thorough change in his ministry. The earl of Nottingham was now laid aside, and his place supplied by the earl of Shrewsbury: the command of the fleet was committed solely to the care of the intrepid admiral Ruffel. In a word, the tory party were obliged to make way for their antagonists, the whigs; those only, who were known to be firm friends to the revolution being continued in office. These measures were chiefly owing to the representations of the earl of Sunderland, who had acquired a considerable influence with his majesty, and found means to persuade him that the whigs only were his true friends: while the tories, under the mask of pretended loyalty, were, in their hearts, devoted to the interest of their late sovereign.

The parliament met on the 7th of October, when the king opened the session with the following speech from the throne:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I am always glad to meet you here; and I could heartily wish that our satisfaction were not lessened at present by reflecting upon the disadvantages we have received this year at land, and the miscarriages in our affairs at sea. I think it is evident, that the former were only occasioned by the great number of our enemies, which exceeded ours in all places. For what relates to the latter, which reflects so great disgrace upon the nation, I have relented it extremely; and as I will take care that those who have not done their duty shall be punished, so I am resolved to use my utmost endeavours, that our power at sea may be rightly managed for the future: and it will well deserve your consideration, whether we are not defective, both in the number of our shipping, and in proper ports to the westward, for the better annoying our enemies, and protecting our trade, which is so essential to the welfare of these kingdoms.

“ I am very sensible of the good affection wherewith you have always assisted me to support the charges of the war, which have been very great; and yet I am persuaded that the experience of this summer is sufficient to convince us all, that, to arrive at a good end of it, there will be a necessity of increasing our forces, both by sea and land, the next year. Our allies have resolved to add to theirs; and I will not doubt, that you will have such regard to the present exigence, as that you will give me a suitable supply to enable me to do the like. I must therefore earnestly recommend it to you, gentlemen of the house of commons, to take such timely resolutions, as that your supplies may be effectual, and our preparations forward, as will be necessary both for the honour and security of the nation.”

In answer to this speech, the commons unanimously resolved, “ that they would support their majesties and their government; and grant a sufficient supply for a vigorous prosecution of the war.” But before they proceeded on that subject, they thought proper to make a short enquiry into the causes that occasioned the miscarriages of the fleet last summer. This en-

quiry took up a considerable space of time. Great exceptions were made against the many delays, in which the house suspected a scheme was laid to prevent the Smyrna fleet from sailing out of the English harbours, till the French had sufficient notice of the design, in order to be ready to intercept them. A want of intelligence was much complained of: the instructions which the admirals who commanded the fleet had received from the cabinet council, were considered as badly drawn up, and worse executed. The orders appeared ambiguous and defective; and had the commanders shewed any zeal to do any thing more than strictly to obey them; which they had done with the most scrupulous attention: they had used no methods to procure certain intelligence concerning the French fleet, whether it was at sea, or in Brest harbour. Instead of which they had trusted to general and uncertain reports, though a fleet of the utmost consequence to the nation was intrusted to their care: nor had they failed far enough with Rooke to see him past danger. To these charges they answered, that they had observed their orders that they had great reason to think the French were still in Brest; and therefore thought it was not safe to sail too far from the coast of England, when they had as they suspected, left behind them a strong navy force, which might, during their absence, alarm, and perhaps ravage the English coast. It was represented as impracticable to obtain any authentic information from Brest; and added several suspicious reasons in support of their conduct. But though their reasons were thought far from being sufficient to justify the measures they had pursued; yet, as they had obeyed their orders, they could not be punished; and accordingly a vote passed in their favour.

This enquiry being finished, the commons proceeded to deliberate on the supplies, and voted, that 500,000 pounds be raised towards discharging the wages due to the seamen; and that a farther sum of 2,000,000 be granted to their majesties for the maintenance of the fleet, including the ordnance; that the number of forces in their majesties pay be increased to six new regiments of English dragoon and fifteen new regiments of English foot: that 83,000,121 men, including commission and non-commission officers, were necessary for the service of the ensuing year, to be employed in England and beyond the seas: and that the sum of 2,535,591 pounds be granted for the maintenance of the land force. They also voted 118,000 pounds to make good the annuity deficiency, and 296,692 pounds to make good the deficiency of the post bill. That the supplies voted for the service of the ensuing year amounted to near five millions and a half, and were raised by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, by an increase of annuities; a farther excise on salt and a duty on salt.

After the commons had granted the necessary supplies, they passed a bill for rendering all monies then in the hands of the king incapable of trust and profit. This bill passed the upper house, and lay ready for the royal assent; but when the king came to the house to pass the land tax bill, he thought proper to refuse it. This refusal alarmed the commons, and the house was turned into a committee of the whole for the consideration of the matter, and it was resolved, “ That whereas the king not to give the royal assent to the bill, was to redress a grievance, and one of a long standing from the commons in parliament, to an enemy of their majesties and the kingdom; and that a representation be made to the king to lay before him a list of the instances have been, in former times, of denying the royal assent to bills for the relief of the commons, and the grief of the commons, for the

having given the royal assent to several public bills, and in particular to this bill, which tends so much to clear the reputation of this house, after having voted so freely to supply the public occasions."

These resolutions being formed into a representation, it was presented by the whole house to the king, who was pleased to return the following answer:

"I am very sensible of the good offices you have expressed for me on many occasions, and the zeal you have shewn for our common interest; I shall make use of this opportunity to tell you, that no prince ever had a higher esteem for the constitution of the English government, than myself; and that I shall ever have a great regard for the advice of parliament."

"I am persuaded that nothing can so much conduce to the welfare of this kingdom, as an entire confidence between the king and people, which I shall by all means endeavour to preserve; and I assure you I shall look upon such persons as my enemies, who shall advise any thing that may lessen it."

This answer, however, was far from being satisfactory: it was thought by some too vague and general. A motion was therefore made, "that application be made to the king for a more particular answer." This occasioned a very warm debate; but the question being at length put, it passed in the negative by a great majority.

A bill was now brought into the house for naturalizing foreign protestants, which occasioned great debates, and in a particular manner engaged the attention of the public. It was represented on one hand, that the ravages of war, the depopulation of the kingdom, the decay of agriculture, the wealth and industry of the refugees, already established in England, the prospect of increasing their numbers, and thereby giving subjects to the state, and fresh resources to commerce and manufactures, were considered as objects of the last importance, and urged in behalf of the bill. On the other hand it was alledged, that foreigners engaged in the manufactures of the English, would infallibly be of great prejudice to them; that after amassing fortunes at their expence, they would leave the kingdom, and return with their riches to their native country; that numbers of artificers were leaving for want of employment, and that the evil, instead of being lessened, would be increased by this measure. In short, to admit so many non-conformists into the number of natural born subjects, was to expose the church of England to danger which should be avoided. The last observation was urged with great warmth; and prevailed with many who considered the church and state as a prey to foreigners. Popular prejudices are often formidable. The court party saw the difficulty, and despairing of success, withdrew the bill till a more favourable opportunity.

A. D. 1694. This year was opened by a dreadful disaster at sea. A fleet of merchant ships, under a convoy of men of war, commanded by Sir Francis Wheeler, having sailed from Gibraltar up the Straights, met with a most violent storm, which continued the whole day and the succeeding night, and occasioned the most melancholy misfortune. The *Suffex*, the ship on board of which Sir Francis carried his flag, foundered, and he himself with his whole crew, except two Moors, perished; the *Cambridge* and *Lamb*, six castle men of war, the *Serpent* bomb ketch, and the *Mary* ketch together with six merchantmen, were driven ashore, to the eastward of Gibraltar, and most of their men lost. The same fate attended three Dutch ships richly laden; but rear admiral Nevill, and three men of war, had the good fortune to escape into Cadiz.

On the 26th of April his majesty went to the house of peers, and after giving the royal assent to the bills that were ready, put an end to the session with a short speech from the throne; in which he thanked the commons for the large supplies they had given him, and as the posture of affairs rendered his presence necessary abroad, he recommended to both houses to do every thing in their power to preserve the public peace during his absence.

Having thus settled affairs at home, William embarked for Holland on the 6th of May, and, after a very short passage, arrived safe at the Brill. From hence he immediately set out for the Hague; and, after presiding at an assembly of the states, he repaired to Loo, where he continued till the opening of the campaign.

The French monarch turned his chief force against Spain, where he was very successful. He had some time before, in order to relieve his subjects from the miseries they suffered, offered the Spaniards a separate peace, provided they would declare the duke of Anjou, one of his grandsons, heir to their crown. But these overtures being rejected, Lewis proposed to invade that kingdom by sea and land. With this view, the marshal de Noailles taking the field early in the spring, advanced at the head of an army of 30,000 men to the banks of the Ter, and, on the 28th of May, forced the passage of that river, in the face of 16,000 of the Spanish forces encamped on the opposite bank of the river on purpose to oppose him. After this success, he marched directly to Palamos, which he immediately invested; while the combined squadrons of Brest and Toulon, under Tourville and d'Estrees, blocked it up by sea. On the 7th of June the place was taken by storm, and the most inhuman cruelties exercised upon the wretched inhabitants. This struck the Spaniards with such a panic, that they immediately withdrew their garrisons from Felieu de Quixolo and the castle of St. Elmo, in order to reinforce that of Gironne, a town well fortified and capable of supporting a long siege: but such was the terror of the Spaniards, that the town submitted a few days after the first summons.

Encouraged by this success, the marshal de Noailles, after having refreshed his troops, determined to attempt the reduction of Barcelona, the capital, and indeed the only fortified place in Catalonia now remaining to the Spaniards. His plan was to attack the town both by sea and land at the same time, by which means he hoped to be soon master of the place, and in a capacity of destroying every town on the sea-coast of Spain.

But this scheme was rendered totally abortive by the assiduity of William. That monarch had been previously informed of the marshal's design, and therefore resolved to send a strong fleet up the Mediterranean, at once to assist the Spaniards, and prevent the French squadrons from coming into the ocean. Accordingly the utmost diligence was used both in England and Holland, to fit out a more numerous fleet, and have the ships earlier at sea than in any year since the commencement of the war. By this extraordinary dispatch, Ruffel sailed from St. Helen's on the 3d of May, with the combined squadrons, consisting of 52 English, and 41 Dutch ships of the line, besides frigates, fire ships, and other small vessels. On his arrival off Brest, he found that Tourville with his squadron, had already quitted that harbour; and Ruffel determined to pursue him. But being informed by a captain of a Swedish ship, that there was a fleet of merchantment lying in a harbour near Conquet-bay, he detached captain Pritchard in the *Monmouth*, with the *Roeback* and *Resolution* fire ships, to attempt the taking or destroying them. This service Pritchard per-

performed so effectually, that out of 55 sail, he burnt or sunk thirty-five, and drove the man of war, which was appointed to convoy them, on the rocks, where he was lost, and all the crew perished.

Ruffel, not having been able to meet with the Breſt fleet, returned to St. Helen's; but soon received orders to proceed to the Mediterranean with the principal part of his fleet. On his arrival off the rock of Liſbon, he was joined by rear-admiral Neville from Cadiz, and the Dutch vice-admirals Calenberg and Evertzen, with sixteen ſhips of the line. By this additional reinforcement the ſhips under his command amounted to ſixty-three. Ruffel now made the beſt of his way to Barcelona, in order to ſave that city, together with the whole province of Catalonia, from falling into the hands of the enemy, who had now blocked it up both by land and ſea. On his appearing before the town, the French admirals, who were in no condition to withſtand ſo powerful a fleet, returned with great precipitation into the harbour of Toulon, and Noailles abandoned his enterprize. Thus the Spaniſh dominions were freed from the danger that threatened them, by this well-timed expedition; and the French fleet blocked up cloſely in the harbour of Toulon; a circumſtance that ſufficiently confuted their boaiſting aſſertions, of being in a condition to give laws to all the maritime powers of Europe.

During theſe tranſactions, the confederate army, commanded by the king of England in perſon, took the field, and encamped at Mont St. Andre. It conſiſted of 31,000 horſe and dragoons, and 51,000 foot, all veteran troops, beſides a body of 7000 men under count Thian, near Ghent. The French were not greatly inferior in numbers; but the dauphin of France, who commanded in perſon, declared that he had orders not to ſtir out of his camp while the allies continued in theirs: ſo that theſe two powerful armies continued inactive, waiting to take ſome advantage of each other, till near the end of the campaign, when William attempted to paſs the Schelde, and force the enemy to a battle; but, by an almoſt incredible march of the enemy, his deſigns were frustrated.

Having in vain endeavoured to bring the French to an engagement, William gave orders for beſieging Huy, which was, accordingly, inveſted by count Tilly; and after a defence of ten days, ſurrendered to the allies, who put a ſtrong gariſon into the place. This conqueſt ſecured the biſhopric of Liege from the incuſſions of the French; and the ſeaſon for putting an end to the campaign now advancing, both armies retired into winter quarters.

In the mean time, the prince of Baden, who commanded the imperialiſts on the Rhine, diſdaining to remain inactive, croſſed that river, and marched towards the French army commanded by marſhal Longes, who, being apprized of the prince's deſign, retired towards Landen. But he ſuffered ſeverely in this retreat, great part of his rear being cut off by the imperialiſts; who, as the French retreated, advanced and plundered ſeveral towns, made a very conſiderable booty, and laid the whole adjacent country under contribution.

Before William left England, he had concerted a plan for making a deſcent upon Breſt, and other places on the ſea-coaſt of France; the execution of which was committed to lieutenant general Talmath. Accordingly, ſoon after admiral Ruffel ſailed for the Mediterranean, the lord Berkeley, with thirty ſail of men of war and transports, having on board between ſix and ſeven thouſand ſoldiers, under general Talmath, was ordered to make a deſcent at Camaret-bay, near Breſt, in order to deſtroy that harbour, or, at leaſt, to render it of no ſervice to the French.

A high rock, or rather promontory, extends from Camaret to the harbour of Breſt, and commands all the ſhipping paſſing in or coming out of that port. This promontory is joined to the continent by a narrow iſthmus, which might be defended with a ſmall number of men againſt the greateſt force. It was propoſed to poſſeſs ourſelves of this important ſpot where we were to have built a fort, which, had the ſcheme ſucceeded, would not only have prevented the French from aſſembling their fleets there as uſual, and have deprived them of the only port they were fit for receiving their large men of war, but we ſhould have had it in our power to make incuſſions into the province of Britany at pleaſure. Lewis, however, having early intelligence of the deſign, and ſenſible of the fatal conſequence that muſt attend its ſucceſs, ordered Vauban, the famous engineer, to have the iſthmus, the rock, and all the avenues to it ſo fortified as to render it inacceſſible. A large army was alſo ſent there, and ſtrong batteries were raiſed, that commanded every place where there appeared the leaſt poſſibility of landing.

On the 7th of June the Engliſh fleet arrived before the place, having on board lord Berkeley, general Talmath, the marquis of Caermarthen, lord Couts, and ſeveral other experienced commanders. It was immediately repreſented to general Talmath by ſeveral of the officers, what diſadvantages muſt attend an attempt upon a place ſo well prepared for annoyance, as well as defence, and they warmly adviſed him not to expoſe himſelf or his men. But Talmath, firm in his reſolution, told them, that their advice came too late, that the honour of the Engliſh nation was at ſtake, for which reaſon he muſt and would land. The marquis of Caermarthen, with the moſt intrepidity, now ſtood in with eight men of war, and came to an anchor very near the ſhore, in order to cover the deſcent of the troops. He ſoon found his ſhips expoſed to the fire of ſeveral batteries, which till then they had not diſcovered. But he, not at all daunted by the danger of his ſituation, returned the fire of the enemy very briskly. Eight hundred men, under the command of general Talmath, got ſafe to ſhore; but they were no ſooner landed, than the general found the enterprize impracticable, and made a ſignal to retreat. This command came too late, for it being ebb tide, the boats ſtuck faſt upon the ooze. The men were now expoſed to the fire from the batteries, by which 600 of them were killed, and a ſquadron of the French coming down to the ſhore, obliged thoſe that were left alive to lay down their arms, and demand quarter. Talmath eſcaped to a boat, which brought him back to his ſhip; but the brave officer had received a wound in his thigh by a ball, and, notwithſtanding the greateſt care, died before he reached England.

The ſhips that covered the deſcent were now in a terrible ſituation, having loſt a great number of men, and had moſt of their masts and rigging cut in pieces by the batteries; notwithſtanding which the marquis, with infinite hazard and difficulty, brought them all off, a Dutch ſhip of thirty guns excepted, which fell into the hands of the enemy. A council of war was now called, wherein it was reſolved to return immediately to Spithead, at which place they arrived on the fifteenth of June. Here a council was held, by order of the queen, to conſider how the ſhips and troops might be employed to the moſt advantage. After ſeveral conſultations it was reſolved to make ſome attempts on the coaſt of Normandy. On the 8th of July they arrived before Dieppe. On the 12th they began to ſiege the town, which they continued without intermiſſion for twelve hours, in which they threw 1100 bombs and cartridges into the town, which the ſtreets being narrow

row, the houses old, and most of them built of timber, was set on fire in twenty places at once, and the chief part of it reduced to ashes. Our fleet then sailed along the coast, and on the 15th lord Berkeley arrived off Havre de Grace, which place he immediately began to bombard. Here the houses were often set on fire, and numbers of the French soldiers killed in endeavouring to extinguish it. During this service the Grenada bomb vessel was blown up, with all the men on board, and several small ships so much shattered that it was thought most prudent to retire to St. Helen's. An attempt was soon after made upon Dunkirk, by a fleet under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, but that place was so well fortified, and the garrison so strong, that the design was soon found impracticable. In his way home, Sir Cloudesley Shovel sent a bomb vessel into the harbour of Calais, which discharged so many shells into the town, that about 40,000 houses were destroyed, after which he returned with his whole squadron into the Downs.

The campaign in Flanders being now closed, William embarked for England on the 18th of November, and the next day landed safe at Margate, from whence he immediately proceeded to London. On the third day after his arrival he opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, in which he informed them that, though no great advantage had been gained, a stop had been put to the progress of the French arms; that having had so much experience of their affections, and their zeal for the public, he could not doubt of their being willing to assist him with supplies sufficient for carrying on the war with vigour, the only means of obtaining a safe and honourable peace. He concluded with earnestly recommending a bill for the encouragement of seamen. "You must be sensible," said he, "how much a law of this nature would tend to the advancement of trade, and of the naval strength of this kingdom; which is our great interest, and ought to be our principal care."

The parliament made no difficulty of complying with the king's request. The supplies, which amounted to near 5,000,000, were readily granted. But at the same time the commons brought in a bill for the more frequent calling of parliaments. This bill went hand in hand with those for the supply, and, having passed both houses, received the royal assent on the 22d of December. By this bill it was enacted that a new parliament should be called every third year, and that the present parliament should be dissolved before the end of the succeeding year. The passing of this bill gave great joy to the people. They were persuaded that the manner of procuring votes at elections by bribery and corruption would now be laid aside; and that the commons would recover at once their strength and reputation.

While these things were transacting in parliament, Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature, sincerely lamented by all who esteemed piety and virtue. He was a person of great judgment, clear understanding, and a tender and compassionate heart: a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and forgiving enemy. Without affectation, bigotry, or superstition, he was truly religious. His notions of morality were at once excellent and sublime. His reasoning was clear, easy, and solid. He enforced the precepts of the gospel in pure and elegant language. His sermons were so greatly admired, that they were esteemed the best examples of sacred declamation in any language: nor have they yet lost their esteem.

Both the king and queen were greatly affected at the death of this pious prelate. The queen for several

days mentioned him in the tenderest manner, and never without tears. He died so poor, that if the king had not given up his first-fruits, his debts could not have been paid. He was too charitable to acquire riches, and the only legacy he left to his family was his works. Dr. Tennison, bishop of Lincoln, was judged most proper to supply his place; and he was accordingly translated to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.

The queen herself did not long survive her favourite prelate. She was seized with the small-pox on the 21st of December, and died the 28th, in the 33d year of her age, and in the 6th of her reign.

Queen Mary was doubtless an excellent woman, and enjoyed a large share of the virtues that adorn the sex. Her charity was very extensive, and without ostentation. She was a bright example of conjugal affection, the will of her husband being the sole rule of all her actions; and to this alone we must impute the little reluctance she shewed at mounting the throne from whence her father had been deposed. Her treatment of her sister is not, perhaps, so easily justified; all, therefore, we shall add in extenuation of her conduct is, that Mary was not exempt from the constant attendants of human nature. Her person was tall and elegant; she had a natural air of greatness that demanded respect, adorned with a graceful countenance and an affable disposition. Her apprehension was clear and ready; her memory tenacious; her judgment solid; equally formed to bear adversity or prosperity; she seemed to have added the courage of the other sex to the softness of her own.

Sensible that his majesty's interest was greatly weakened by the death of the queen, both houses of parliament attended on his majesty with their address of condolence. That of the lords was as follows:

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, do, with inexpressible grief, humbly assure your majesty of the deep sense we have of the loss your majesty and the whole kingdom doth sustain by the death of that excellent princess, our late sovereign lady the queen; most humbly beseeching your majesty, that you would not indulge your grief on this sad occasion, to the prejudice of the health of your royal person, in whole preservation, not only the welfare of your own subjects, but all Europe is so much concerned. We farther beg leave on this sad occasion, humbly to renew to your majesty, the hearty and sincere assurances, of our utmost assistance against all your enemies, both at home and abroad, and of all other demonstrations of duty and affection, that can possibly be paid by the most faithful subjects."

To this address his majesty returned a most gracious answer, which was couched in the following terms: "I heartily thank you for your kindness to me; but much more for the sense you shew of our great loss, which is above what I can express."

The example of the two houses was followed by the whole nation, and consolatory addresses were presented to his majesty from every part of the kingdom. But nothing gave him greater satisfaction than the following letter, which he received from the princes of Denmark, on this melancholy occasion:

"Sir,
"I beg your majesty's favourable acceptance of my sincere and hearty sorrow for your great affliction in the loss of the queen; and I do assure your
"majesty,

" majesty, that I am as sensibly touched with the
 " sad misfortune, as if I had never been so unhappy
 " as to have fallen under her displeasure.

" It is my earnest desire your majesty would give
 " me leave to wait upon you, as soon as it may be
 " done without danger of increasing your affliction,
 " that I may have an opportunity myself, not only
 " of repeating this, but of assuring your majesty of
 " my real intentions to omit no occasion of giving
 " you constant proofs of my sincere respect, and
 " concern for your person and interest, as becomes,
 " Sir,

" Your majesty's affectionate sister,

" and servant,

" ANNE."

This letter totally removing all the king's apprehensions of the princess's forming a party against him, he listened to the advice of the earl of Sunderland, who brought about a reconciliation between them. The king made her a present of most of the late queen's jewels, and assigned her St. James's palace for her residence. But notwithstanding all these appearances of friendship, his majesty still appears to have entertained some remains of jealousy. A few formal visits passed between him and his sister-in-law, but he admitted her to no share in public business; nor would he suffer his ministers to attend her, or inform her of any of the transactions of the cabinet.

The queen, after lying in state at Whitehall, was interred with great solemnity in Westminster abbey. Not only her majesty's household, but all the judges, serjeants at law, the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and (which raised the mournful pomp to the highest pitch of splendor) both houses of parliament attended the royal corpse to the abbey, where a funeral sermon was preached by D. Tennison archbishop of Canterbury.

Before we proceed to the remainder of William's

reign, we shall here take notice of the remarkable occurrences that happened from the joint accession of their majesties, to the death of the queen.

In the month of September, in the fourth year of their reign, the shock of an earthquake was felt in London, and in many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the same kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta. In the former especially, no less than an 100,000 persons are said to have perished on the occasion. Soon after, the town of Port-Royal in Jamaica was almost totally destroyed by an earthquake, about fifteen hundred persons being buried in the ruins.

In their fifth year, stamp-duties were first imposed in England, viz. on paper, vellum, and parchment.

A short time before the queen's death a beginning was made for carrying on the design of the now noble and magnificent hospital of Greenwich, for the reception of decayed sailors serving in the royal navy. Their majesties had for some time strongly fixed their minds on this establishment, and they accordingly made a grant of the royal palace at Greenwich (a part of which, on the west side, had been begun to be rebuilt for a royal palace for king Charles II., as also of a large adjoining space of ground. For this end king William, after the death of his royal consort, appointed by patent a number of commissioners for directing the building and endowing of this intended hospital, and granted a large sum out of his civil list for that purpose; and his royal successors were considerable benefactors to it. At length annual sums were granted by parliament for the finishing of this truly noble structure, which was fully completed in the reign of his late majesty king George the Second.

W I L L I A M III.

A. D. 1695. **W**HILE the commons were assiduously employed in projecting ways and means for raising the supplies voted, their attention was called off by the discovery of an alarming scene of bribery and corruption; in which not only the agents of the army, and some members of parliament, but even the privy counsellors themselves, were deeply concerned.

This discovery arose from a petition presented to the house by the inhabitants of Royston, in Hertfordshire, complaining that the officers and soldiers of the regiment commanded by colonel Hastings, which was quartered upon them, demanded and exacted subsistence money, both in their quarters and on their march; and were, at the same time, guilty of many other abuses. Upon this colonel Hastings, his agent, Mr. Tracy Paucefort, his brother Edward Paucefort, major Montell, and the agents of some other regiments were sent for and examined before the house, where after giving the most precious account of their proceedings, Tracey Paucefort was sent to the tower, for having refused to answer certain questions proposed to him; his brother was also sent to the same place for having defrauded the regiment of colonel Hastings, of 500 guineas. These

were soon followed by Henry Guy, esq; a member of the house, and secretary to the treasury, who was proved to have received a bribe of 200 guineas for procuring the payment of the arrears due to the regiment.

The house next proceeded to draw up an address to his majesty, which they presented on the 9th of May. In this address they observed, that the violence planned of from the soldiers were in a great measure occasioned by the bad practices of the agents of the army, who detained the soldiers pay, and converted it to their own use; by their intolerable extortion, and extortions, upon the officers and soldiers, paying money by way of advance, and by charging more for the discount of tallies than they actually paid; that colonel Hastings, in particular, had caused several officers of his regiment to take a commission from him at a very exorbitant price, in order to create his own private advantage, without regard to his majesty's service or the discipline of the army; that the said colonel had fraudulently drawn 500 guineas, out of a bounty given by his majesty to the officers of his regiment; under pretence of having paid that sum as a bribe to obtain the payment of the said bounty; and, at the same time, had

two-pence in the pound out of the money due to the officers and soldiers, without having any authority for making such deduction: that the agent for colonel Hastings had either refused or neglected giving an account of the pay due to the captains of his regiment and their companies; which apparently tended to defraud the officers and soldiers: that many heavy and grievous deductions had been arbitrarily made by the agents, who had endeavoured to conceal their frauds, under the ambiguous term of contingencies: that colonel Hastings had discharged an ensign, and appointed another in his room, contrary to the known discipline of the army: that the said colonel Hastings had taken money for recommending to commands in his regiment, to the discouragement of the officers who were to serve in his majesty's army, as they ought to be such as merited their commissions, and not such as purchased them. These abuses the house humbly intreated his majesty to remove.

The king received this address very graciously, and assured the house that he would immediately grant their request. Accordingly colonel Hastings was cashiered, and his regiment given to Sir John Jacob, lieutenant-colonel. At the same time his majesty appointed a council of officers to sit weekly, and examine all complaints that might be made against any officer or soldier, and published a proclamation for the strict discipline of the army, and the payment of the soldiers in their quarters.

The commons, however, still continued to prosecute their enquiries, and several other species of corruption (some of which were of a very extraordinary nature) were discovered. But before they had finished their enquiries, the king came to the house of peers, and sending for the commons, put an end to the session with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am come to give you thanks for the supplies provided for carrying on the war in which we are engaged; and, at the same time, to conclude this session, which cannot be continued longer without manifest prejudice to the end for which these supplies were given, the season of the year making it so necessary for me to be abroad, that it were to be wished our business at home would have allowed me to have been there sooner.

"I will take care to place the administration of affairs, during my absence, in such persons, on whose care and fidelity I can entirely depend; and I doubt not, my lords and gentlemen, that every one of you, by your several stations, will be assisting to them. This is what I require of you, and that you will be more than ordinarily diligent in preserving the public peace."

The king immediately embarked for Holland, after nominating a council of regency, in which neither the prince's nor prince of Denmark had any share. This occasioned a fresh subject of complaint, and the king's conduct was reflected on with great severity.

The campaign of this year was more favourable to the allies than any of the preceding. Their army was superior to that of the French in the Netherlands, and they were resolved to strike some blow of importance. Accordingly, for some time, amused the French, who commanded the French army in the town of Luxemburg, that great general who paid the debt of nature during the preceding year. But on the third of July, William invested the place of strength in the Netherlands, which was fortified both by art and nature. The garrison consisted of fifteen thousand chosen men, commanded by the count de Guiscard, and marshal Boufflers, who commanded a separate army from that of

Villeroy, though subjected to the other's orders, found means to throw himself into the town with several regiments, and thereby increased the garrison to near twenty thousand men.

It was natural to expect that a place of so much importance, defended by so numerous a garrison, and so strongly fortified, would dispute every inch of ground with the besiegers; and indeed it made a very bold and desperate defence for near two months. At length, Marshal Villeroy, perceiving the place must fall, notwithstanding all the power of the besieged, determined to cut off prince Vaudemont, who commanded the army that covered the siege, consisting of fifty battalions of foot, and as many squadrons of horse, encamped at Aersele. The French were more than double the number of the prince's army; and were very near surprizing him in his trenches. But he effected a retreat to Ghent, hardly to be paralleled in ancient or modern history. He first sent off his baggage and artillery, which were followed by his infantry; after which he drew off his horse. This was all performed with so much secrecy and address, that the enemy had not the least suspicion of his design.

Villeroy was so enraged at this masterly manœuvre, that he sent Montal, to attack the rear of the prince's army, but met with so warm a reception, that they were glad to retire, after having suffered pretty considerably. William was so highly pleased with the conduct of the prince, that he wrote him a letter with his own hand, wherein he acknowledged he was greatly obliged to him: adding, "that he had given stronger marks of a general, consummate in the art of war, than if he had gained a complete victory."

Disappointed in this attempt, Villeroy next endeavoured to surprize Newport; but this also proved ineffectual. He, however, met with better success in his third attempt, which was an attack on the forts of Dixmuyde and Dynse, both which surrendered to him on the first summons; though their garrisons consisted of near 7000 men, among whom were two battalions of English; and what rendered this misfortune the greater, was, the French detained these troops, prisoners of war, notwithstanding it was repugnant to the cartel established between the contending powers.

Encouraged by this success, Villeroy attempted the bombardment of Brussels; which was carried on with such fury, that in less than 48 hours above 2000 houses in the heart of the town were reduced to ashes. The stadthoufe, the great church and several other public structures, were demolished. The electress of Bavaria, who was then in the city, though removed from danger, was so terrified at this dreadful and incessant noise, that she miscarried, and nearly lost her life. This destruction of a capital city, which, by the cartel, was exempted from bombardments, was justified by the French, on account of the bombardments made by the English on the French coast.

After the perpetration of this unmanly revenge, Villeroy (having reinforced his army with all the troops that could be spared out of the garrisons and the forces from the sea coasts) marched towards Namur, at the head of an army of 80,000 men, and which came soon enough to be witness of the surrender of that important city. William having possessed himself of the camp, which the French had occupied during the siege, the marshal was sufficiently convinced that there were no hopes of success if he attacked him, and therefore marched towards the Meuse.

The garrison of Namur now lost all hopes of being relieved. They had, indeed, made a very noble resistance, and perhaps military valour and skill were never more illustriously displayed, than in the attack and defence of that place. At length, the garrison being reduced from 20 to 6000, Boufflers thought

thought proper to surrender, and the capitulation was accordingly signed on the 2d of September.

The French garrison marched out of the castle on the 5th of November, when William caused marshal Boufflers to be arrested and detained prisoner, by way of reprisal for the detention of the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Dynse, contrary to the cartel established between the two nations. But the French court, thinking it proper to give its parole of honour, that those garrisons should be restored, the marshal was set at liberty. The king now gave the command of the army to the elector of Bavaria, and retired to Loo, the usual place of his recess; soon after which both armies retired into winter-quarters.

The conquest of Namur cost the allies near 12,000 men; among whom were the count de Rivera, the baron de Heckeren, and several other officers of distinction. The prince of Holstein-Norburgh, the prince of Hesse-Homburgh, and several inferior officers were wounded.

No remarkable circumstance happened on the Rhine during this whole campaign. The army of the empire under prince Baden, and that of the French commanded by the marshal de Lorges were so nearly equal, that neither of the generals would hazard a battle. In Italy, the only military transaction which happened worthy our notice was the surrender of Casal, which, to the surprize of all Europe, was yielded up to the duke of Savoy in fourteen days. But it was afterwards discovered that Lewis and the duke had carried on a private negotiation with each other, which gave rise to a conjecture that the former had made a voluntary sacrifice of this fortress to the duke, in order to engage his forbearance during the remainder of the campaign. In Catalonia, the French made a very indifferent figure; for admiral Ruffel, who wintered at Cadiz, prevented them from forming the siege of Barcelona; upon which they retired to Palamos. This place Ruffel bombarded so long, that the greatest part of the town and castle were destroyed. He then returned to Cadiz, where he made the necessary dispositions for securing the English trade in the Mediterranean; after which, leaving Sir David Mitchel, rear-admiral of the red, with a squadron of 23 ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb vessels, he returned with the rest of his fleet to England.

On the 23d of June a fleet, commanded by lord Berkley of Stratton, sailed from Spithead, and on the 4th of July arrived before St. Malo's. The next morning early the bombardment began, which was so vigorously pursued, that in two hours, a great fire broke out in the east part of the town, and about four in the afternoon, a second dreadful fire broke out in the west part. By seven in the evening, the bomb vessels had spent 9000 bombs and carcasses, which being all they had, the signal was given to put to sea. The loss sustained by our fleet on this occasion, was sixty men killed and wounded, by the enemy's fire from their batteries, and one bomb vessel sunk. The bombardment lasted near twelve hours, and laid the chief part of the town in ruins.

The satisfaction which the nation must have felt from the success of our arms on the continent was much abated by the loss our trade suffered by the enemy's privateers, who, notwithstanding our uncontrolled dominion at sea, found means to slip out of their ports, and take a number of our merchant ships. By the ill conduct of the marquis of Caermarthen, who was stationed with a squadron off the isles of Scilly, the Barbadoes fleet, on its return home, was left a defenceless prey to the French privateers, who, besides a great number of merchant ships, took five belonging to the East India company, valued at a million sterling. At the same time, a French man of

war fell upon our factory on the coast of Guinea, took a small fort we had there, and destroyed it.

During these transactions a parliament was held in Scotland, which was remarkable for a strict enquiry made into the affair of Glencoe. The result of this enquiry was, that they entirely acquitted his majesty from any share of guilt in that barbarous massacre, by unanimously resolving, "that the king's instructions to Sir Thomas Livingstone contained no warrant for the execution of the Macdonalds; that the said execution was a downright murder; that the master of Stair's letters exceeded the king's instructions; that Sir Thomas Livingstone had reason to give the orders he had given; that lieutenant colonel Hamilton should be immediately arrested, and brought to his trial for the murder of the Macdonalds; that Campbell of Glenlion, captain Drummond, lieutenant Lindsey, ensign Lamb, and serjeant Barber, who had been concerned in the said massacre, should be likewise prosecuted; and that an impeachment should be lodged against the earl of Braidalbin, who had so grossly abused upon his majesty, and abused his authority." By these resolutions, the king appears to be solemnly acquitted, notwithstanding which, his ill judged lenity, in inflicting no punishment on such inhuman delinquents, subjected him to much censure, which his enemies took care to improve to such a height, as at length to deprive him of the affection of the Scots.

William having settled his affairs on the continent, embarked for England, where he arrived on the 10th of October, and was received in triumph by his subjects. The next day he issued a proclamation for dissolving the parliament, and assembling another on the twenty-second of November; which, having accordingly met, the commons chose Paul Foley, esq; for their speaker. The following day the king came to the house and opened the session by a speech; wherein he told both houses, "that he engaged in the present war by the advice of his first parliament, and the last had, with the utmost cheerfulness, assisted him in carrying it on, and he did not doubt but that the present one would as willingly support him in it by their supplies: that he could not but take notice, on this occasion, of the signal bravery of the English forces during the last campaign, which had reflected equal honour on themselves, and on the nation to which they belonged: he lamented as a great misfortune his having been obliged from the beginning of his reign to ask such large aids from his subjects, though absolutely necessary for the effectual prosecution of the war; he took notice that the funds had been deficient, and the condition of the civil list such, that he could not possibly subsist without their care: he said that compassion obliged him to mention the miserable condition of the French protestants, who suffered for their religion; he recommended to them the framing bills for the encouragement and increase of seamen, and the advancement of trade, particularly that of the West Indies, and that the army might be properly recruited without giving the subject cause of complaint: he then observed the ill state of the country, and concluded with exhorting them to use dispatch, and to avoid heats and divisions."

The first bill passed by this parliament was that respecting trials for high-treason; a subject which, though of the last importance, had hitherto been open to many abuses. By this bill it was enacted, that the person impeached should have a copy of the impeachment five days before the trial came on, and be allowed counsel for his defence: that no person should be impeached, but on the testimony of two credible witnesses: that if the impeachment consisted

of several articles, the two witnesses could only be considered as one, when their depositions were not upon the same article: that the person accused should have a list of the witnesses two days before the trial; and that three years after the crime was committed, no accusation should take place, unless the crime was an attempt against the life of the king. The lords added a clause, whereby a peer was to be judged by the whole house of lords. Had this law taken place sooner, it would have saved the lives of many illustrious men, and liberty would have had a part against capotism and ministerial vengeance.

This celebrated bill being dispatched, the commons proceeded to take into their consideration the supplies for the succeeding year. The necessary estimates were laid before them, and they voted 5.024.853l. for that service. The funds necessary for raising this prodigious sum were the following: 1. By a land-tax of four shillings in the pound. 2. By duties continued on wine, vinegar, tobacco, East-India goods, and other merchandizes. 3. An additional duty upon all French commodities. 4. Duties on low wines or spirits of French extraction. 5. Duties continued upon salt, glass-wares, tobacco pipes, &c. They also settled a fund for raising 500,000l a year for the civil list; and another for raising 15,000l a year for the relief of French protestants.*

A. D. 1696. This year was opened by the discovery of a horrid plot for assassinating the king, which had been concerted between James and Lewis the French king, in order to restore the former to the throne of England. The earl of Aylsbury, the lord Montgomery, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, captain Porter, and captain Charnock, appeared to be the principal persons concerned in this infamous design, which, from the bloody circumstances attending it, was called the Assassination Plot. These, with the rest of the conspirators, held various meetings in order to concert the most proper measures for executing their horrid design. In the month of February, Sir George Berkeley, a native of Scotland, and a furious bigot to the church of Rome, came over with a private commission from king James, by virtue whereof the party in England were implicitly to obey his orders. This person undertook the detestable task of murdering the king, with the assistance of forty horsemen furnished by the conspirators.

Various methods were at first proposed for effecting this purpose; but it was at last determined to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he usually hunted every Saturday, and the place pitched upon was the lane leading from Brentford to Turnham-green. Perhaps a more likely place than this could not have been found; for his majesty generally returning late from the chace, usually crossed the ferry attended by only a few of his guards, without coming out of his coach; and when he landed, the coach drove on without stopping for the rest of his guards, who were obliged to wait on the Surry till the boat returned to carry them over: so that the king must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the conspirators, before the rest of his guards could come to his assistance.

The disposition of their men was contrived with much art than the time and place; for having secured several places in Brentford, Turnham-green, and

other houses in the neighbourhood, to put up their horses till the king returned from hunting, one of the conspirators was ordered to wait at the ferry till the guards appeared on the Surry side of the water; and then to give speedy notice to the rest, that they might be ready at their respective posts, while the king was crossing the river. In order to this, they were divided into three parties, who were to make their approaches by three different ways; one from Turnham-green, another from the lane leading to the Thames, and a third from the road leading through Brentford. One of these parties was to attack the king's guards in the front, and another in the rear; while ten or twelve of the most bloody and resolute were to assassinate his majesty, by firing their blunderbusses at him through the coach windows. It was also agreed, that when the bloody purpose was accomplished, the conspirators should form one body, and continue their route to Hammer-smith, where they were to divide into small parties of three or four, and make the best of their way for Dover.

Saturday the 15th of February was fixed for the murder of the king; but his majesty being indisposed, did not go abroad that day. This circumstance struck the assassins with dismay: they immediately concluded the conspiracy was discovered; but finding all remaining quiet, they again met, and agreed to be in readiness the Saturday following. Just as they were setting out, they received advice from two of their accomplices, that the guards were all come back in great haste, and that there was a whisper among the people, that a horrid plot was discovered. This news put the conspirators into the utmost consternation, and they immediately dispersed.

The method by which this conspiracy came to be discovered was as follows; captain Porter, the day before the scheme was to have been put in execution, related the whole affair to an intimate friend of his, named Pendergrafs, whom he solicited to be one of their number. Pendergrafs seemingly complied: but, struck with horror at the atrociousness of the crime, he instantly acquainted the earl of Portland with the scheme, and desired he might be introduced to his majesty, which being complied with, he fully made known to him all the particulars he knew of the conspiracy; and after many intreaties from the king, added to a solemn promise that he should not be produced as an evidence without his own consent, he gave his majesty a list of the assassins.

A proclamation was now issued for apprehending the conspirators, and most of them secured, but Berkeley found means to escape. Admiral Ruffel was ordered to Chatham, to hasten the fleet out to sea. The rendezvous was appointed in the Downs, to which place all the men of war then in the sea ports, were ordered to sail. This was accomplished with such expedition, that in a few days a fleet of fifty sail had assembled, with which the admiral stood over to the French coast. The enemy, astonished at his sudden appearance, retired with the utmost precipitation into their harbours; and James, perceiving that his design was defeated, returned, overwhelmed with despair, to St. Germans, where he passed the remainder of his life.

On the 24th of February the king went to the house of peers, and in a speech to both houses informed

* The necessity of amending our money at this time occasioned a debate, which ended in a resolution to proceed to a new assay by calling the diminished silver coin into the mint. The next point to be determined was, whether the new money of different denominations should retain the original value of the old, or the established standard be raised in value.

After several arguments for and against, the commons resolved that the established standard should be preserved with regard to weight and fineness, and that the loss arising from calling in the old money, which was calculated at two millions sterling, should be sustained by the public, and a fund settled for supplying the deficiency.

formed them of the conspiracy. The parliament, in a very affectionate and loyal address, congratulated him on the escape of his royal person from the designs of his enemies; declared their abhorrence of such villainous attempts; and solemnly promised to stand by and assist his majesty against all his enemies, open and private; and if he should come by a violent death, to revenge it on all the papists. They also drew up an association for the preservation of his majesty's person, which was signed by all the members of the house; and likewise by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London. The form of this association, which was carried to every part of the kingdom, and signed by all ranks of people, was as follows:

"Whereas there has been a horrid and detestable
"conspiracy, formed and carried on by the papists,
"and other wicked and traitorous persons, for as-
"sassinating his majesty's royal person, in order to
"encourage an invasion from France, to subvert
"our religion, laws and liberty: We, whose names
"are hereunto subscribed, do heartily, sincerely,
"and solemnly profess, testify and declare, that his
"present majesty, king William, is rightful and law-
"ful king of these realms. And we do mutually
"promise and engage to stand by and assist each
"other, to the utmost of our power, in the support
"and defence of his majesty's most sacred person and
"government, against the late king James, and all
"his adherents. And in case his majesty come to
"any violent, or untimely death (which God forbid)
"we do hereby further freely and unanimously oblige
"ourselves, to unite, associate, and stand by each
"other, in revenging the same upon his enemies, and
"their adherents; and in supporting and defending
"the succession of the crown, according to an act
"made in the first year of king William and queen
"Mary, entitled, *An act declaring the rights and li-
"berties of the subject, and settling the succession of
"the crown.*"

On the 11th of March, Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys, three of the conspirators, were brought from Newgate to their trials at the Old Bailey. The court indulged them with all the liberty they could wish to make their defence; notwithstanding which they were, on the fullest evidence, found guilty of high treason; and sentence being passed upon them, they were, on the 18th of March, hanged and quartered at Tyburn. Their execution was followed by that of several others of their accomplices: a proclamation was issued for apprehending lord Montgomery, and Sir John Fenwick, who were suspected of being principally concerned in the plot; and the earl of Aylesbury was committed to the Tower on the same suspicion.

On the 27th of April the king went to the house of peers, and closed the session with a speech, in which he thanked the parliament for the generous concern they had testified for his person, and the zealous attachment they had shewn to his government, and likewise for the large supplies they had granted him, desired they would preserve the public peace, and assist the lords justices while he was abroad. His majesty then gave the royal assent to several acts, after which the parliament was prorogued to the 16th of June.

The king embarked for Holland on the 5th of May, and two days after arrived at the Hague. Before his departure he appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord keeper Somers, and five others of the principal officers of state, lords justices for governing the nation during his absence.

The campaign was opened on the continent by the allies burning a prodigious magazine which had been laid up at Civet, for the use of the enemy. But

though the beginning was prosperous, and the campaign continued with the same animosity, the powers engaged in it were no longer capable of making the same efforts. Notwithstanding the ardour of William, the campaign in Flanders had no important events. Lewis XIV. less fortunate than before, was now desirous of peace. He accordingly dispatched M. de Callieras, as his ambassador to the states general, for settling such preliminaries as might serve as a basis for a treaty. The Dutch, with the consent of king William, listened to the proposal; and it was agreed to accept the mediation of the king of Sweden, which had already been offered by the baron Larocq, his ambassador at the Hague. Lewis, however, did not wholly depend upon negotiation; he made very advantageous offers to the duke of Savoy, which drew him off from the grand alliance.

This perfidious conduct of the duke greatly enraged the allies: his ministers, indeed, attempted to excuse it, by alledging, that it was absolutely necessary for him to embrace the offers of France, in order to prevent his own ruin; and that common prudence would not suffer him to let slip an opportunity of procuring such singular advantages to his own family.

The distresses of the army abroad was very great at this time, for want of their pay, occasioned by the calling in and reclaiming the money. The same calamity was also felt at home among the manufacturers, who were most of them idle, owing to the want of money, few masters being able to employ any workmen. An order of council was therefore issued in July, directing the justices of the peace to meet frequently in their respective divisions, in order to consult the most effectual means to relieve and support the poor, till a sufficient quantity of money could be issued to relieve the present scarcity. The attorney general was also ordered to prosecute all those who had entered into confederacies not to employ any workmen in the woollen and other manufactures during the present scarcity of coin.

The campaign in Catalonia, and on the Rhine was as barren of events as that in Flanders: the advantage, if any, was on the side of the allies, so that all the armies retired into winter quarters at the beginning of October.

The military operations abroad being concluded for the present year, William immediately embarked for England, and opened the session of parliament on the 20th of October. He told them, "that he thought it a great happiness that no disadvantage had happened abroad, nor any disorder at home during the last summer, considering the great disbursements in the funds, and the trouble that had attended receiving the money; that the business they had before them would be attended with great difficulty, if they were not only to provide for the exigencies of the ensuing year, but also to make good the deficiencies of the last." He observed, "that since peace had indeed been made, but he was not sure they would prove abortive; that the only way to procure an honourable peace was to treat boldly on one hand; and therefore the supplies for the ensuing year must, at least, be equal to those for the last year." He also pressed them to maintain the honour of parliament, by making good the funds they had granted. He reminded them of the civil bill and the petition of the protestants, and of making some further progress in remedying the difficulties relating to the national credit, for recovering the national credit.

The commons, in answer to this speech, addressed to his majesty, "That though this was the eighth year that they had assisted him with large supplies for carrying on this just and necessary war, they should be neither deterred nor diverted from their duty by the

aining, by war, a safe and honourable peace;" and concluded with declaring, "That they would continue to support his majesty against all his enemies, both at home and abroad."

They accordingly voted 5,000,000 for the sea and land service for the succeeding year; besides a supply for the civil list, and new funds for making good the deficiencies, and securing the public debts, which now amounted to near 12,000,000. Notwithstanding it was so very large, they pursued such vigorous measures, that they surmounted every difficulty, and placed the credit of the nation on a sure and solid basis.

This business being done, the commons took into consideration the case of Sir John Fenwick, one of the principal persons concerned in the late conspiracy for assassinating the king. He had been concealed in London from the time of the first discovery of the plot till the beginning of June this year, when he endeavoured to make his escape over to France, but was taken at Romney, on the coast of Kent, before he could get on shipboard; and, being brought to London, was committed to Newgate. Though his guilt was thoroughly proved, yet he could not be convicted, there being only one positive evidence that appeared against him. In consequence of this, after the most violent debates, a bill of attainder was passed by both houses, to which the royal assent being given, he received sentence of death. He was complimented with the axe, in consideration of his rank and of his alliance with the family of Howard, and suffered on Tower-hill, on the 28th of March following. He owned his loyalty to king James, and prayed for his restoration; but declared himself perfectly innocent of the intended assassination of king William, which he justly termed a most villainous project.

When the attention of the commons was disengaged from the affair of Sir John Fenwick, they proceeded to enact several laws for regulating the domestic economy of the nation; and, among others, passed an act for the more effectual relief of creditors in cases of escape, and for preventing abuses in prisons and pretended privileged places. Ever since the reformation, certain places in and about the city of London, which had been sanctuaries during the prevalence of the papists, afforded asylum to debtors, and were become receptacles of desperate persons, who set all law at defiance. One of these places, called White Friars, was filled with a set of ruffians, who every day committed acts of violence and outrage; but the law was so vigorously put in execution, that they were obliged to abandon the district, which was soon filled with more creditable inhabitants. The Mint, in Southwark, another of those infamous places, was likewise cleared of its dissolute tenants in the same manner.

In this session an act passed for the increase and encouragement of seamen, establishing a register of twenty thousand sailors, to be in readiness at all times, as the preamble sets forth, for supplying the royal navy, in consideration of a yearly premium of twenty shillings each. It enacts, that none but such registered seamen shall be capable of promotion to any commission or warrant offices in the royal navy: they shall have a double share or dividend for all prizes, more than non-registered seamen of equal rank; with other privileges as in that act set forth; and particularly, they were to have the sole right, when wounded or superannuated, of being admitted into the newly established hospital for seamen at Greenwich; or if killed in the service, then widows and children were to have the same admission. The law for registering seamen was unhappily repealed by an act of the ninth year of queen Anne; and although sundry schemes have since been set on

foot for the reviving such a register, yet so many objections have been started, that no law has as yet been framed for securing a body of seamen in readiness, in case of any sudden emergency, without having recourse to the cruel and unconstitutional practice of pressing.

On the 12th of December his majesty was pleased to nominate the earl of Pembroke lord privy-seal, viscount Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamson, to be his plenipotentiaries, to treat with those of the French king, with regard to a general peace, the preliminaries of which had been settled between M. de Calhieres and the States-general.

A. D. 1697. On the 16th of April the king went to the house of peers, and, after signing the bills that were ready, closed the session with a speech from the throne, in which he thanked them for the large supplies they had granted him; congratulated them on the success of their endeavours for restoring public credit; acquainted them with his intention of passing over to the continent; and begged they would carry with them into their respective counties the same loyal principles they had so conspicuously displayed in parliament.

William, having appointed a regency during his absence, embarked for Holland on the 26th of April, that he might be present to direct the negotiations for a general peace. The conferences were opened at Ryfwick on the 29th of May, and the negotiation proceeded with very little trouble. The demands of Spain (that France should restore all the conquests that had been made during the war) seemed the only difficulty. Lewis was therefore determined to exert all his force against that kingdom, in order to induce the Spanish plenipotentiaries to accept the offers of France. The city of Barcelona was accordingly besieged and taken by the duke de Vendome. De Pontis, a French commodore, was sent with a small fleet to the West Indies, where he took and plundered the town of Carthagena, and returned with an immense booty.

These successes tended greatly to hasten the conclusion of the treaty, which, after some controversies, was signed between England, France, Spain and Holland, on the 20th of September; and by the emperor on the 30th of October.

By this treaty Lewis gave up almost all his conquests. To Spain he restored Luxemburg, Mons, Aeth, Courtray, besides what he had taken in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees. To the Empire, Friburg, Brisac, Philipsburg, &c. And, lastly, he acknowledged the prince of Orange king of England.

Thus was William confirmed in his possession of the throne, while France abandoned all the fruits of her victories. Lewis submitted to these conditions more from policy than generosity. The burden of the war was become intolerable. The victors and the vanquished were equally weakened. It was absolutely necessary that the finances should be repaired, and the murmurings of the people finished. Lewis, after he had deluged Europe with blood to satisfy his ambition, was obliged to purchase peace at the expense of his conquests.

A short time after the signing of this treaty, William embarked for England, and was received by his subjects with the greatest demonstrations of joy. On the 3d of December, he opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne; wherein he observed, "That the war he had entered into by the advice of his people, was, by their assistance, brought to the end he had ever proposed a safe and honourable peace: that he was sorry, however, to acquaint them, that his subjects could not immediately find that relief from the peace they might expect, the funds having fallen

fallen short, and there remaining so great a debt to the navy and army, besides what was wanting to support the civil list. He observed, that the navy was increased almost double since his accession, and could not be supported without a proportional increase of money; and he believed they would agree with him in allowing, that the chief strength of England must ever consist in a powerful navy: that, considering the state of affairs abroad, he was of opinion, that the kingdom could not be safe without a land force. He promised to rectify whatever abuses might have crept into any part of the administration during the war, and effectually to discourage prophaneness and immorality. He expressed his satisfaction with the proofs his people had given him of their loyalty and attachment to his person; and concluded with declaring, "That as he had, at the hazard of his life, rescued their religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremest danger; so he should place the chief glory of his reign in preserving and leaving them entire to posterity."

The parliament, in their address, complimented the king on the peace; and assured him, "That they would be always ready to support his majesty, who had confirmed them in the quiet possession of their rights and liberties; and, by putting an end to the war, fully compleated their deliverance."

Notwithstanding, however, these congratulations and compliments, the parliament opposed his majesty's designs. This politic and warlike prince was desirous of establishing a standing army, which could not fail of rendering him respectable both at home and abroad. The conduct of Lewis, who still retained a considerable part of his army, seemed to lay the other powers under a necessity of doing the same. This was a very plausible reason, and adopted by several of the members; but the majority was alarmed at the king's proposal. It had an apparent tendency to establish despotism on the ruins of the constitution. They were persuaded the nation would soon lose its privileges, and the people their liberties, if mercenary troops were at the command of the government. "This custom," said they, "being once established, will become a maxim of state; and elections, parliaments, every thing will depend upon the caprice of the court. Is not the kingdom sufficiently defended by the ocean that surrounds it? May not the militia be established and regularly exercised? And will not such men be more zealous in the defence of their country than mercenaries? Will not these with a formidable fleet be a sufficient security against any invasion?" These arguments seemed unanswerable, and prevailed with the majority. Ten thousand only of the land forces were retained; and three thousand added to the navy.

William was so highly offended with this resolution of the commons, from a persuasion that they suspected he had formed designs against their liberties, that he declared he would have had nothing to do with the government, if he could have suspected the parliament would have been guilty of so much distrust and ingratitude.

A. D. 1698. On the 14th of January, the king went to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to the two following bills, viz. An Act for calling in the hammered silver money to be recoined, and another to prevent correspondence with king James and his adherents.

These bills being passed, the commons applied themselves assiduously to the discovery of means for the discharge of the public debt. The necessary supplies amounted to near five millions sterling; and it required all their wisdom to raise so large a sum, after the nation had been impoverished by the late war. The East India company offered to advance seven

hundred thousand pounds for the service of the public, at the rate of four per cent. interest, provided the legislature would settle on them the exclusive trade to India. This offer was favourably received by the ministry, and would, in all probability, have been accepted, had not another company of merchants made more advantageous proposals. They offered to lend the government 2,000,000 on the same terms. They also proposed that their subscribers should not be obliged to trade in a joint stock; but if any number of their members desired to be incorporated, a charter should be granted them for that purpose. The last proposal was thought the most eligible, and it was accordingly brought into parliament, and passed the commons; but on its being sent up to the lords, the old company petitioned the house, and were heard by their council against the bill. They alleged, "that the company had actually acquired, at their expence, revenues at Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Bombay, as well as in Persia, and other parts, amounting to 44,000 pounds per annum, arising from customs and licences for a great number of particulars: that they had also erected forts and settlements, and procured settlements in the island of Sumatra, and on the coast of Malabar, without which the pepper-trade must have been actually lost to England: that they had also a strong fort in the kingdom of Bengal, and also many factories, buildings and settlements in various other parts, having purchased at high rates, of the Indian princes, many valuable privileges and immunities: that they were encouraged to do this from a presumption that their rights and inheritance would always be objects of the nation's care: that since this bill had been brought into parliament, the company had agreed to submit their present stock to a valuation of 50 per cent. viz. 20 per cent. for their dead stock, namely their forts, factories and lands, and 30 per cent. for their quick stock, which they were content even to warrant at that rate: and upon these terms the company likewise offered to raise a subscription of 2,000,000."

In answer to this, it was observed by the council for the new subscribers, "That the old company, in reciting their charters, had forgot to mention the privileges they contained, the kings of England, who granted them, having reserved to themselves a discretionary power to make them void on three years warning: that the king could not grant the trade exclusive of all others, by his charter alone, it being directly contrary to positive laws; nor had his present majesty in fact granted any such exclusive right: that several recoveries had been made at law against the company for prosecuting such pretended rights: that his majesty's message to the commons in November 1692, plainly signified that the concurrence of parliament was necessary for making a complete and well settled settlement of this trade: that the company's managers, in order to obtain their last new charter and extensions, had made no scruple of having recourse to the indirect methods of bribery and corruption: that it was never esteemed a breach of public faith, nor a derogation from the authority of the great seal, or from the honour of our kings, to have their patents annulled by parliament, when it appeared that the grants were either unprofitable, or contrary to the common rights of the subject; neither did any of our kings think themselves bound in honour or conscience to refuse passing an act of parliament for the annulling of such grants: that moreover, many persons had been often deceived by such grants, they had even frequently been annulled by the common law."

On the other hand it was replied, and on the behalf of the old company, "That the proposal would ruin many families, widows, and orphans, who had

greatly affected by the bill now depending, which they said made no provision for a determined stock; so that it may hereafter happen that the trade may be lost to the nation for want of a sufficient capital to carry it on; it appearing, by thirty years experience, that it requires at least 600,000 pounds a year to carry it on in its full extent: that by this bill the new subscribers were permitted to trade during the three years, as well as the company, which is directly contrary to the charter, will create great confusion, and render the said three years allowed the old company of no benefit, because they are still bound to export to the value of 100,000 pounds annually in our own manufactures, though the new subscribers are under no such obligations: that the old company are besides obliged to pay taxes to keep up forts, factories, &c. while the new subscribers are to have an equal benefit of the trade without either: that since the last subscription the company has lost, either by accidents, or the calamities of war, twelve large ships, which, with their cargoes, would have sold for near a million and a half sterling; and yet, notwithstanding such losses, they have paid in customs since that period 295,000 pounds, besides 85,000 in taxes: that they had, moreover, supplied his majesty in Holland, on a very pressing occasion, with 6000 barrels of gunpowder; and had also, at a time of great extremity, advanced 80,000 pounds for circulating exchequer bills at the instance of the treasury; and that many hundred families have their whole fortunes depending in the stock of the present company, who must be utterly ruined if this bill takes effect."

Notwithstanding the forcibility of these arguments, it had passed the lords in favour of the new company, without paying any regard to antient charters, or the fortunes of a multitude of families. They received their charter on the 3d of September; and on the 5th his majesty incorporated them as one joint-stock exclusive company, trading to the East-Indies.

The disquisitions of the parliament were not wholly confined to the commercial state of the nation; they exerted themselves nobly to prevent that corruption of manners which was every day gaining ground in the kingdom. Persuaded that unless care be taken to keep the people's morals from being tainted, wealth and power will only become the sources of poison; that the vices of the citizens are infectious to the body politic; that a state without virtue has almost as many enemies as subjects; and that its grandeur is a preface of its ruin: they presented an address to his majesty, in which they enumerated the excessive irregularities that prevailed, and were daily increasing, and requested him to issue orders to the magistrates to put the laws in force against impiety and debauchery. Their address was very favourably received. The king promised to attempt, without delay, the reformation of manners, and testified his zeal for the suppression of impious books, which usually corrupt at once both the heart and the understanding. Measures of this nature, however laudable, however necessary in themselves, are seldom executed. A society for the reformation of manners, under the direction of his majesty, was established; the members of which engaged to inform the magistrates of all disorders and vices as came within their knowledge. The fines imposed were destined for the use of the poor. A number of ecclesiastics were to be employed by public lectures; and a liberal provision made for their maintenance.

While the parliament was laudably employed in these ways and means for raising the necessary supplies, and endeavouring to stop the progress of vice and immorality, Peter Alexowitz, czar of Muscovy, well known by the appellation of Peter the Great, visited this kingdom. Having formed the

noble design of civilizing his barbarous subjects, of introducing the arts and sciences among them, and of rendering the forces of his empire by sea and land equal to those of his politer neighbours, he travelled through most countries in Europe to gain instruction. He was particularly desirous of establishing a marine, and of having a respectable fleet in the Baltic; and therefore his principal intention was to learn the art of ship-building. In the summer of the preceding year he sent an embassy to Holland, to regulate some points of commerce with the States-general, and accompanied his ambassadors disguised as one of their retinue. While he was on this tour he discovered himself to king William, and had a private interview with that prince at Utrecht, and in consequence of his invitation he now visited England. He staid here above three months, during which time he was lodged and entertained with all the magnificence possible for a prince, who chose to remain unknown. He passed his time here, as he had done in Holland, in examining the dock-yards, and improving himself in the art of ship-building; to attain which he worked several hours every day as a common shipwright, in the royal yard at Deptford. At his departure William made him several magnificent presents; and particularly the yacht in which he himself used to pass over to Holland. She was a very beautiful vessel, finely adorned, and called the Royal Transport. And it being thought absolutely necessary to gain his friendship, he was allowed to engage several English artificers in his service; and to take two of the scholars from Christchurch hospital; and these afterwards laid the foundation of the marine academy at Peterburgh.

The Spanish monarch, Charles II. had long been in a very declining state, and having no issue, the consequence that might attend his large dominions passing either into the Bourbon family, or that of Austria, alarmed all Europe. William passed over to the continent, where he negotiated a treaty with Lewis XIV. for the division of the Spanish monarchy. By this treaty the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the province of Guipulcoa, and several other places dependent on Spain, were destined to the dauphin; the Milanese to the archduke, Charles II. son to the emperor; and the rest to the young prince of Bavaria, who was about eight years of age. But the latter dying soon after the treaty was agreed to, a new one was made, in which Bavaria was assigned to the archduke; Lorraine added to the possessions of the dauphin; and Milan given to the duke of Lorraine.

Having finished this business on the continent, William returned to England, and on the 3d of December opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne; wherein he strongly recommended to them the keeping up such a force, as might preserve that weight and influence they at present enjoyed in the affairs of the continent; and their making a farther progress in discharging the national debt contracted by the war. He concluded with recommending three popular subjects to their particular attention: the making provision for the poor; the advancement of trade; and the discouraging vice and prophaneness. It is remarkable that in this speech William made no mention of the partition treaty he had so lately concluded abroad, and which afterwards so greatly excited the attention of the kingdom. This was indistinctly concealed both from the parliament and the privy council. Probably he suspected the sincerity of Lewis, and therefore thought it extremely necessary too keep a good body of troops in readiness to compel the French monarch to observe the late treaty in case of the king of Spain's death.

The parliament, ignorant of the partition treaty, and of the necessity of keeping a large body of troops

in pay, immediately took that part of the king's speech into consideration. William, when he passed over to Holland, had left orders with the ministry to retain 16,000 men in the service, notwithstanding the vote of the commons, by which the army was limited to 10,000. This arbitrary act so irritated the new parliament, that they resolved to oppose the king in all his demands. They accordingly came immediately to the following resolution, "That all the land forces in English pay, exceeding 7000 men, and these his majesty's natural born subjects, be forthwith paid off and disbanded; and that all the forces in Ireland, exceeding 12,000 men, all his majesty's natural born subjects, be likewise forthwith disbanded and paid off." This resolution being passed, a bill was ordered in, and soon passed both houses; in consequence of which not only the French protestant regiments, but even the king's favourite Dutch guards were to be removed out of the British dominions.

A. D. 1699. William was highly exasperated at the proceedings of the parliament. Their jealousy so deeply affected him, that he actually formed a resolution of abandoning the government, and had even composed a speech which he intended to have delivered on that occasion; but was diverted from his rash design by his most intimate friends; and at last persuaded to give the royal assent to the bill for reducing the army.

Accordingly, on the 2d of February he went to the house of peers, and addressed himself to the parliament in the following manner: "I am come to pass the bill for disbanding the forces as soon as I knew it was ready for my assent. Though the reduction of the army to so inconsiderable a number may, in our present circumstances, be attended with the most fatal consequences; and though I might justly complain of the harsh treatment I have received in being deprived of those guards who accompanied me into this kingdom, and have constantly attended me in all my fortunes, yet as I am convinced that nothing can be more prejudicial to our common interest, than to suffer any jealousy or misunderstanding to arise between me and my people, I am firmly resolved to comply with your request. Nevertheless, after having thus assigned my reasons for passing this bill, I must likewise in discharge of the trust you have reposed in me, declare, that, in my opinion, the nation is left too naked and defenceless; it is your duty, therefore, to take this matter into your consideration, and immediately to provide such a strength as may be deemed necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of that peace we have so lately obtained."

But notwithstanding the king had passed the bill for disbanding the army, he was very unwilling to part with his guards, and accordingly sent a message to the commons, informing them, "that the necessary preparations were made for transporting the guards who came with him into England, and that he intended to send them away immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the commons could find out some way to continue them longer in his service, which his majesty would take very kindly." But the commons were inexorable. They reminded him of his former promise to dismiss all foreign troops. The happiness of the kingdom, they added, depended on the mutual confidence of the prince and the people. That this confidence required him to intrust the care of his sacred person to his subjects.

Finding it would be in vain to contend with the commons, William yielded to necessity, and the Dutch guards were transported to Holland. It must be owned that the behaviour of the lower house with regard to the Dutch guards strongly indicated that they were rather inspired with the spirit of ferocious obstinacy than genuine patriotism. William was persuaded of

this, and took no pains to disguise his sentiments. "Had I as many places to bestow," said he one day to the earl of Sunderland, "as there are members in the house of commons, I should not know what it was to have my will disputed."

There being several bills ready for the royal assent the king went to the house of peers on the 4th of May, and after signing them, put an end to the session with a speech from the throne, in which he told them, "that having sat so many months, the leisure of the year, as well as their own particular affairs made it reasonable they should enjoy a recess; that he took it for granted they had finished all the bills they thought necessary, and he had given his assent to all they had presented to him; that if any thing else was wanting to their safety, the security of the public credit, the discharge of the national debt, the advancement of trade, the suppression of vice, and the employment of the poor, the things he proposed to them at their meeting, he did not doubt but effectual care would be taken of them next winter; and wished no inconveniency might happen in the interval."

The Spanish monarch Charles II. who was so stranger to the late treaty of partition between William and Lewis, highly resented their usurping a power to dispose of his dominions without his consent. He determined therefore to make a will in favour of the archduke, second son to Leopold the reigning emperor. The queen of Spain allowed her utmost endeavours to give the crown to that young prince, to whom she was so nearly related. She accordingly new modelled the council bestowed the government of Milan upon prince Vaudemont; appointed the prince of Hesse Darmstadt viceroy of Catalonia, and carried the sick king to Toledo under pretence that the air there was much more wholesome than that of Madrid.

But all these measures were rendered abortive by the indiscreet and imperious conduct of the court of Vienna. Charles now altered his mind, and determined not to make a will in favour of the archduke. On the other hand the marquis d'Harcourt, ambassador of Lewis XIV. managed the Spaniards with more dexterity and address. Their inveterate antipathy to France decreased every day. The grandes were as unwilling as their master to dismember the monarchy: and France alone seemed capable of preventing an incident so destructive to the honour and power of their country. They advised Charles therefore to give the preference to a prince of that nation. Pope Innocent XII. who then filled the papal chair, was consulted on this interesting subject, and approved the measure, as agreeable to the laws of Spain, and the interest of religion.

The French monarch, ignorant of this rebellion in favour of his family, caused 60,000 of his best troops to advance towards Catalonia, while a great number of ships and gallees cruized along the coast and entered the Spanish harbours. It was now absolutely necessary for some measures to be taken, and the dying monarch sacrificed the interests of his family to those of his kingdom: he nominated the duke of Anjou, youngest son to the dauphin, to his dominions, with this proviso, however, that the two crowns of France and Spain should never be united.

The parliament meeting on the 16th of November the king opened the session with a speech from the throne, wherein he observed, "That his calling them together so early was owing to an absolute necessity of making some farther provision for the security of the kingdom by sea and land; and recommending particularly the repairing the royal navy and improving the harbours." He reminded them all of the

good the deficiencies of the funds, discharging the national debt, and providing supplies for the ensuing year. He told them, he hoped that the nation was already convinced of the good effects of the peace, by the evident increase of their trade, which he should use his utmost endeavours to promote and encourage; that he thought, however, it might receive a farther advantage, by passing a bill for punishing the unlawful and clandestine running of goods; and by employing the poor, who were become a burden to the nation: he declared himself to be fully assured of the love and affections of his people, which he should endeavour to preserve, by maintaining their rights and liberties, by supporting the established religion, by dispensing justice with clemency and impartiality, by countenancing virtue and discouraging vice, and by declining no difficulties or dangers to promote their welfare and prosperity." Having particularly declared his intentions, he concluded his speech in the following manner: "Since, therefore, our aims are only for the public good, let us act with confidence in one another, which will not fail, with God's blessing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flourishing people."

Though this speech was certainly of the most kind and tender nature, yet it gave high offence to the commons. The spirit of party magnifies every thing. The expression of "acting with confidence in each other," was construed into an implication of a distrust, or want of confidence in them, and they determined to resent it. They accordingly returned no address of thanks: but, on the 4th of December, presented what may be considered as a remonstrance; in which they declared, "That being highly sensible nothing was more necessary for the peace and welfare of the kingdom, the quieting of the minds of the people, and the disappointing the designs of their enemies, than a mutual and entire confidence between his majesty and his parliament, they esteemed it their greatest misfortune, that, after having so amply provided for the security of his majesty and his government, any jealousy or distrust had been raised of their duty and affection: and, at the same time, begged leave to represent, that it would greatly conduce to the continuing and establishing an entire confidence between his majesty and his parliament, if he would be pleased to shew marks of his high displeasure towards such persons as should presume to misrepresent their proceedings to his majesty; and they should, on their part, discourage all false rumours and reports reflecting on his majesty and his government, whereby any misunderstandings might be created between him and his subjects."

Altogether at this representation, the king replied, "That no person had ever yet dared to misrepresent the proceedings of either house; and if they had, he would immediately have felt the highest marks of his displeasure: and that he took very kindly the advance they gave him of discouraging all false rumours and reports reflecting on himself and his government."

These proceedings were ill calculated to produce the harmony so necessary between the different branches of the legislature, for rendering the nation respectable abroad, and happy at home. The commons did every thing in their power to mortify the king, and William gave them, in return, many indications of his resentment. They passed a bill of disqualification, whereby the estates in Ireland he had given to his favourites were taken from them, and became again the property of the crown. But not satisfied with this victory, they proceeded to such lengths in their career, that they came at length to address his majesty, that no person

who was not a native of his dominions, except the prince of Denmark, should be admitted into his councils of England or Ireland. But before this address could be presented, the king came to the house of peers; and, after giving the royal assent to such bills as were ready, put an end to the session.

A. D. 1700. During the ill-humour that subsisted between the king and the house of commons, Charles II. of Spain paid the debt of nature. The death of this prince, who left no issue, seemed to threaten the balance of power in Europe. Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold, were related to him in the same degree; and the renunciation of Maria Teresa of Austria, wife to Lewis, and the eldest daughter to Philip III. appeared to the enemies of France an engagement of very little weight. Nor was this of any great consequence, because the balance of power would be equally destroyed, whether Leopold or Lewis obtained the succession. This was the true motive that induced William to sign the treaty of partition, which, it was apprehended, would prevent a general war, as well as the two contending monarchs from becoming too powerful for the other princes of Europe. He was mistaken: the emperor refused to accede to the treaty; and it appeared, on the death of Charles, that he had bequeathed his dominions to the duke of Anjou.

Lewis, for some time, hesitated whether he should accept the bequest or not, from the prospect of a war more formidable than any in which he had hitherto been engaged. But ambition soon decided in favour of the will. He, however, thought it necessary to justify his conduct to the king of England, and the States-general. In order to this, he represented, that the treaty of partition had occasioned great and general complaints; that it was absolutely impracticable to carry it into execution; and that, in renouncing this treaty, he made large sacrifices to peace and the public good, having abandoned Sicily, Naples, and several other territories which France was to have enjoyed. But those arguments were by no means solid, and the known ambition of the house of Bourbon gave great uneasiness to the powers of Europe. The States-general, for some time, refused to acknowledge the duke of Anjou king of Spain; but being in no condition to oppose the progress of Lewis, should he attempt to invade their territories, they made a virtue of necessity, by acknowledging that prince king of Spain, under the title of Philip V. William dissimbled his intentions; and considering himself as destined to hold the balance of power, which was now on the point of being destroyed by the ambition of the house of Bourbon, he resolved, if possible, to form a new league, for rendering their alarming attempts abortive.

William had met with so many mortifications during the last parliament, that he determined now to make a change in the ministry. He accordingly gave his confidence to the earl of Rochester, who was at the head of the Tories, and who undertook that the whole party should exert all their power to support the measures adopted by his majesty. That nobleman was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland; the privy seal was given to the earl of Tankerville; Sir Charles Hedges was made secretary of state; lord Godolphin appointed first commissioner of the treasury; and the management of the commons intrusted to Mr. Robert Harley, who had hitherto opposed the court with great warmth and ability.

The new ministry, however, soon found that they had not sufficient weight of interest to carry the points they intended in the present parliament, which stood prorogued to the 15th of January. They therefore persuaded his majesty to dissolve it, and call a new

a new one; which was accordingly done, and the members appointed to meet on the 6th of February following.

In the mean time the Scottish parliament passed the following resolution: "That in memory of the great, and never to be forgotten, deliverance, which it had pleased God to give that kingdom, by means of his majesty; and upon the preservation of whose life their safety and happiness, under God, depended; they would stand by and support his majesty and his government to the utmost of their power, and maintain such a number of forces as should be necessary for obtaining such salutary ends." Accordingly an act passed for keeping on foot a body of three thousand men till the first of December 1702, and another for a land-tax to maintain these troops. These acts being passed, the commissioner produced the king's letter, wherein his majesty desired that he might have eleven hundred men on his own account till the first of June following, which the parliament readily granted.

A. D. 1701. The usual means of corruption had been exerted in electing the members for the new parliament; and venality prevailed so far, that the Tories had a very considerable majority in the house of Commons. They met, according to appointment, on the 6th of February, but were prorogued to the 10th, when Mr. Harley was chosen speaker; and the next day the king went to the house of peers, and opened the session with a speech from the throne. He observed that the death of the king of Spain, together with the declaration he had made with regard to his successor, had occasioned such an alteration in the affairs abroad, that it required their particular attention; and that he did not doubt but their resolutions thereupon would be such as should most conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the tranquillity of Europe. He requested supplies for the current year, and put them in mind of the deficiencies and public debts which were yet unprovided for; and at the same time recommended to them, the putting the royal navy into a respectable condition, and fortifying the sea coasts. And as the duke of Gloucester, the only remaining child of the princess of Denmark, had lately paid the debt of nature, he observed there was now an absolute necessity for their making a farther provision for the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and therefore recommended it to their early and serious consideration. He also recommended the improvement of trade and making provision for the poor, and concluded with exhorting them to proceed in their resolution, with such vigour and unanimity, as would convince the world that they were united among themselves, than which he observed, nothing could contribute more to preserve tranquillity at home, and render the nation respected abroad.

In compliance with his majesty's request, the commons, after providing for the credit of the exchequer-bills, took into consideration the great object of settling the succession to the crown. This produced long debates, on the close of which it was resolved, that, in order to exclude every catholic prince from the succession, the heir should be of the church of England; that if he were a foreigner, the nation should not engage, without consent of parliament, in any war for the defence of the dominions he might possess out of the kingdom; that he should not leave England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the same consent; that when this act of limitation should take effect, no foreigner, though a naturalized inhabitant, unless of English extraction, should be admitted into the council, become a member of either house, or obtain, by a grant from the crown, any lands or inheritance; that whoever should hold any

pension or lucrative employment under the king, should be incapable of sitting in the house of commons; and that a pardon, under the great seal, should be of no effect against an impeachment of the house. Having voted these regulations, which greatly restrained the prerogative, and implied a severe censure on the present government, it was resolved that the princess Sophia, dutchess-dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter to James I. was the next heir in the protestant line, after the respective descendants of the king and the princess of Denmark. A bill was ordered to be brought in on these resolutions; and, after passing both houses, received the royal assent.

This business being done, the next object of importance that engaged the attention of parliament was, the partition treaty lately signed by his majesty. The commons were so far from approving of the king's proceedings on this head, that they condemned them with the greatest asperity. They complained loudly of its having been signed without consent of parliament; and observed not even common decency in their debates. Sir Edward Seymour compared the division which had been made to the Spanish territories, to the distribution that highwaymen make of their booty; and Mr. Howe had even the insolence to call it a felonious treaty; an expression which so highly incensed the king, that he is reported to have said, he would have demanded personal satisfaction with his sword, had he not been restrained by the disparity of condition between himself and the person who had offered so outrageous an insult to his honour.

The lords also were far from approving of the treaty, but their debates were guided by prudence and discretion. They examined its tendency with candour, and then represented it, in an address to the king, as incompatible both with the interest of England and the safety of Europe. They prayed his majesty to be advised by his own subjects, and place his confidence in them rather than in strangers. They added, that since the French king's accepting the will of Charles II. was a manifest violation of the treaty, they humbly advised his majesty, in future treaties with that prince, to proceed with such caution as might carry a real security.

The king was highly offended at this address; but he thought proper to dissemble his resentment, and only returned for answer, "That their address contained matter of very great moment; and he would always take care that all treaties he made should be for the honour and safety of England."

Lewis XIV. having embraced the will of Charles II. made great preparations for supporting the claim of Anjou on the Spanish throne; and refused to grant any other security, than that of renewing the peace of Rylwick. This refusal being communicated to the parliament, both houses resolved to request his majesty would concert measures with the states general for putting a stop to the designs of France on the Netherlands; assuring him they would always be ready to enable him to fulfil the conditions of the treaty subsisting between England and Holland.

The king thanked both houses for the assistance they had given him, and said, he did not doubt but the readiness they had shewn on this occasion would greatly contribute to the procuring such a treaty as they desired. But he was far from approving of the address, as it implied their disapprobation of a new confederacy, which he was very desirous of forming. They seemed to limit their assistance to the carrying a new barrier in the Netherlands, without entering into a war for the recovery of the kingdom of Spain. He therefore thought it most prudent to acknowledge the duke of Anjou's title to that crown, and to congratulate him on his accession.

The emperor, exasperated at this incident, complained that he was abandoned by his allies at the very time he stood most in need of their assistance. He, however, determined to assert his right by force of arms; and accordingly sent prince Eugene into Italy, at the head of an army, to take possession of the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire.

During these transactions d'Avaux, the French ambassador, employed every artifice to persuade the states of the cordial kindness of his master towards them. But the Dutch had too dearly experienced the French monarch's pretended love to their republic, to be easily persuaded of the truth of his professions; and therefore wisely exerted themselves in providing for their own security, by reinforcing their garrisons, and soliciting succours from foreign powers. They also wrote a letter to king William, in which they expressed the most sincere zeal for the interest of England, and earnestly pressed that the stipulated number of troops should be immediately sent to their assistance. Accordingly the Scottish regiments, which the king had retained in his own pay, were directly sent them from Scotland. At the same time the king communicated the letter of the states-general to the house of commons, who, having taken into consideration, came to the following resolution, "that they would effectually assist his majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberties of Europe, and immediately provide the stipulated succours for the states-general."

The peers went still farther: they addressed the king in a very warm, affectionate manner; requesting that his majesty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the states-general, but that he would enter into a league offensive and defensive with them for their common preservation, and invite into it all princes and states that were concerned in the visible danger arising from the union of France with Spain. They also exhorted him to enter into such alliances with the emperor as his majesty should think prudent: assuring him of their resolution to assist him in the most effectual manner.

But notwithstanding both houses had declared their resolutions to support his majesty, they determined to shew their displeasure against the partition treaty. The earls of Portland and Oxford, the lords Somers and Halifax, by whose advice the treaty was supposed to have been concluded, were impeached by the commons; but the upper house declared the impeachments null and void. This exasperated the commons, and the most alarming animosities between the two houses succeeded.

As the Tories were now become obnoxious to the people, the Whigs determined to exert their whole strength against them. They openly charged them with being pensioners to the French king, whose interests they espoused on all occasions. They represented them as implacable enemies to the present government, and that all their views and actions tended directly to the restoration of the abdicated king and his family. They even endeavoured to procure petitions from the city of London, and several of the principal counties of England, to express their approbation of the proceedings of the commons, and the present ministry; flattering themselves with being able by that means, to procure a revolution in favour of their own party. They, however, failed in this; the county of Kent alone could be prevailed upon to send up a petition to parliament; the material parts of which were as follow:

"We, the gentlemen, justices of the peace, grand jurors, and other freeholders, at the general quarter sessions of the peace at Maidstone in Kent, deeply affected at the dangerous estate of this kingdom, and considering that the fate of Europe, and consequently the liberty and safety of our country, depends upon the wisdom of

our representatives in parliament; think ourselves bound in duty humbly to lay before this honourable house the consequences, in this conjuncture, of your speedy resolutions and most sincere endeavours to answer the great trust reposed in you by our country.

"And in regard that, from the experience of all ages, it is manifest that no nation can be great or happy without union; we hope that no pretence whatever shall be able to create a misunderstanding among ourselves, or the least distrust of his most sacred majesty, whose great actions for this kingdom are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never, without the blackest ingratitude, be forgot.

"We most humbly implore this honourable house to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be effectually provided for; that your royal addresses may be turned into bills of supply; and that his most sacred majesty, whose propitious and unblemished reign over us we pray God long to continue, may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late."

This petition, which was signed by the deputy-lieutenants of the county, several justices of the peace, and all the grand jury and other freeholders, was boldly delivered to the house of commons by David Polhill, William Colepepper, Thomas Colepepper, Justinian Champney, and William Hamilton, Esqrs. The house was immediately in a flame: the petition was voted to be a scandalous, insolent, and seditious libel, calculated to destroy the constitution of parliaments and to subvert the established government of these kingdoms. It was, at the same time ordered, that the five persons who had presented it to the house should be taken into custody.

This tyrannical exertion of power raised a great ferment in the nation, and the most indecent reflections were published against the Tories. Among the rest a memorial appeared, signed Legion, against the house. "The English (said the memorialists) ought no more to be slaves to the parliament, than to the king." They promised to second him in all his measures, to set bounds to the exorbitant power of France; and concluded with this remarkable sentence, "Our name is Legion, and we are many."

These complaints of the people were far from being prejudicial to the king. The commons saw their error, and instantly altered their measures. They presented an address to his majesty, wherein they declared they would support him to the utmost; and desired him to engage in such alliances with the emperor, and other powers, as he should think necessary for bridling the exorbitant power of France, and maintaining the independency of Europe. They voted the sum of 1,500,000*l.* for the public expences, 30,000 seamen, and that 10,000 troops should be sent immediately to the assistance of the states-general.

The misunderstanding, however, between the two houses still continued so great, that it was thought proper to put an end to the session of parliament. Accordingly on the 24th of June the king went to the house of peers, and the commons being sent for, they attended with their speaker, who, on presenting the money-bills, addressed his majesty as follows:

"Sir, it is with great joy and satisfaction that I attend your majesty at this time, since your commons have complied with all your majesty was pleased to desire at their meeting. They have passed the bill of succession, which has settled the crown in the protestant line, and continued the liberty of England, which your majesty hath tested and preserved. They have passed a bill for taking away those privileges which might have proved burdensome and oppressive to your subjects. They have given your majesty those

those supplies, which are more than ever were given in a time of peace, to enable your majesty, when you are abroad, to support your allies, procure either a lasting peace, or to preserve the liberties of Europe by a necessary war."

After his majesty had given the royal assent to several acts, he closed the session with a speech, in which he returned both houses thanks for the great zeal they had expressed for the public service, and their ready compliance with what he recommended to them at the opening of the parliament; and particularly thanked the commons for the supplies, and for the encouragement they had given him to enter into alliances for the preservation of Europe.

William having given the command of the 10,000 auxiliaries, voted by the commons for the service of the states-general, to the earl of Marlborough; placed the earl of Pembroke at the head of the admiralty; appointed Sir George Rooke to command the fleet; settled the regency and other matters relating to domestic government, he embarked for Holland on the 1st of July. Immediately on his arrival at the Hague, he assisted at an assembly of the states-general, whom he addressed in a most affectionate speech, wherein he assured them, "that he always came into that country with joy, but more so in this dangerous conjuncture, because he foresaw his presence would be necessary for the service of the state: that he hoped to have passed the rest of his days in repose and peace, and to have left that state in a flourishing condition; but there had happened such great alterations in the affairs of Europe, that he knew not what might be consequences: that he could, however, assure their high mightinesses, whether things were accommodated amicably, or whether they should be obliged to have recourse to arms, he persisted in the same zeal he ever had for their service and prosperity: and that he could farther assure them the whole English nation was ready to assist the states, and strongly to contribute towards their defence, and to whatever might tend to the common security."

The States, in their answer, which was equally affectionate, told his majesty, "That they could not omit to thank him for his assurances, not only in his own, but in the name of the English nation, in favour of themselves and the common cause, well knowing how much they might rely upon a people whose courage had gained so much reputation in the world, and were always of opinion that their interests were inseparable from those of England."

William now spent some time in reviewing the frontier garrisons of the states, and gave such orders as he judged necessary for the better defence and security of the country. When he returned to the Hague, he was informed that the count d'Avaux, the French ambassador, had delivered a letter from Lewis to the states, accompanied with a memorial of his own, to notify his being called home by his master, and wherein he observed, "that the ties between their high mightinesses and the king of England were too strict, and they had too well made known their blind submission to the sentiments of that monarch; and no doubt but that they had already taken a resolution to make the same declaration to the most christian king's ambassador."

On the 1st of August the states general returned a very spirited answer to this memorial, wherein they said, "that they could not comprehend, why the effect of the union between them and the king of Great Britain should be rather war than peace, since his Britannic majesty on all occasions had given sufficient proofs of his inclination to peace: that they did not blindly follow the king of Great Britain's sentiments, but had the utmost deference for his advice; tho' they acknowledged themselves to be strictly

united to him by alliances contracted many years before for their mutual security: that he was one of the chief parties in the partition treaty; and that he had declared, previous to their entering on negotiations, that they thought his consent necessary both with regard to those reasons and his relation with the republic".

Soon after this a treaty was signed between the emperor England and Holland, against France, covering the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria; and for the security of England and Holland, regard to their commerce and navigation, and on the succession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, as well as a safe barrier to the state.

Every method was now made use of, both by France and the allies, for increasing their forces by sea and land; but, perhaps, a declaration of war might have been some time farther off, had no accident happened which hastened the crisis. James II. paid the debt of nature at St. Germain, on the 16th of September, in the 68th year of his age, and the 15th of his exile. In consequence of this, a question was started in the French council, what should be taken with regard to his son. Lewis was inclined to give him the same titles his father had borne; but the ministry advised their master to remain passive, and suffer him to assume what he pleased. They enforced their advice with reasons of sound policy, that Lewis retained no obligation to acknowledge the son of James II. as king. On the same day, however, Mary of Modena, widow of the deceased king, went to Madam de Maintenon's apartment to speak to the French king. She found him there, and with a flood of tears, conjured him not to treat her son, herself, and the memory of the king he had protected, with so much magnanimity, as to refuse a title the only remains of their former greatness. She observed, that as her son always acted the honours of prince of Wales, he ought to be treated as king after the death of his father, and that if William himself could not complain of this, provided he was left to enjoy the throne of which he had been deprived. She then observed, that whether he acknowledged the son of James or not, the world would, nevertheless, declare war against France, and that he would only feel the regret of having sacrificed the most noble sentiments to a fruitless precaution. The entreaties of the royal widow were powerfully seconded by Madam de Maintenon. Lewis, losing his former sentiments, and James's son was proclaimed king of England, Scotland, and Wales by the title of James III. and this title was soon recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope.

As soon as William was informed of this declaration, he dispatched a courier to the king of France, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryswick, to notify him of this manifest violation of that treaty. At the same time he recalled his ambassador, the earl of Marlborough, from Paris, with orders to return without delay, and M. Poullin, the French ambassador, was told to depart the kingdom.

It was in vain that Lewis declared, in a public manner, that he published on this occasion, that he intended not to violate the treaty of Ryswick, or to disturb William in his possession of the crown. The English, already disposed for war, considered themselves as insulted, and breathed nothing but vengeance. The commons of London, and most of the counties in England, presented addresses to his majesty in Holland, and they then sent of the indignity offered him, and petitioned to support his government against the pretensions of all his enemies.

William, having concluded alliances with several foreign princes, and concerted measures with the

states for attacking the French frontiers the next campaign, embarked for England, and arrived in London on the 5th of November. A few days after his arrival the parliament was dissolved, and a new one appointed to meet on the 30th of December. The reason alledged for the dissolution of this parliament was, that his majesty might have the sense of the nation at this alarming conjuncture; but it is more than probable, that the chief inducement was that of preventing a revival of the heats and animosities between the two houses, as it was feared they might delay the supplies necessary for the approaching war.

The new parliament met agreeable to the time appointed; and though the whigs had gained an uncontested majority, yet Mr. Harley, who was considered as the leader of the tory party, was chosen speaker. The next day the king went to the house, and opened the session with the following speech from the throne:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I promise myself you are met together, full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe, and the late proceedings of the French king, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and reasonable addresses of my people.

" The owning and setting up the pretended prince of Wales for king of England, is not only the highest indignity offered to me and the nation, but does nearly concern every man who has a regard for the protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of his country, that I need not press you to lay it seriously to heart, to consider what future effectual means may be used for securing the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and extinguish the hopes of all pretenders, and their open and secret abettors.

" By the French king's placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual measures be taken. Under this pretence he is become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy: he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it as his own dominions; and by that means he has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expence and inconveniences of war.

" This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner, in respect to our trade, which will soon become precarious in all the various branches of it, in respect to our peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect to that part which England ought to take in the preservation of Europe.

" In order to obviate the general calamity with which the rest of Christendom is threatened by this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded several assurances according to the encouragement given by both houses of parliament, which I will direct to be laid before you, and which, I doubt not, will enable me to make good.

" There are some other treaties still depending, which shall likewise be communicated to you as soon as possible.

" It is fit I should tell you the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament: all matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known, and therefore no more ought to be lost.

" You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you and your posterity, the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the antient vigour of the English nation; but I tell you plainly, my

opinion is, if you do not lay hold of this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another.

" In order to do your part it will be necessary to have a great navy, and to provide for the security of our ships in harbour; and also that there be such a force at land, as is expected in proportion to the forces of our allies.

" Gentlemen of the house of commons,

" I do recommend these matters to you with that concern and earnestness which their importance requires: at the same time I cannot but press you to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preserved, but by keeping sacred that maxim, that they shall never be losers who trust to parliamentary security.

" It is always with regret when I do ask aids of my people; but you will observe that I desire nothing which relates to any personal expence of mine: I am only desiring you to do all you can for your own safety and honour, at so critical and dangerous a time; and am willing that what is given should be wholly appropriated to the purpose for which it is intended.

" And since I am speaking on this head, I think it proper to put you in mind, that during the late war, I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before you, and also gave my assent to several bills for stating and examining the public accounts, that my subjects might have the satisfaction to know how the money given for the war was applied; and I am willing that matter may be put in any other way or examination, that it may appear whether there have been any misapplications and mismanagement, or whether the debt that remains upon us has really arisen from the shortness of supplies, or the deficiency of the funds.

" I have already told you how necessary dispatch will be for carrying on that great public business, whereon our safety, and all that is valuable to us, depends. I hope what time can be spared will be employed about those other very desirable things I have recommended from the throne; I mean the forming some good bills for employing the poor, for encouraging trade, and the suppression of vice.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of disputes and differences, and resolved to act with a general and hearty consent, for promoting the common cause, which alone can make this a happy session.

" I should think it as great a blessing as could fall on England, if I could find you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy and fatal animosities, which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy as to any, even the highest offence, committed against me.

" Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of your enemies, by your unanimity. I have shewn, and will always shew, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions: let there be no other distinction heard amongst us for the future, but of those who are for the protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who wish for a popish prince and a French government.

" I will only add this, if you do in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it will appear by your rightly improving the present opportunity."

In answer to this excellent and patriotic speech, the two houses presented separate addresses to his majesty, which were most graciously received; and at the same time he gave them assurances of the great

satisfaction he conceived of their duty and affection.

A. D. 1702. The utmost expedition was now used by parliament for completing the necessary armaments for carrying on the war with vigour, both by sea and land. Forty thousand men were voted for the sea service, and the same number to make up the complement of the army. The commons also voted, that whoever would advance or lend the sum of 600,000*l.* for the service of the fleet, and 50,000*l.* for the present subsistence of the land forces, should be paid the principal, with interest after the rate of six per cent. out of the first aids granted by parliament.

The parliament (as well as the nation in general) were so irritated at the conduct of Lewis, that both houses joined in an address to his majesty, beseeching him that no peace should be concluded with France till reparation was made to the king and the people by the French monarch. They prepared a bill of attainder against the pretender, James's son; and another to oblige all persons in office to take an oath to maintain the established government, and the church of England, with a toleration for non-conformists. Ten peers protested against this bill, as appearing to them to impose a new obligation, as useless as it was severe.

William's attention was now wholly engaged in making preparations for the ensuing campaign. He had fully resolved to put himself at the head of his army; but this he never accomplished. His life was drawing to a period, and an accident happened which hastened the melancholy event. His health had been for some time visibly declining; and he had retired to Hampton-court, where he amused himself with his favourite diversions of riding and hunting. As he was taking the air on the 21st of February, in the park of Hampton-court, he unfortunately fell from his horse and broke his collar bone. He was immediately carried into the palace, where the bone was set, and he returned the same evening to Kensington. He seemed to be in a fair way of recovery, till the first of March, when a deluxion fell upon his knee, attended with very alarming symptoms. This prevented his going in person to the parliament house, as he before intended; but being very solicitous about the national affairs then depending, he granted a commission, under the great seal, to several peers, for passing the bills then lying ready for the royal assent; among which were, a bill for the attainder of the pretended prince of Wales, and an act that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called quakers should be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form.

His majesty was so well recovered on the 4th of March, that he took several turns in the gallery; but being somewhat fatigued, he sat down on a couch and fell asleep. He was soon after seized with a fever, and, notwithstanding all attempts to remove his complaint, the disorder continued to encrease. He was sensible that his end was approaching, and met death with that firmness of mind which always distinguished him. "I know (said he to the physicians) that you have done every thing your art could do to assist me, but it is useless, and I submit." He continued sensible to the last moment, and died about eight in the morning of the eighth of March, in the fifty first year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

William III. (according to bishop Burnet) was in his person of the middle stature, a thin body, and delicate constitution, subject to an asthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave and solemn aspect. He spoke very little, and when he did, his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting.

With respect to the character of this prince, it is shared the same fate which commonly attends those who act in exalted stations. His friends have represented him as a person adorned with every virtue; his enemies as a prince deformed with every vice. But the frantic joy which his enemies shewed at his death sufficiently confuted the latter, and is, perhaps, the greatest eulogium on his memory.

He was generally unfortunate in the many battles he fought against the French, yet he must be allowed the title of a great general and a great king; though he was repeatedly beaten, he generally gained much more by his defeat, than the victors by their good fortune. He had inspired his troops with confidence and courage which rendered them superior to every danger, and every misfortune. His campaign in Ireland, and his taking Namur, were perhaps the only instances, when fortune favoured his arms; but though she seemed to have delighted in traversing his military projects, she could not shake his courage, his fortitude, his equanimity, which he equalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity.

In the government of his dominions he displayed an exquisite discernment, and consummate prudence. The principal powers of Europe considered him as a friend in whom they could repose an unlimited confidence: a distinction never before possessed by a king of England, and which William maintained by the most inviolable attachment to the interests of his allies, and an unwearied application to their service. He checked the alarming progress of the French in Flanders and Germany; he was the support of Europe, when ready to sink beneath the force of the ambitious Lewis. The English are indebted to him for a knowledge of their own strength as a commercial and maritime nation. Nor did their arrangements and obstructions in his measures ever get the better of his foresight in promoting the glory and happiness of the kingdom. Prejudice and party zeal, which blinded the eyes of the last century, having now submitted to justice and equity, William III. is justly considered one of the greatest princes that ever swayed the British sceptre.

But notwithstanding all the virtues of William we are far from representing him as free from imperfections; he was ambitious; generosity was not one of his favourite virtues; and he was justly blamed for that impolitic, or rather ungrateful policy, which he, on all occasions, discovered towards his foreign favourites. This was the principal cause of the distrust between him and his people, and an example which all princes, who are engaged in the government of a foreign country, would do well to remember.

In a word, his virtues greatly overbalanced his failings; nor can any Englishman thank him without gratitude, as an illustrious monarch, the hand of providence, for reforming our constitution from popish superstition and arbitrary power.

The only remarkable occurrence that happened during William's separate reign was the following:

In his seventh year a tax was laid on every man in England, by which a duke was to pay 100*l.* per annum, the other nobility and gentry in proportion; and the common people 1*l.*

On the 8th of January, 1698, a dreadful fire broke out at Whitehall occasioned by the carelessness of the laundress, by which accident all the public offices, with the council chamber, and every other apartments, were entirely consumed, and it was with great difficulty that the Banqueting-house was saved, sharing the same fate.



ANNE.

W. A. A. A.

W. A. A. A.



S E C T I O N II.

A N N E.

ON the death of William III. the crown, pursuant to the act of succession, devolved on the princess Anne, second daughter of James II. and sister to the late queen Mary. The privy-council having been assembled during the late king's illness, they waited on the princess immediately after his death, and recognized her title to the throne. She received them with the most engaging affability, expressed her sense of the great loss the nation had sustained, and of the heavy burden it brought upon herself in particular. But added, that the sincere regard she had to the religion and liberties of her country would influence her to leave nothing undone on her part to preserve them inviolable, to maintain the succession in the protestant line, and the government as by law established. She also declared her resolution to carry on the preparations for opposing the exorbitant power of France; and that she would lose no time in giving her allies the strongest assurances, that she would pursue the true interest of England, together with that of the confederates, for the support of the common cause.

The parliament (which, by virtue of an act passed in the late reign, continued sitting after the king's death) declared the princess Anne the lawful queen of these realms, and issued orders for proclaiming her, which was accordingly done, the same day, with the usual ceremonies.

The whole nation promised themselves a long series of prosperity, under the government of this beloved princess. Her irreproachable manners, the gravity of her disposition, and her firm attachment to the church, had already rendered her person dear to the people.

On the 11th of March her majesty went to the house of peers with the usual solemnity, and delivered the following speech to the parliament:

"My lords and gentlemen,
"I cannot too much lament my own unhappiness in succeeding so immediately after the loss of a king, who was the great support, not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe: and I am extremely sensible of the weight and difficulty it brings upon me.

"But the true concern I have for our religion, laws and liberties of England, for the maintaining the succession to the crown in the protestant line, and for the government in church and state as by law established, encourages me in this great undertaking, which I promise myself will be successful by the blessing of God, and the continuance of that faith and affection, of which you have given me too many assurances.

"The present conjuncture of affairs requires the most application and dispatch; and I am very sensible that your several addresses to unanimous concurrence in the same opinion with me, that too

much cannot be done for the encouragement of our allies, to reduce the exorbitant power of France.

"I cannot but think it very necessary, upon this occasion, to desire you to consider of proper methods towards obtaining an union between England and Scotland, which has been so lately recommended to you as a matter that very nearly concerns the peace and security of both kingdoms.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I need not put you in mind that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government is expired.

"I rely entirely upon your affections for supplying it in such a manner as shall be most suitable for the honour and dignity of the crown.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It shall be my constant endeavour to make you the best return for that duty and affection you have expressed to me by a careful and diligent administration for the good of all my subjects: and as I know my own heart to be entirely English, I can very sincerely assure you, there is not any thing you can expect or desire from me which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England; and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word."

This speech was received with the highest satisfaction by the parliament. Both houses joined in a warm address of thanks to her majesty; and on the 14th of March they voted, that the same revenue which had been settled on king William should be settled on her majesty for life. The same day the earl of Marlborough was elected a knight of the garter; and on the 15th he was appointed captain-general of all her majesty's forces in England, and of those which were employed abroad in conjunction with her allies.

The queen lost no time in informing the confederates of her resolution to pursue the measures of his late majesty. She wrote a letter to the states general, assuring them that they should find the same readiness to pursue the measures for preserving the common liberties of Europe, as they would had the life of the late king been extended to a much longer date. Animated by these assurances, the states renewed their applications to the necessary business for carrying on the war with vigour; and published the queen's letter to refute the reports that had been artfully raised by the enemy, that the queen would not pursue the measures concerted by king William and the confederates. Marlborough arrived at the Hague on the 18th of March, in quality of her majesty's ambassador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary to their high mightinesses. He confirmed them in their resolution for having recourse to vigorous measures, and animated the league that was formed to humble France.

Persuaded that the alliance formed by the late king would terminate with the breath of William. Lewis could not refrain his joy when the news of his death reached Versailles. He immediately sent instructions to his minister at the Hague, for renewing the negotiations with the states, in order to detach them from the grand alliance. The French ambassador accordingly presented a memorial, offering them the friendship of his master, and very advantageous terms, if they would agree to a treaty of peace. He added, that he doubted not of their accepting his offer, now they were no longer under the influence of the late king. But, at the same time, gave them to understand, that if, contrary to his expectation, they refused his offers, the forces of his master were ready to enter upon action; and they must now determine whether they chose quiet and liberty, or war and ruin. "The choice (said he) is in your own power, and I hope you will not sacrifice the happiness and tranquillity of your country to foreign interests."

The answer returned by the states-general was worthy of a people who were determined to preserve their liberty. "We have always (said they) cherished a high esteem for his most christian majesty's friendship, nor ever done any thing to incur his displeasure; but the alarming preparations for war so near on our frontiers, lay us under a necessity of putting ourselves in a posture of defence, and of asking assistance from our allies. You are mistaken, Sir, if you think we had not as much liberty to debate, and take such resolutions as were judged necessary for our preservation, in the life-time of his Britannic majesty, as at present. We cannot, indeed, enough deplore our misfortune, in being deprived of his wise conduct and councils, whose deserts the republic can never forget; and we are resolved to follow the same principles, and continue the same alliances we entered into during his life-time; and make use of such other means as God hath put into our hands for maintaining our liberties and religion."

It is little to be wondered at that so spirited an answer should render the negotiation abortive. The French ambassador returned to Paris, and the states-general applied themselves, with the utmost vigour, to the most likely measures for opposing the ambitious designs of the French. The allies were animated by the declaration of the queen; and the earl of Marlborough, after concerting measures for beginning the military operations, returned to England.

During these transactions abroad, the English parliament passed several bills; particularly an act for the better support of her majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of the crown; an act for the settling the public accounts, and several private bills; when her majesty came to the house of peers and gave them the royal assent. This being done, her majesty made a speech to both houses, wherein she told them, it was with the greatest pleasure she gave her assent to the act for settling the public accounts, thinking it highly reasonable her subjects should be satisfied how the large sums they had granted her were expended; especially when the common interest required a continuance of great taxes. She returned the commons thanks for their having continued to her, during her life, the same revenue they had granted to the late king, telling them, that though it would, in all probability, fall short of what his had formerly produced, she would, nevertheless, give directions that 100,000*l.* thereof should be annually applied to the public service. "I am willing, said she, to straiten my own expences, rather than not contribute all I can to the ease and relief of my people."

A declaration of so generous and unexpected a nature could not fail of being highly agreeable to the parliament, and accordingly both houses presented

her majesty addresses of thanks, in which they mentioned her unparalleled goodness, in contributing so largely, out of her own revenue, to the relief of her subjects.

It was now warmly debated in council, whether the English should engage as auxiliaries or principals in the war. The Tories, with the earl of Rochester at their head, supported the former, and the Whigs the latter. It was urged by those who thought it prudent to act as auxiliaries only, that in the last war, the emperor, and some other of the allies, had been very remiss in furnishing their quotas, and bringing their troops early into the field, whereby many advantages had been lost, and the whole burden of the war had been, in a manner, thrown upon the English, who constantly supplied their deficiencies; and that, by a delicate notion of honour, anticipated their revenues, and mortgaged their country in the quarrel, whereas it would have been otherwise, had they acted only as auxiliaries; they would have had nothing more to do than to have sent their quota of troops, and the burden of the war must have been borne by those who were most nearly concerned in the dispute.

These arguments, however, were strongly opposed by the Whigs, the principal of whom were the dukes of Devonshire and Somerset, who insisted on the necessity of the English engaging as principals in the war; and the earl of Marlborough joined them in this opinion. He observed, on the occasion, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements; and affirmed that the power of France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless the English engaged as principals in the quarrel. This allegation was so strongly supported by the Whigs, that the majority declared in favour of their opinion; and a declaration of war was ordered to be prepared against France and Spain.

Accordingly, on the 4th of May, the declaration was published, with the utmost solemnities; in which the queen reproached Lewis with interrupting the freedom of commerce and navigation; with having formed a design of enslaving Europe; with having seized a considerable part of the possessions of Spain; and with having personally insulted her, by acknowledging the son of James II. to be king of England.

Two days after publishing the above declaration, the lord Godolphin was constituted lord-high-treasurer, a post he had for some time refused, but was at last prevailed upon to accept it by the earl of Marlborough, who refused to command the forces abroad, unless the treasury was put under the care of Godolphin, on whose punctuality, in point of remittance, he knew he could depend. Marlborough being in possession of the finances, honoured with the highest confidence of the queen, secure of the favour of the parliament and people, blessed with a capacity equal to his interest, of indefatigable activity and invincible courage, made the necessary preparations for joining himself at the head of the allied army.

In the mean time the emperor and the states-general followed the example of the English, and declared war against France and Spain. The declaration of the former turned principally on the flagrant injury that had been done to the Austrian family by the French king's accepting of the will of Charles II. in favour of his grandson, the duke of Anjou. The states-general observed, "That Lewis had long since cast his eyes upon their provinces, that he had been attacked them by a most unjust war, in order to open himself a passage to universal monarchy; that he was so far from intending to preserve the peace of Europe, that he aimed only at busting the alliance of the Dutch, by prevailing upon them to lay down their arms, and by ruining the commerce of the Dutch, to render them incapable of making any effectual opposition."

to his ambitious designs; for that treaty was hardly ratified, before he began evidently to encroach on their trade, the great sinew of their strength, by openly refusing the tariff promised by that treaty."

Lewis was highly incensed at these declarations, especially that of the states, which he affected to treat with the utmost contempt; but did not publish his declaration of war till the beginning of July. He exerted all his power to engage the German princes in his interest, and was so far successful, that the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the two dukes of Wolfenbüttele (Rodolphus and Anthony) were prevailed upon to declare in his favour.

The campaign was opened with the siege of Keyserwaert, a strong town on the Rhine, which the elector of Cologne had put into the hands of the French. The place was invested by the prince of Nassau-Saarburgh, marshal du camp to the emperor; but the badness of the weather and the overflowing of the Rhine so greatly retarded the progress of the besiegers, that Keyserwaert was not taken till a month after the trenches were opened; and marshal Boufflers, who commanded the French army under the duke of Burgundy, eldest grandson of France, was very near surprizing the city of Nimeguen, while the allied army was engaged in the siege. The earl of Athlone, who commanded a separate army of the Dutch, arrived about an hour before the French, and posted his army under the walls of Nimeguen, and by that means prevented the loss of that important place; for which he received the thanks of the states-general. Coehorn, with a detachment of 10,000 men, broke into Flanders, forced and demolished the French lines between the two forts of St. Donat and Osabella, which the French had been many months forming with great labour and expence, and laid the greater part of the Chatellany of Bruges under contribution. But on the approach of the marquis of Bedmer and count de Motte, he was obliged to retire under the walls of Sluys.

The earl of Marlborough was now at the Hague, regulating the operations of the campaign. Trained up to arms in the military school of the great Turenne, he had more than once received the approbation and thanks of that consummate master in the art of war, for his gallant behaviour. Equally skilled in the intrigues of the cabinet and the field, he possessed the happy art of gaining the hearts of all who were connected with him. Endowed with an exquisite discernment, he always discovered the lucky moment, the very instant it presented itself, and never failed to take the advantage it offered, either in the field or the cabinet. He thoroughly understood the interests of the powers he served, and seldom failed to penetrate the designs of the enemy. Favoured in a particular manner with the confidence of the troops, he was able to avert the impending dangers by his prudence and foresight, or pluck the wreath of conquest from the foe by his courage and presence of mind.

Marlborough's first campaign gained him universal applause, and confirmed the expectations the allies had formed of his great abilities. He joined the army in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen on the thirtieth of June, passed the Maese on the sixteenth of July, and endeavoured to bring the French army, commanded by the duke of Burgundy and marshal Boufflers, to a general engagement; but this he found impossible. The French chose rather to abandon Spanish Guelderland to the discretion of the allies, than hazard a battle. They retreated under the canon of Nimeguen, and the duke of Burgundy, who came to the army merely to learn the method of conducting an engagement, learned nothing but how to avoid one.

The states-general now requested Marlborough to make himself master of the towns in Spanish Guelderland, which would open entirely the navigation of the Maese, and on that account be of the utmost advantage to Holland. The general readily listened to their desire, and immediately prepared to besiege Venlo, which was accordingly invested on the twenty-ninth of August, and on the twenty-fifth of September the town surrendered. Fort St. Michael was attacked on the eighteenth of September, and the garrison surrendered on honourable terms, on the twenty-fifth of the same month.

While this siege was carrying on, Marlborough detached general Schutz with a body of troops to attack the town and castle of Wertz, both of which surrendered after a very slight resistance.

In the beginning of October, Marlborough invested Ruremonde, which, after a stout resistance of five days, surrendered to the allies, together with Stevenwaert, both situated on the Maese. The army then marched towards Liege, and, on its approach, marshal Boufflers, to whom the duke of Burgundy had now left the command of the French army, thought proper to retreat from thence to Tongeren, on the river Jecker, and thence towards Brabant; in order to defend such places as were not, at that time, intended to be attacked.

When the allied army came before Liege, they found the city abandoned, and Marlborough took possession of it without opposition. The citadel, however, together with another strong fort, called the Chartroule of Liege, held out for some days. The former, which was defended by eight French battalions, was taken by storm on the 23d of October, the manner of executing which is thus related by Marlborough himself, in the account he sent to the English court: "All things, says he, being prepared, and the signal given, our troops were out of their trenches, and marched towards the enemy without firing a shot, and with an order and intrepidity hardly to be paralleled. They then attacked the counter-scarp with such fury, that the enemy were obliged to abandon the post; but our men, instead of forming a lodgment there, forced their passage into the covert-way: passed the mount, and ascended the breach: whereupon the governor, who little expected so vigorous an attack, beat a parley: our troops, however, being already in the place would not hearken to it, and would have cut the whole garrison in pieces, had they not thrown down their arms and called aloud for quarter, which was granted them. In this glorious action, the hereditary prince of Cassel signalized his courage; he went a volunteer in the attack, at the head of the grenadiers, was the first man who mounted the breach, and with his own hands wrested the colours from the French officer. Mr. Wentworth, brother to lord Reby, also served as a volunteer in this action, and died gloriously in the bed of honour. M. Viviane, the governor, and the duke of Charot were made prisoners."

The citadel of Liege was extremely rich, the most opulent merchants and others having there deposited their valuable effects, as in a place of safety. No less than 300,000 florins in gold and silver were found in it, besides notes for about 1,200,000 florins more, drawn upon substantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. The whole booty was, in short, so considerable, that an English grenadier is said to have received 1000 louis d'ors for his own share.

With this conquest ended the first campaign, equally advantageous to the allies and the honour of Marlborough, who had now established his military character beyond all controversy, and entirely secured the affection of the states.

The confederate army being separated, the earl of Marlborough repaired to Maestricht, and embarked immediately on the Maese for Holland, in company with M. Gueldermanfel, one of the deputies of the states, and the baron d'Opdam, general of the Dutch horse, taking with him twenty-five soldiers, under the command of a lieutenant, by way of guard. But in passing down that river, a party of fifty-three men, belonging to the garrison of Guelder, the only place in that province now belonging to the French, who lay skulking on the banks of the Maese, waiting for prey, observing the boat, suddenly seized the rope by which it was drawn; and haling it on shore, immediately discharged their pieces on the passengers; but having examined the several passports without knowing Marlborough, they searched the trunks and baggage, made the guard prisoners, and suffered the boat to proceed. The governor of Venlo, informed of this transaction, took it for granted that Marlborough was made prisoner, and carried to Guelder. Accordingly he marched out at the head of his whole garrison to attack that place. The same account being carried to the Hague, filled the Dutch with the greatest consternation. The states immediately assembling, resolved, that all their forces should march instantly, and threaten the garrison with the utmost extremity, unless they instantly released the general. But before these orders could be dispatched, the earl arrived at the Hague, where he was received with every mark of the most perfect esteem.

An expedition had been planned by the late king for reducing Cadiz, and it was now determined to carry it into execution. Sir George Rooke was appointed admiral of the fleet, and the duke of Ormond commander of the land-forces. The fleet, when joined by the Dutch, consisted of fifty ships of the line, thirty English, and twenty Dutch; and the transports had on board fourteen thousand land-forces.

The fleet sailed on the first of July, and on the twelfth of August anchored in the bay of Bulls, about two leagues distant from Cadiz. The troops were landed on the fifteenth of August, and soon after made themselves masters of Rota and Port St. Mary's. The strictest orders had been issued against plundering before the forces reached either of these places; but it was not in the power of the officers to prevent their hungry and thirsty soldiers from forcing the houses where they expected to find refreshments. Nor was it long before they made their way to the cellars, which they found stored with rich and strong wines. They now became wholly ungovernable, plundered the city, and, being joined by the seamen, sent the spoil on board the ships. They stripped the churches and altars of their plate, and the houses of their treasure and rich furniture; so that the value of the whole was about a million sterling. The duke of Ormond was so highly incensed at these violences, committed in contempt of his orders, that he commanded Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles O'Hara, who commanded the troops that took possession of the place, to be put under arrest and would have proceeded with greater severity, had the offenders been less numerous.

In the mean time, the garrison of Cadiz had recovered from their consternation, and the late excesses had so highly provoked the Spaniards, that they joined their army from every quarter in great numbers, determined to oppose the invaders of their country. The season of the year was also now so far advanced, that the ships could not, without the utmost danger, continue longer in those seas. The troops were therefore disembarked, and the English left the Spanish coast, greatly chagrined at their disappointment.

Though this expedition proved abortive, yet an incident happened which enabled them to perform an

action of the utmost service to their country. In their passage they were met by captain Hardy, commander of the Pembroke. He had been detached with some ships to Lagos, a harbour on the coast of Portugal, and had received information, that M. Clautau Renauld, with a squadron of French men of war, and the Spanish flota were put into Vigo, a port of Galicia, in Spain. Having imparted this important advice to Sir George Rooke, he immediately informed the Dutch admiral; adding, that it was his opinion, that they should fleet directly for Vigo. The next day he called a council of war, when the admiral's proposal being unanimously approved, they directed their course immediately to the port where the enemy's fleet had taken shelter.

The weather proved so very hazy, that the inhabitants of Vigo did not see the combined fleet, till they were within a few miles of the harbour. They immediately fired almost incessantly on the fleet, but the English took very little notice of it, passing on with all their sails to the harbour where the French fleet and galleons lay.

The passage into the harbour, which was not above three quarters of a mile over, was defended with several forts, batteries and breast-works on each side, by a strong boom of iron chains and cables drawn across the harbour, and buoyed up with top-masts, &c. moored at each end to a seventy gun ship. With this boom were moored five ships of the same size, with their broadsides to the entrance of the passage.

It was now determined, that as the passage into the harbour was so narrow, that the whole fleet could not attack the enemy's ships and galleons, without running foul of each other, a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war, with all the fire-ships, should be sent into the harbour in order to take and destroy the enemy's fleet; that the frigates and bomb vessels should follow the rear of this detachment, and that the large ships should move after them, and enter the harbour, if it should be thought necessary. It was also determined that the land-forces should be set on shore at the same time, and attack the forts that defended the entrance of the harbour.

In consequence of these resolutions, the duke of Ormond landed early in the morning of the twelfth of October, in a sandy bay about six miles from Vigo, at the head of 2,500 men; and not meeting with any opposition, he ordered the grenadiers to march, under the command of lord Shannon, to the fort that guarded the entrance of the harbour, where the boom lay. This service he performed with the most rapid gallantry, notwithstanding there appeared at the same time about 8,000 Spanish foot, between the fort and the hills, they retired after a few skirmishes with the grenadiers, who also drove before them another party of the enemy, followed them to the fort, and made themselves masters of the lower battery. Upon this, lieutenant-general Churchill's regiment advanced towards the left, and took their post, after taking the two batteries, the enemy retreated to an old castle, or stone-tower, and fired from thence for some time upon the English; but upon the opening of the gate, in order to make a sally, the grenadiers cut their way into the tower sword in hand, drove out the garrison, consisting of French and Spaniards, and surrendered prisoners of war.

The taking of these fortifications greatly assisted the attempt on the shipping. The admiral took a signal to weigh soon after the land forces were landed, and the whole squadron stood in towards the boom; but when the van was within cannon shot of the batteries, it fell calm, so that they were under a necessity of coming to an anchor; but a fresh gale sprung up soon after, they cut their cables, and stood directly for the harbour. Vice admiral Hobson, in the *Pembroke*, was

who led the van, crowded all the sail he could, and stood directly against the boom, which immediately gave way, and he entered the harbour. The rest of the fleet were not so fortunate. The Dutch admiral and his squadron, who laid their ships broadsides to the boom, in order to add weight to the shock of the Torbay, stuck fast, and they were obliged to cut themselves a passage. The whole squadron now entered the harbour, through a terrible fire from the enemies ships and batteries, which, however, they soon forced. But Admiral Hobson was in the utmost danger. He was boarded by a fire-ship, but had the good fortune to beat her off, though not till after his ship had received so much damage, that he was obliged to shift his flag on board the Monmouth.

After a most desperate engagement, the French finding themselves unable to contend against the superior force and valour of the assailants, resolved to set fire to their own ships, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. They accordingly burnt eight ships, six galleons, and two advice-boats, but ten French men of war and eleven galleons were taken. The Spaniards had, however, secured a considerable part of their plate, and other rich merchandise, on the appearance of the combined fleet. Near 11,000,000 of pieces of eight were lost in six galleons that were burnt, and about half that value brought off by the conquerors.

When the action was over, the duke of Ormond proposed to have made himself master of Vigo, and to have wintered in Spain, if the admiral could have feared him a squadron of men of war and provisions to his troops; but the admiral declaring it was not in his power, the land forces were re-embarked, and on the 19th of October, Sir George Rooke, with twenty men of war, sailed for England, leaving Sir Cloudesley Shovel to convoy home the prizes. He, having burnt the ships that could not be got off, and taken 110 brass cannon out of the enemy's ships and from their batteries, followed the grand fleet in a few days, and on the 7th of November they all arrived safe in the Downs.

Admiral Benbow was not so fortunate in the West-Indies. He had, for some time, protected the trade, with great vigilance and success, in that quarter of the world. That brave, but violent man, had incurred the hatred of several of his officers, which, joined with a dastardly spirit, gave the enemy an advantage they could never otherwise have obtained. Benbow's fleet consisted of seven sail of the line, and with this force he scoured the seas of the many privateers that were very injurious to the English trade. He determined that M. du Casse, a French admiral, with ten sail of ships, was expected at Hispaniola, he resolved, if possible, to intercept him. On the 19th of August, he had sight of the enemy, and soon after began the engagement with three ships, the other four falling a stern, came not within call of the enemy. Had they done their duty, the whole French squadron must have fallen into their hands. Benbow, however, continued the fight, and destroyed one of the enemy's ships. But du Casse being that he was not seconded by the rest of his fleet, pressed him with the utmost fury, and the admiral had the misfortune to have one of his legs shattered by a chain shot. He, however, continued the fight with the same intrepidity, but learning, from the behaviour of his captains, that they would not follow the enemy, he was obliged to retire to Jamaica. On his arrival, he issued a commission to a General Whetstone to hold a court martial, and to order the sentence. Hudson, of the *Pendennis*, captain of the trial, Kirby of the *Defiance*, and one of the *Greenwich*, were convicted, and sen-

tenced to be shot; Constable of the *Windfor* was cashiered and imprisoned; Vincent of the *Falmouth*, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain, were convicted of having signed a paper, that they would not fight on the present occasion; but as they had behaved gallantly in the action, the court only inflicted on them the punishment of suspension, nor was that to take place till the lord high admiral's pleasure should be known. Wade and Kirby were sent home in the *Bristol*, and, upon their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board the ship; a dead warrant for their immediate execution having lain there for some time. In the mean time admiral Benbow was so deeply affected by this miscarriage, that he became melancholy, and his grief having augmented the fever, occasioned by his wound, it soon put a period to his life.

On the 2d of July her majesty thought proper to dissolve the parliament, and call a new one, which met for business on the 23d of October. The Tories had so prejudiced the people against the behaviour of the Whigs, that they had a very considerable majority in this parliament; a circumstance very agreeable to the queen, whose partiality for that party was always remarkable. The commons having chosen Robert Harley, Esq; for their speaker, her majesty came to the house of peers, and opened the session with the following speech from the throne:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ It is with great satisfaction I meet this parliament, which I have summoned to assist me in carrying on the just and necessary war in which we are engaged. I have called you together as early as was consistent with your convenience in coming out of your several counties; and I assure myself of such evidences of your affections to me, and your zeal for our common cause, as will not only give spirit and forwardness to our own preparations, but such example and encouragement to our allies, as, by God's blessing, cannot fail of a good effect, for the advantage of the whole confederacy.

“ I have met with so many expressions of joy and satisfaction in all the counties through which I have lately had occasion to pass, that I cannot but look upon them as true measures of the duty and affection of the rest of my subjects.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ I must desire you to grant me such supplies as will enable me to comply both with our particular treaties and engagements already made, and such others as may be necessary for the encouragement of our allies, and the prosecuting the war where it shall most sensibly affect our enemies, and be most essential for disappointing the boundless ambition of France.

“ And that my subjects may the more cheerfully bear the necessary taxes, I desire you to inspect the accounts of the public receipts and payments, and if there have been any abuses or mismanagements, I hope you will detect them, that the offenders may be punished, and others be deterred, by such like examples, from the like practices. I must observe to you, with some concern, that the funds given by the last parliament have, in some measure, fallen short of the sums proposed to be raised by them; and though I have already paid and applied to the public service the 100,000 pounds I promised to the last parliament, yet it has not supplied that deficiency.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I cannot, without much trouble, take notice to you of the disappointment we had at Cadiz. I have not yet had a particular account of that enterprise, nor of all the difficulties our forces may have met with there.

there. But I have had such a representation of disorders and abuses committed at Port St. Mary's, as has obliged me to give the directions for the strictest examination of that matter.

"I am earnestly desirous, for all our sakes, that this may prove a short session. However, I hope you will find time to consider of some better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and to improve that manufacture, which is of so great consequence to the kingdom. On my part, nothing shall be omitted for its encouragement.

"I am firmly persuaded, that the love and good affection of my subjects is the surest pledge of their duty and obedience, and the truest and justest support of the throne. And as I am resolved to defend and maintain the church as by law established, and to protect you in the full enjoyment of all your rights and liberties; so I rely on your care of me. My interests and yours are inseparable; and my endeavours shall never be wanting to make you all safe and happy."

Both houses were so well satisfied with this speech, that they presented separate addresses to her majesty, which were full of the strongest expressions of duty, esteem and acknowledgment. The address of the commons was remarkable for their prejudice against the memory of the late king. The purport of the address was, that the astonishing progress of her majesty's arms, under the earl of Marlborough, had retrieved the antient honors of the English nation. This expression was very injurious to the memory of William, and therefore occasioned long and very warm debates in the house. The word "retrieved" was particularly objected to, and the word "maintained" offered to be substituted in its room. But the Tories supported the expression, and it passed by a great majority.

On the 30th of October lord Shannon arrived from the confederate fleet, with the news of its signal success over the French and Spaniards at Vigo. The 12th of November was appointed for a public thanksgiving for the successes of the campaign, and the queen went to St. Paul's, attended by both houses of parliament and the chief officers of state. The duke of Ormond, who was now returned from his expedition, and happened to be that day one of the staff officers in waiting, was received by the populace with the loudest acclamations of joy.

The next day his Grace went to the house of peers, when the lord-keeper returned him thanks, in the name of the house, for the signal services performed at Vigo. The commons also returned the duke and Sir George Rooke, the thanks of their house for their gallant achievements; though at the same time they drew up an address to the queen, desiring she would order the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke to lay before them an account of their proceedings, a request with which her majesty complied.

On the 21st of November the queen sent a message to the house of commons, by Mr. Secretary Hedges, informing them, "that her majesty, considering there was but a very slender provision made for the prince her husband, if he should survive her, and that she was restrained from increasing the same by the late act of parliament for settling the revenue, thought it necessary to recommend the making a further provision for the prince to their consideration." In consequence of this message the commons unanimously resolved, "that the yearly sum of 100,000 pounds be settled upon his royal highness, in case he should survive her majesty." He was also exempted from that clause in the act of succession, which excluded all foreigners from offices, though they were naturalized; and was created lord high-admiral of England. But the quality of husband to the queen gave him no authority

Anne reigned alone; and he shared in her glory, without acquiring any part of it himself.

The earl of Marlborough being now returned from Holland, received the thanks of both houses for his signal services; and on the 2d of December her majesty declared in the committee of council, "that she was so satisfied of the eminent services of lord Marlborough to the public and herself, both in the command of the army, and the entire confidence he had settled between her majesty and her allies, the states-general, that she intended to create him a duke." On the tenth of the same month she sent the following message to the house of commons.

ANNE. R.

"The earl of Marlborough's services to her majesty and to the public have been so eminent, both in his command of the army, and his having obtained an entire confidence and good correspondence between her majesty and the states-general, that she has thought fit to grant the title of a duke of this kingdom to him and to the heirs male of his body, and also a pension of 5,000 pounds per annum upon the revenue of the post-office, for the support of his honour during her majesty's life: if it had been in her majesty's power, she would have granted the same term in the pension as in the honour, and she hopes you will think it so reasonable in this case as to find some proper methods of doing it."

This message occasioned great debates in the house, the result of which was an address, shewing their inexpressible grief that her majesty's most dutiful and loyal commons saw any instances where they were unable to comply with what her majesty proposed to them; but they begged leave humbly to lay before her majesty the apprehensions they had of making a precedent for the future alienation of the revenue of the crown, which had been so much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the last reign, and which had been so lately settled and secured by her majesty's unparalleled grace and goodness. They, however, declared themselves infinitely pleased to observe, by her majesty's late gracious acceptance of the duke of Marlborough's services, that the only way to obtain her majesty's favour was to deserve well of the public, and begged leave to assure her majesty, that whenever she should think fit to reward such merit, it would be to the entire satisfaction of her people. The queen, in her answer to this address, told the commons "that she should always think herself much concerned to reward those who had deserved well of her, and that on this account she had bestowed some favours on the duke of Marlborough, and was glad to find they thought them well placed."

The Tories, who had greatly the majority in the house of commons, and were favoured by the queen, carried all before them with the utmost success. Firmly attached to the church of England, they overruled their animosities under the pretence of the Great part of the Whigs, though, to all appearance, united with the church of England, at least they did not scruple the ordinary oaths, frequented the assemblies of the non-conformists, without being deprived of any advantage as subjects. The Whig party, inflamed by the hatred they bore them, were desirous of excluding them from all employments. They considered as a real schism that occasional conformity, which, under an appearance of communion, concealed a determined revolt from the church's faith. In consequence of this opinion a new bill was brought into the lower house, the preamble to which condemned persecution, though it seemed wholly calculated to promote it. Whoever had taken the oaths for holding a place, and afterwards frequented any of the assemblies of the non-conformists, became

according to the tenor of this bill, incapable of holding such employment, was liable to pay a fine of 100 pounds, and five pounds for every day he held his employment, after having been at any such meeting: nor could he hold any other employment till after one whole year's conformity.

It was pretended, by the promoters of this bill, that a national church being requisite, as well for the support of religion as the tranquillity of the state, it was absolutely necessary to maintain it by trusting the civil power in the hands of such only as were faithful to its rules and principles; that it was absurd to give places of consequence to a set of men whose consciences were too tender to obey the laws, yet hardy enough to violate them; that it was contradictory to common sense to be at the same time a conformist and a non-conformist, and to embrace sincerely a communion to which they did not accede; and that this bill added nothing to the rights of the church of England, nor took any thing from the rights of toleration passed in the late reign.

In opposition to these arguments, the opponents of the bill alledged, "that the dissenters were in general well affected to the present constitution; that in the last and greatest danger to which the church was exposed, they zealously supported her against all the papists, their common enemies, and have ever since continued to shew every mark of affection and submission to the government, in church and state: that to lay any real hardship upon them, or give rise to jealousies and fears at such a juncture, might be attended with dangerous consequences: that toleration had greatly contributed to the safety and reputation of the church; and plainly proved, that liberty of conscience and gentle measures were the most effectual means for increasing the votaries of the established religion, and diminishing the number of dissenters: that the non-conformists could not properly be termed schismatics, without bringing a heavy charge upon the church of England, which had not only tolerated such schism, but even allowed communion with the reformed churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were even more severe than those imposed by law upon the papists for assisting at the most solemn act of their religion; and, that toleration and tenderness had always been productive of peace and union, while persecution and violence had never failed to excite discord, and extend superstition."

Notwithstanding the force of these arguments, they were not sufficient to induce the Tories to lay the bill aside: they supported it with all their interest, and the bill passed the lower house by a considerable majority. It was different in the house of peers, where many of the members were in the whig interest. A very warm debate ensued on the first reading, and several amendments were made to it, namely, that Jacobite meetings should be included; that the 100 pound penalty should be reduced to 20, and that the several incapacitating clauses should be omitted. They also shortened the terms for information and prosecution, and exempted the dissenters from holding offices for which they could not be qualified without taking the sacrament, provided the act did not extend to university churches, to those of the French and Dutch, or to the governors of hospitals, or the assistants of corporations. These amendments were rejected by the commons, and several conferences between the two houses were held on the occasion; but as the lords persisted in adhering to their amendments, and the commons in refusing them, the conferences broke up, and both parties published their proceedings in vindication of their conduct. The whole interest of the court was exerted on this occasion, but the bill was rejected by only one voice.

The convocation had been summoned to meet with the new parliament, but no business of importance was transacted, the disputes between the two houses preventing their taking notice of any thing that required their attention. The whole body of the clergy ranged themselves into two different parties, distinguished by the appellations of "High Church" and "Low Church." The former accused the latter of being presbyterian hypocrites, and the latter branded the former with being partizans of tyranny and persecution.

A. D. 1703. In the beginning of January the queen informed the commons, that the states-general had pressed her to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffectual the great and early preparations of the enemy. The commons immediately resolved, that 10,000 men should be hired as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies: but at the same time they entreated her majesty to make it a point with the states-general, that they should put an immediate stop to all commerce and correspondence with France and Spain; which they observed was a measure absolutely necessary for carrying on the war, as it would interrupt the enemy's trade, and expose them to the utmost difficulties; and they desired England might not be charged with the pay of such additional troops, but from the day that this step should be taken by the states. The lords also addressed her majesty to the same effect. She acknowledged the justness of their precautions, and promised to comply with their requests; in which promise she was very sincere, and the states-general, much against their inclination, were obliged to publish a prohibition of all commerce with the subjects of France and Spain.

Disputes still subsisting between the two houses, her majesty resolved to prorogue the parliament. She accordingly went to the house of peers on the 22d of February; and, after giving the royal assent to such bills as were ready, she put an end to the session by a speech from the throne, in which she thanked them for the dispatch they had given to the public affairs, for the large supplies they had given, and for the provision they had made for the prince. She told them she hoped the dissenters would rest satisfied with the act of toleration, which she was resolved to maintain; that the members of the church would remember she had been educated in their principles, and had been exposed to great difficulties for maintaining them, and therefore they might be assured she would make it her peculiar care to encourage and maintain the church, and transmit it, securely settled, to posterity. She thought some farther laws were necessary for restraining the licentiousness of the press, and hoped they would endeavour to suppress pernicious libels; but above all, she recommended union among themselves; and concluded with acquainting them, that she would apply her share of the prizes taken during the war to the public service.

The troubles and disputes in Scotland were now risen to such a height, that it was feared the contagion would be propagated in England. The queen, desirous of putting an end to all differences between the two kingdoms, had made an attempt to unite them, and an act of parliament was passed for that purpose. But though the Scots acknowledged her authority, and swore obedience, they seemed averse to the project. They gave incessant instances of their inquietude, jealousy and the animosity of parties, during a long session of their parliament. The ancient genius of the nation shewed its turbulent activity. Bills followed bills without number, the spirit of party had infected all their deliberations. One Fletcher, a famous and intrepid republican, asserted that Scotland would

would be enslaved if she submitted to the successor of the crown of England without previously establishing such conditions of government as might serve her as a rampart against the English ministry. The conditions he proposed for the queen's successors were, That all places civil and military, together with all pensions, should be conferred by parliament; that the president should be chosen by the assembly; that during the recess of parliament a committee of thirty-six members should have the administration of government under the prince, should act in quality of his council, and be accountable to the parliament of Scotland. He also proposed that the successor should be elected by a majority of voices; and declared he would rather nominate a papist with these conditions, than a good protestant without them. These propositions, however extravagant they may appear, were supported by a strong party in the Scottish parliament, and they were reduced into the form of a bill. Fletcher had many imitators and many friends. The cry of liberty, and invective against the minister echoed from every part of the house. At last the question was put whether they should take into consideration the supplies or the state of the nation. One of the members said, that all the fruit of the labours and expences of the nation was only to burden them with fresh supplies, and bend their necks to the yoke of servitude. Another added that their liberties were destroyed, and that the privileges of parliament would soon share the same fate; but that he would defend his own rights at the hazard of his life, and rather die a freeman than live a slave. The duke of Queensberry, the queen's commissioner, opposed the deliberations on Fletcher's bill. This exasperated the party still more, and the earl of Roxborough declared, that if there were no other means of obtaining a right so essential to parliament, it should be fought by the sword. The whole house was now in the highest ferment, and the duke of Queensberry in the utmost danger of being cut to pieces. He however, appeased the storm by promising that they should pursue their measures in favour of liberty; and taking advantage of this interval of quiet, he prorogued the parliament.

In the mean time the greatest preparations were making for the ensuing campaign. It had been agreed that the archduke Charles, son to the emperor, should assume the title of king of Spain, demand the infanta of Portugal in marriage, and with the assistance of the maritime powers, undertake some enterprize of importance. The emperor had also promised to send so powerful an army into the field as to be able to drive the elector of Bavaria from his dominions; but he was so dilatory in his proceedings, that the French king broke all his measures by sending a powerful reinforcement to the elector under the command of marshal Villars. The imperialists were defeated near Donauert, the duke of Burgundy made himself master of Old Bracc, Tallard took Landau, and gained a victory over the prince of Hesse. The emperor who had now declared his son king of Spain by the title of Charles III. trembled for his empire.

The duke of Marlborough was the only successful commander among the allies; that able general made himself master of Bonn, Huy, and Limbourg. The Dutch general, Opdam, was defeated by the marshal Boufflers, near Flecken. Nor were the naval operations this year successful. Hardly any thing was done against the enemy: Sir George Rooke, indeed, in a cruise to the bay of Biscay, took a French East India ship worth more so pounds, a man of war of thirty six guns, and a West India merchantman, worth 40,000 pounds. But having been for some time in an ill state of health, he returned home, and obtained leave to go to Bath.

By the ill success of this campaign Lewis was unable to make head against the united efforts of the grand alliance: it was therefore resolved to weaken him by detaching from his interest two of his principal allies, viz. the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal. The project succeeded; and Lewis, with amazement, heard, that the duke of Savoy was actually at treaty with the emperor. He immediately gave orders to the duke of Vendôme to seize and detain the troops of Savoy that were in his service to the number of 22,000 men. The duke, by way of reprisal, commanded several French officers that were in Turin, and the French ambassador himself, to be put under arrest. This proceeding produced a second order from Lewis to the duke of Vendôme to invade Savoy immediately, and to transmit the following letter, in his most Christian majesty's name to his royal highness.

“ Sir,

“ If neither religion, honour, interest, alliance, or even your own hand-writing, are of any force to you, I send my cousin, the duke of Vendôme at the head of my armies, to make known unto you my intentions. He will allow you but twenty-four hours to resolve what you have to do.

“ Lewis.”

In return to this concise epistle, the duke of Savoy published a manifesto, setting forth the necessity and justice of his proceedings, and sent express to the confederated powers to solicit their alliance against the impending storm.

Queen Anne, knowing the importance of the duke, as well as his selfish disposition, assured him of her protection, and both she and the states sent ambassadors to the court of Turin. In the meantime the duke concluded a treaty with the court of Vienna, who promised him all that France and Spain refused him, viz. Montserrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the Adriatic, with more money than he received formerly in subsidies. The money was to be paid by England, for the emperor had scarcely time to pay his troops. In return the duke of Savoy acknowledged the archduke Charles as king of Spain, and prepared for the event.

Scarce had France received intelligence that she had lost this ally, but she also heard that Portugal had deserted her. Mr. Methuen, our ambassador at that court, had spared no pains to detach his Most Christian Majesty from his unnatural connections with that monarch. He represented to him, that but for the crowns of France and Spain ever devoted to that same person, he must not expect to receive any assistance. He alarmed his apprehensions for his personal safety, by painting to him in the most striking manner the acknowledged superiority of the confederates by sea, the weight of whose power he must necessarily expect to feel, should he at any time in consequence of an alliance with France, refuse them the use of his ports, and that his compliance with them would, on the other hand, render him too supple to France of little account. These arguments had their full weight with his Portuguese majesty, who was moreover assured by the prospect of a match between the infanta his daughter and the archduke Charles to whom the emperor and the king of Spain had promised to transfer all their pretensions to the crown of Spain. A treaty was now set on foot, and soon concluded at Lisbon, between the emperor, the queen of Great Britain, the king of Portugal, and the king of Spain. In this treaty it was stipulated that the treaty of Utrecht should be conveyed to Portugal by a post ship, having on board 12,000 soldiers, and a great quantity

of arms and ammunition, and that 28,000 Portuguese should be ready to join him immediately at Lisbon.

In consequence of these arrangements, the emperor made great preparations for sending his son to Portugal, by way of Holland, and at the same time dispatched letters to his Portuguese majesty and the queen of Great Britain, recommending him to their protection. About the middle of September, king Charles set out from Vienna for Holland, and passing through the territories of the elector of Hanover, was met by that prince, who complimented him on his accession. At Dusseldorp he was visited by the elector Palatine and the duke of Marlborough, the latter of whom made him compliments of congratulation in the name of the queen. On the 2d of November his majesty arrived at the Hague, where he represented to the states, that the province of Limburgh belonged to him as king of Spain, and desired he might have the civil government thereof; which the states complying with, his majesty appointed count Zinzerdorf to take possession of the town and province of Limburgh in his name.

On the 9th of November the queen opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, wherein she took notice of the declaration by the duke of Savoy, and the treaty with Portugal, as circumstances very advantageous to the allies: she told them, "that no provision was made for the expedition to Lisbon and the augmentation of the land forces, the funds had answered so well, and the prizes had turned out so valuable, that the public had not incurred any debt by those additional services: that she had contributed, out of her own revenue, to support the circle of Suabia, whose firm adherence to the alliance deserved a reasonable assistance: that she would not engage in any unnecessary expence of her own, that she might have the more to spare towards the ease of her subjects: that she recommended a union among themselves, a dispatch in the business before them, and above all desired they would avoid all heats or bickerings that might give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and state."

Both houses presented addresses of thanks to her majesty for her speech, much to the same effect. The commons, in theirs, acknowledged her goodness for having engaged the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy in the alliance; for contributing part of her own revenue to the public service, and for her assistance to the circle of Suabia; and they assured her, that they would support her majesty in her alliance, and enable her to carry on the war with vigour.

The treaty with Portugal being now laid before the lower house, and duly considered, they voted 40,000 men, including 5,000 marines, for the sea service of the ensuing year; the like number of land forces to act in conjunction with the allies, besides the additional 10,000; and they resolved that the proportion now engaged in Portugal should amount to 8,000. For the maintenance of these armaments, as well as for the discharge of the subsidies, payable to her majesty's allies, they granted the sum of 3,881,000*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* Her majesty presented an address to the queen in which they assured her, that they would provide for the support of such alliances as she had made or should make with the duke of Savoy.

About this time, Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, and two other persons, were sent over from St. Germain's to receive instructions to learn the strength and disposition of the clans, and endeavour to persuade the most powerful and leading men to enter into a league with the French, had formed of restoring the pretender to the crown of that kingdom. Frazer had been ordered to raise a body of 12,000 highlanders, and to assist them with some French troops.

Frazer was no sooner landed in Scotland than he waited privately upon the duke of Queensberry, and informed him of the whole transaction, at the same time delivering him a letter from the late king James's queen, directed to the marquis of Athol. This letter was couched in general terms, that might have been addressed to any of the nobility, and the direction was written in a different hand, so that it was generally believed that Frazer, who had a private pique against the marquis, had forged it, in order to wreak his vengeance upon him. In consequence of this service, and of the informer's promising to make him acquainted with the whole correspondence between the pretender and his friends in Scotland, Queensberry provided him with a pass, under favour of which he made a progress through the highlands, to sound the chieftains. He afterwards proposed a second journey to France, pretending that he should then be able to make more material discoveries, and the duke procured a pass for him, under a feigned name, from the earl of Nottingham, secretary of state. The duke had already imparted the discovery to her majesty, but, at the request of the informer, had concealed his name. The queen was the more readily induced to credit the particulars, on account of the evidence given by Sir John Maclean, who had lately come over from France to England, and had been apprehended at Folkestone in Kent, from whence he was brought to London, in custody of the queen's messengers. A person named Keith was apprehended at the same time, as was Mr. Lindsey, who had been under secretary to king James and the pretender. James Boucher, who had been aid de camp to the duke of Berwick, was taken on the coast of Sussex, coming over from France. Such a number of rebels and outlaws coming over at this time, tended to confirm the truth of a conspiracy being in agitation, though they made use of the specious pretence, that their only design was to live peaceably at home, under her majesty's government, for the future. Sir John Maclean, being examined at the earl of Nottingham's office, said, that he was going to Scotland to take the benefit of the queen's pardon; but afterwards both he and Keith being more closely interrogated, acknowledged that they had heard some consultations at St. Germain's concerning the sending a body of troops to join the malcontents in Scotland, but declared there was no other design on foot at this time, than to pave the way for the pretender's ascending the throne after the queen's decease. But now one Ferguson, who had been concerned in almost every jacobite plot, came in voluntarily and declared that Frazer had been employed by the duke of Queensberry to draw some persons whom that nobleman had a dislike to, into a plot, but that there was in reality no such thing in agitation. These assurances, however, gained little credit, and the house of lords, taking these matters into consideration, resolved, that a committee should be appointed to examine into the particulars, and ordered that Sir John Maclean and the other emissaries should be taken into the custody of the black rod, and no person admitted to speak to them. This step greatly offended her majesty; she thinking it too officious an interpolation to take them out of the hands of her messengers, informed the lords, "that she thought it would be inconvenient to change the method of examination already begun, and that she would, in a short time, inform the house of the whole affair."

On the 17th of December, the queen went to the house of peers, and, in a speech which she made, informed both houses, "that she had unquestionable information of the practices and designs carried on by the emissaries of France and Scotland, which might have proved extremely dangerous to the peace of the kingdom."

of these kingdoms, as they would see by the particulars, which should be laid before them as soon as the examination could be carefully perfected, and made public without prejudice, and that, in the mean time, she doubted not but, by this timely discovery, she should be able to give such directions for their security, as would effectually prevent any ill consequences from these pernicious designs." Notwithstanding this speech, the lords persisted in their resolution to bring the enquiry into their own house, and proceeded to name their committee by ballot. The choice fell upon the dukes of Somerset and Devon, the earls of Sunderland and Scarborough, and the lords Somers, Townshend and Wharton.

The commons (who were far from being on good terms with the lords) knowing that the queen was displeased with their proceedings, presented an address on the 23d of December, in which they expressed the just concern they were under to see her royal prerogative violated. They said they were surprized to find that when several persons, suspected of treasonable practices, were taken into custody by her majesty's messengers, in order to be examined, the lords, in violation of the known laws of the land, had wrested them out of her majesty's hands, and without her leave or knowledge, in a most extraordinary manner, taken the examination of them solely to themselves, whereby a due enquiry into the evil practices and designs against her majesty's person and government might, in a great measure, be obstructed. They desired her majesty, that she would suffer no diminution of her prerogative, in the exercise whereof they were resolved to support her, as well as in carrying on the war.

Fired with indignation at the charge brought against them by the commons, the lords resolved to vindicate their honour, and exert their privileges. Accordingly they came to the following resolution, "That by the known laws and customs of parliament, they had an undoubted right, whenever they conceived it to be for the safety of the crown and the kingdom, to take examination of persons charged with criminal matters, whether they be in custody or not, and to order that such persons as are to be examined, be taken into custody by the sworn officers of the crown, attending that house; and that the said address of the commons was unparliamentary, groundless, without precedent, &c." This resolution they supported by a remonstrance to the queen, couched in the strongest terms, and expressed in the most elegant style.

In answer to this remonstrance, her majesty observed, that she was sorry for any misunderstanding that might happen between the two houses of parliament, as it interrupted the public business, and gave her so much uneasiness: that she could not avoid taking notice with particular satisfaction, of the assurances their lordships gave her, that they would carefully avoid every thing that had the least tendency to occasion them. She thanked them for the concern they expressed for the rights of the crown, and her prerogative, which she declared she should never exert so willingly, as for the good of her subjects and the protection of their liberties."

When the commons perused the remonstrance of the lords, they presented another to the queen, in vindication of their own conduct; but this was couched in the language of irritated passion, by which, indeed, both houses were too much inflamed.

The answer returned by the queen to the commons was nearly the same with that she had before returned to the lords. The commons, upon this, presented an address to her majesty, praying her to re-assume the just exercise of her prerogative, and take upon herself the examination of the conspiracy; declaring that the establishing a committee of seven lords, for

the sole examination of the conspiracy, was of dangerous consequence, and might tend to the subversion of the government.

A. D. 1704. The lords, however, notwithstanding the address of the commons, proceeded in the examination of the Scottish plot; and on the 29th of January the earl of Nottingham acquainted them, that the queen had commanded him to lay before them the account, containing all the particulars discovered in relation to that affair; but that there was one circumstance that could not be properly communicated, without running a risk of preventing a discovery of much greater importance.

Keith, who accompanied Frazer over to Ireland, had, it seems, tampered with his uncle, to deliver the whole secret of the correspondence between the court of St. Germain's and the Scottish jacobites. This circumstance the queen was desirous of concealing, till the success of her endeavours should be known, and which at last proved abortive. But the lords, not satisfied with the reserve, presented an address, desiring that all the papers, without distinction, might be submitted to their inspection, in order to enable them to penetrate to the bottom of this conspiracy before the conclusion of the session.

The queen considered this application as an affront, and returned for answer, "that she did not expect to be pressed in this manner immediately after the declaration she had made; but hoped, that before the end of the session she should be able to inform them of those particulars which could not at present be published without the most palpable inconvenience." The queen, however, a few days after sent the papers sealed to the house; and all the lords were summoned to attend on the 8th of February, that they might be then opened and examined.

The lords being assembled according to the summons, they began with the most material part, drawn up by the earl of Nottingham, entitled, "An account of the conspiracy in Scotland," and as an abstract of all the examinations the council had taken. They then proceeded to examine Sir John Macdonald, who mentioned several circumstances not to be found in Nottingham's paper. He named the persons who sat in council at St. Germain's: he said the command of the troops agreed to be sent over to Scotland from France, was offered to the duke of Berwick who thought proper to suspend his acceptance, till it should be made, whether the duke of Hamilton, whom he judged the more proper person, would refuse: he likewise explained the particular directions which had been sent to Scotland, in order to prevent establishing the succession in that kingdom.

These material omissions in Nottingham's paper caused many severe reflections on the conduct of that nobleman. It was even moved to censure the account he had given; but on the question being put, it was carried in the negative by eleven voices.

Having finished the examinations, the lords voted that there had been dangerous plots between several persons in Scotland and the courts of France and St. Germain's; and that the encouragement to such plotting arose, from not settling the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover. These votes were signified to the queen in an address, and she was promised, that when this succession should be settled, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms, upon just and reasonable terms.

During these disputes between the two houses of parliament, her majesty sent a message to the commons, in which she told them, "that having carefully considered the mean and infamous maintenance appointed for the clergy, in various parts of the kingdom, she had remitted the articles of the said

fruits and tenths, to the said poor clergy: that she would grant her whole revenue arising out of this fund, as far as it should become free from incumbrances, towards an augmentation of their maintenance; and that if the house of commons could discover any method by which her good intentions towards the clergy could be rendered more effectual, it would be at once a great advantage to the public and very acceptable to herself."

The commons, on receiving this message, voted an address to the queen, in which they expressed their thanks for her gracious message, and her pious concern for increasing the maintenance of the poor clergy out of her own revenue; and assured her majesty they would do their utmost to make her majesty's charitable intentions more effectual. Accordingly a bill was brought in "for making more effectual her majesty's gracious intentions for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, by enabling her majesty to grant in perpetuity the revenue of the first-fruits and tenths." They also repealed the statute of mortmain so far, as to give free liberty to all men, either by deed or their wills, to give what they thought proper towards the augmentation of benefices. This part of the bill was strongly opposed in the house of lords, where it was alledged it would be opening a door for the clergy to practise on the weakness of dying men. This argument was not, however, strong enough to gain over the majority: the bill passed both houses, and afterwards received the royal assent.

The queen exerted herself to bring about a reconciliation between the two houses, but in vain. Their animosities, however, did not indeed hinder the more essential business of the nation; but as it was feared they might be productive of very fatal consequences, the queen determined to put an end to the session of parliament, which was accordingly done on the 3d of April, when her majesty, after thanking them for the large supplies they had granted, and the dispatch they had given to the public business, added, "At the opening of this session, I earnestly expressed my desires of seeing you in perfect union among yourselves, as the most effectual means imaginable to disappoint the ambition of our enemies, and reduce them to an honourable and lasting peace. And though this has not met with the success I wished and expected, yet being fully convinced that nothing is so necessary to our common welfare, I am not discouraged from persisting in the same earnest desires, that you would go down into your several counties so disposed to moderation and unity as becomes all those who are joined in the same religion and interest.

"This I am persuaded will make you sensible, that nothing, next to the blessing of God, can so much contribute to our success abroad and safety at home."

The affairs of Scotland also gave her majesty great uneasiness. In order to settle the ferment in that kingdom, where the thirst of independence was grown outrageous, she consented to an act of security, which had passed the Scottish parliament. The purport of this act was, that in case the queen died without issue, the parliament should immediately assemble and nominate a successor to the crown, distinctly from the crown of England, unless a national establishment, conformable to the laws of a country, and independent of the English councils, previously took place, and the court had not given the people a power to arm in their defence. Lord Godolphin, then prime minister, advised her majesty to yield, on this occasion, to the necessity of circumstances, though by this proceeding he exposed himself greatly to the censure of the Tories.

By this time the emperor's affairs were in the most deplorable situation. Pressed on one side by the Hungarians who had shaken off the yoke, and under

prince Ragotski, were fighting for their liberty; and on the other by the elector of Bavaria, who held every thing upon the Danube, and threatened Vienna itself with a siege; he had no other resource than that of imploring the assistance of her Britannic Majesty. The duke of Marlborough strongly pressed the necessity of sending immediate assistance to the emperor, and the queen accordingly returned a favourable answer to the memorial of that distressed prince. Marlborough arrived at the Hague about the beginning of May, and represented, in the strongest terms, to the states-general the danger which the empire, and even all Europe were threatened, if an immediate check was not given to the French and Bavarians in Germany. The states, persuaded that it would be bad policy to oppose him, though they were very desirous of keeping the army in Flanders, gave their consent; and prepared for carrying into execution the plan he had formed, that of marching into the heart of Germany, and delivering the house of Austria from impending ruin.

The duke marched with such expedition that he reached Mildenheim on the 10th of June; where he was visited by prince Eugene, and the next day by prince Lewis of Baden. A long consultation was held by the generals, in which it was agreed that prince Eugene should command a separate army on the Rhine, and that the duke and prince Lewis should command alternately. The march was prosecuted with the utmost expedition, till they reached the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, opposite to the Bavarian lines, where about 8000 French and as many Bavarians lay intrenched to guard the country they had conquered. Alarmed at the approach of the allies, the duke of Bavaria sent a detachment of his best troops to reinforce count d'Arco, who was posted at Schellenberg, a rising ground on the Danube, near Donawert. As that post was of very great importance, d'Arco had, for some time, employed his troops in throwing up entrenchments. Marlborough knowing his works were not completed, resolved, if possible, to drive the enemy from their post. Accordingly, on the 6th of July, at three in the morning, he advanced at the head of a detachment of 600 foot, 30 squadrons of English and Dutch, and three battalions of imperial grenadiers, the rest of the army following with the greatest diligence. But the distance, badness of the road, and other incidents, so greatly retarded his march, that it was three in the afternoon before the artillery passed the river Wermitz, which runs by Donawert.

At length the attack was begun with the utmost intrepidity, by the English and Dutch, before the Imperialists could come up. The enemy made a gallant resistance; but prince Lewis leading up the Imperialists, the entrenchments were forced; a terrible slaughter ensued; and the greater part of the enemy pushed into the Danube, where numbers of them perished. The victory was complete; and the troops that had the good fortune to reach the opposite side of the Danube, fled in the utmost confusion. Sixteen pieces of cannon and thirteen standards were taken. Donawert immediately surrendered; and the elector of Bavaria, informed of the defeat of his troops, re-passed the Danube, marched with the utmost precipitation, and encamped under the cannon of Augsburg. He was offered very advantageous terms, provided he would abandon the French interest, and join the grand alliance. At first the elector seemed to listen to the proposal; but being informed that marshal Tallard had passed the Black Forest, and was advancing, by forced marches, to his assistance, he broke off the negotiation, declaring, that since the French monarch made such powerful efforts to support him, he thought himself obliged in honour to remain firm

to his alliance. This conduct of the elector was highly resented by the confederate generals, who detached thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons to lay waste the country of Bavaria, to the very walls of its capital.

The utmost vigilance was exerted by prince Eugene for preventing marshal Tallard from joining the duke of Bavaria; but all his endeavours proved abortive. The junction was made at Biberach, near Ulm, about the end of July. Marlborough immediately left his camp, and joined prince Eugene at Munster; while prince Lewis of Baden formed the siege of Ingoldstadt.

On the 12th of August, Marlborough and Eugene reconnoitred the camp of the enemy, whom they found advantageously posted on a hill near Hochstet, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim; their left by the village of Lutzingen; and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom very marshy. This advantageous situation did not, however, intimidate these two great generals: they resolved to attack the enemy before they had time to fortify their camp; advice having been received that Villeroy was on his march for Wirtemberg, in order to destroy that country, and cut off the communication of the allies from the Rhine, which must have been attended with very fatal consequences, could it have been effected. Orders were therefore issued that very night for all the baggage of the army to be sent towards Donawert, and the troops ready to march by break of day. About seven in the morning of the 13th of August the allies appeared in sight of the enemy's camp, where every thing was in a profound silence; not imagining the allies would dare to attack them in so advantageous a post. They were therefore thrown into the utmost confusion at the appearance of our troops: they discharged two pieces of cannon to call in their foraging parties, and set fire to several small villages that were between them and the allied army.

About nine in the morning the cannonading began, on both sides, and continued, without intermission, till one in the afternoon. The French and Bavarian armies consisted of near 60,000 men. The right wing was commanded by marshal Tallard, and the left by the elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marfin. The confederate army did not exceed 50,000 men. Prince Eugene commanded on the right; the lords Cutts and Orkney, the generals Churchill, Lumley and Ingoldby, the left; and the duke of Marlborough, as commander of the whole, took his station in the center.

Such was the situation of the two armies when the battle began about one o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th of August. There was a necessity for crossing the rivulet already mentioned before the allies could attack the enemy, who had taken care to guard it with three squadrons of horse, under the command of M. de Zurlauben, a Bavarian general, who fell so vigorously on the allies, that they were obliged thrice to give ground; but this handful of men not being properly supported, they were soon overpowered by numbers, and driven from their post. Had the French generals properly supported these brave troops, the allies would not have found the passage of the rivulet an easy task; but by neglecting this, they committed an error they could never retrieve. Their artillery played very hotly, but did very little execution; and the passage of the rivulet was effected in the face of the enemy. As soon as the center and part of the right had passed the rivulet in different places, they formed on the other side, without any interruption from the enemy, who remained quiet on the hills. Marlborough immediately led his troops to the attack of Tallard's cavalry. The French stood the shock,

with great firmness, for some time; but were at last broken, and forced to give way. Tallard flew immediately to the village of Blenheim, where he had posted twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons. These troops formed a distinct army, and kept up a continued fire on Marlborough's division, while he attacked the right wing. Tallard, having given his orders in the village, hastened back to the place of action, where the duke, with a body of horse and some battalions of foot between the squadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him, and which Tallard could not prevent.

In the mean time the cavalry of the confederates left wing, being now completely formed, ascended the hill of Lutzingen with astonishing intrepidity, and charged the enemy's horse with such fury, that though they rallied several times, they were obliged at last to betake themselves to flight. The victorious Marlborough now forced his way between the two bodies of the French army on one side, while the rest of the generals got between the village of Blenheim, and Tallard's division on the other. In this desperate situation, Tallard flew to rally some of his broken squadrons; but the badness of his sight completed his misfortune. He mistook a squadron of Hessians for his own forces, and was taken prisoner, together with many officers of distinction.

Prince Eugene had attempted the passage of the rivulet at a place where the banks of the stream were very steep, and the bottom rough and uneven. The least opposition on the part of the enemy must, therefore, have rendered his efforts fruitless, and obliged him to retire and seek a more favourable spot for the execution of his purpose; but the enemy made none. He had no sooner reached the opposite bank, than he attacked the left wing, commanded by marshal Marfin, with the utmost vigour. But the imperial horse behaved very ill on this occasion; they were so intimidated by the constant fire of the enemy, that they could not be brought to advance within musket-shot. The Danish and Prussian troops gave back in the same manner; but being at length animated by the gallant example of their officers, they flew to the charge, and exerted themselves with so much vigour, that they put the enemy to flight; and Marfin finding it in vain to make any further resistance, abandoned Oberklau and Lutzingen, and was pursued as far as the villages of Morfelingen and Teiffenhoven, whence he retired to Dillingen and Lavingen. The route now became general through the whole French and Bavarian army: every one fled with the greatest precipitation; numbers ran headlong into the Danube and perished.

The count de Boug saved a small part of the infantry by retreating over the marshes of Hochstet. But the little army cooped up in Blenheim was lost. It consisted of twenty-seven battalions, and twelve squadrons, amounting in the whole to about 11,000 effective men, and the best troops in France. They were waiting at Blenheim for orders, and knew nothing of the rout of their army, till they were surrounded by the allies. It was impossible for them to make any effectual resistance: the streets were so narrow for them to form; and their own artillery now in the hands of the allies, would soon have decided the contest. They, therefore, thought proper to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Such was the event of the celebrated battle of Blenheim, or, as the French call it, the battle of Hochstet; where the allies gained one of the most glorious and complete victories. The French army was almost entirely destroyed: of 60,000 men, 10,000 were killed, and 20,000 wounded. Not above 20,000 could be collected after the battle. Ten thousand French and

Bavarians

Bavarians were killed on the spot; the greater part of thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons perished in the Danube; 13,000 were made prisoners, including 1200 officers: the allies took 100 pieces of cannon, with 21 mortars, 129 colours, 110 standards, 17 pair of kettle-drums, 3600 tents, 34 coaches, 300 loaded mules, two bridges of boats, and 15 pontoons; together with 24 barrels and 8 casks of silver. The loss of the allies amounted to about 5000 men killed, and 8000 wounded and taken prisoners.

The duke of Bavaria was obliged to fly, and abandon his country to the conquerors, who penetrated into Alsace, took Landau, and scattered terror in every region through which they passed. Marlborough signalized himself in the action, no less by his courage than by his military talents. His prisoner, Tallard, complimenting him on having conquered the best troops in the world, he answered, that his own were certainly better, because they had conquered them. Marlborough received a recompence worthy of his services. The emperor created him a prince of the empire; the states received him with the same respect as if he had been the stadtholder; and his country received him with every demonstration of joy.

The campaign in Portugal was far from being successful. To fight in conjunction with heretics was considered by the Portuguese as a kind of apostacy. It was therefore in vain to hope for success: and accordingly, instead of making conquests in Spain, several of the towns of Portugal were taken by the enemy. The duke of Schomberg, who commanded the allied army, was so enraged at the behaviour of the Portuguese, that he desired leave to resign his commission. His request was granted, and the earl of Galway sent over to succeed him, with eight thousand Dutch troops, who reached Lisbon the beginning of August.

The operations at sea this year were very considerable. Sir George Rooke cruised for some time on the coast of Portugal; but being requested to assist in executing a design on Barcelona, projected by the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, he readily gave his consent, and took on board that prince with a detachment of land forces; but the attempt proving fruitless, he crossed the Mediterranean, and came to an anchor in the road of Tctuan.

A council of war was now held on board the admiral's ship, where it was determined to make an attempt on Gibraltar, which was known to be slightly garrisoned. The next day the whole fleet got under sail, and on the 21st of July came to an anchor in Gibraltar bay. The land forces, amounting to 1800, with the prince of Hesse at their head, were landed, about four in the afternoon, on the neck of land to the northward of the town, in order to cut off all communication with the country. A summons was sent to the governor to surrender the town; but he answered he would defend it to the last extremity. The next morning the cannonade from the ships began with the utmost fury; and it was soon perceived that the Spaniards were driven from the south mole head; and all the boats of the fleet were manned and sent, and took possession of the fortifications. The Spaniards immediately sprung a mine, which destroyed all the fortifications on the mole, killed two lieutenants and forty men, and wounded about sixty. The seamen, however, kept their post; and having made themselves masters of a redoubt between the mole and the town, they turned the cannon against the enemy. A peremptory summons was now sent to the governor, who, on the 24th in the morning, capitulated, and the prince of Hesse took possession of the place.

The town of Gibraltar being thus reduced, the admiral sailed again into the Mediterranean, in order,

if possible, to meet with the French fleet, that had, for some time, been lying at Toulon. He discovered them on the 11th of August, and on the 13th they were not above three leagues distant, and a little to the westward of Malaga. They now drew up in a line of battle, and lay ready to receive him. Their fleet consisted of fifty-two ships and twenty-four galleys, and the English of fifty-three ships. Sir George Rooke, assisted by the rear-admirals Byng and Dilkes, commanded in the center; Sir Cloudesly Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van; and the Dutch formed the rear.

About four in the morning the action began, when the van and rear pressed forward to a close engagement, and soon obliged that part of the French line to give way; but the French center stood firm, and the fight was maintained with the greatest obduracy till night obliged them to desist. The French took advantage of the night to bear away to leeward; and the wind shifting before the day appeared, they were seen at least three leagues to windward. Both spent the day in repairing the damages they had sustained; and in the night the French stood away farther to the northward; nor could the English bring them to an engagement, though they followed them two days for that purpose. In consequence of this Sir George failed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a squadron of eighteen ships under Sir John Leake, set sail for England, where he arrived in the beginning of September.

The parliament met on the 24th of October, and the session was opened by a speech from the throne, in which her majesty observed, that the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms, infused an unanimous joy through the whole kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the present advantages would enable her to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, as well as a firm support for the liberties of Europe. She declared, that her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her subjects. She expressed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loss of this opportunity; and that there would be no contention among them but who should do most for the public welfare. "Such a temper as this (added she) in all your proceedings, cannot fail of securing your reputation both at home and abroad. This would make me a happy queen, whose endeavours shall never be wanting to make you a happy and flourishing people."

Both houses waited on her majesty the next day, with separate addresses of thanks for her speech. The lords congratulated her on the great and glorious success of her arms under the command of the duke of Marlborough, without mentioning Sir George Rooke; but the commons congratulated her majesty "as well upon the victory obtained by Sir George Rooke, as upon that obtained by the duke of Marlborough." They also assured her that they came disposed to do every thing necessary for the effectual prosecution of the war, and that they would give such a speedy dispatch to the public business as might enable her majesty to pursue the advantages she had obtained over the common enemy. They were, indeed, as good as their word; for almost 5,000,000 were voted for the service of the ensuing year.

The measures of the Scottish parliament, the act of security, and the seeds of rebellion scattered through the kingdom, occasioned the most disagreeable apprehensions. The matter was first opened in the house of peers by lord Haverham, who observed, "that the settlement of the succession of Scotland had been postponed partly because the ministry of that kingdom were weak and divided, and partly from a received opinion that the succession was never seriously and cordially intended by those who managed

ged the affairs of Scotland in the cabinet-council: he expatiated on the bad consequences that might attend the act of security, which he stiled a Bill of Exclusion; "for," said he, "can any reasonable man believe, that those who promoted that bill could ever be real friends to the succession as settled by the English parliament?" He particularly mentioned that clause by which the heritors and burghs were ordered to exercise their fencible men every month: he said, "that the nobility and gentry of Scotland were as learned and brave as any in Europe, and that these were generally discontented; that the common people were very numerous, very robust, and very poor; and asked, who was the man that could tell what such a multitude, so armed and so disciplined, might do under such leaders, should they find opportunities suitable to their intentions? Besides, added he, I look upon it as of the last importance to England, that there should not be the least shadow or pretence for a necessity to keep up a regular standing army in time of peace." These particulars he earnestly recommended to the consideration of the house, and concluded his speech with the following words of lord Bacon, "Let men beware how they neglect or suffer matter of trouble to be prepared, for no man can forbid the sparks that may set all on fire."

This speech produced very warm debates in the house of peers, but the majority agreeing with lord Haversham, they came to the following resolutions; "That to prevent the inconveniences that might happen by the late act passed in Scotland, the queen might be enabled, on the part of England, to name commissioners to treat about an entire union with Scotland, provided those powers be not put in execution till commissioners should be named on the part of Scotland, by the parliament of that kingdom: that the traffic of cattle from Scotland to England should be stopped: that orders should be issued for seizing such vessels as should be found trading from Scotland to France, or to the ports of any of her majesty's enemies: that cruisers should be appointed for that purpose: and that exportation of English wool into Scotland should be prohibited." On these resolutions a bill for an union with Scotland was brought into the house, and being passed by the lords, it was sent down to the commons, received the sanction of that house, and afterwards the royal assent.

A. D. 1705. The duke of Marlborough being now returned home, at his first appearance in the house of peers, the lord-keeper, in the name of the whole house, congratulated him upon his successes in the late campaign, and returned him their thanks for his signal services. A committee of the house of commons also waited on his grace with the thanks of that house, and to congratulate him on his successes: they also presented an address to the queen, intreating her to consider of some proper means to perpetuate the memory of such noble actions. On the 17th of January the queen returned an answer by the chancellor of the exchequer, in which she acquainted the house, that she was willing to grant the interest of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodstock and hundred of Wooton, to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that as the lieutenancy and rangerhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manors and hundreds were already granted for two lives, she judged it proper to remove that incumbrance, and desired the assistance of the house therein. In consequence of this intimation, a bill was prepared, enabling her majesty to bestow these honours on the duke and his heirs, and desiring her to advance the money to clear the incumbrances. The queen, besides complying with this address, ordered the comptroller of the board of works to build

in Woodstock a magnificent palace for the duke, to be distinguished by the name of Blenheim-house.

Such were the honours and rewards heaped upon the duke of Marlborough; while Sir George Rooke, who had spent his life in the service, and who had done great honour to his country, was not only neglected, but dismissed from his command and ordered to retire to his seat in Kent. He was succeeded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who was then declared rear-admiral of England.

The good understanding that had for some time subsisted between the two houses was now interrupted by a question relating to the rights of electing members of parliament. And, particularly, whether an elector's vote being refused by the officer appointed to take the poll, he might not bring an action at law against the offender? Several conferences were held between the two houses in order to an amicable decision of the question; but neither being willing to recede in the least from the principles they had adopted, and the disputes seeming to threaten very serious consequences, the queen determined to put an end to the session. Accordingly she came to the house of peers on the 14th of March, and after giving the royal assent to such bills as were ready, and making a short speech from the throne, she prorogued the parliament. On the fifth of April it was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for calling a new one, pursuant to the act for triennial parliaments.

The Scottish parliament met on the 28th of June, but many of the members being absent, the lord-commissioner adjourned the house till the 3d of July, when a letter from the queen was read to the assembly. In this letter her majesty expressed her anxiety for the following purport: "That at their last meeting she recommended to them, with the greatest earnestness, the settling of the succession of that kingdom in the protestant line; and several particulars having since happened which shewed the great inconvenience of that matter continuing in suspense, she could not but at present most seriously renew the recommendation of that settlement, as being conducive to the growing necessity of it, both for the preservation of the protestant religion, the peace and safety of her dominions, and for defeating the designs and desires of all her enemies. And to prevent any objection to the said settlement, that could be suggested by the views or fears of future inconveniences that might happen to that kingdom from thence, she should be ready to give the royal assent to such provisions and restrictions as should be found necessary and reasonable in a case of such importance. And therefore, she must recommend it to them as most necessary for all the ends already mentioned, that they should proceed to the settlement of the succession before all other business." She had been fully satisfied, and doubted not but that such great benefits would arise to all her subjects from an union of Scotland and England, and that such would contribute more to the composing of differences, and extinguishing heats that were kindled and fomented by the enemies of both kingdoms, than the promoting of every thing that had a tendency to procure so valuable an end. She had therefore heartily recommended to them to put an act in commission to let a treaty on foot between the two kingdoms, as the parliament of England had done, effectuating what was so desirable, and for such matters and things as might be judged proper for the honour, and the good and advantage of both kingdoms for ever, in which she should most willingly be their best assistance."

The duke of Argyle, high commissioner for Scotland, strongly recommended the measures mentioned

in the queen's letter to the consideration of the house, and was seconded by the lord-chancellor. The affair of the succession was accordingly taken into consideration, when duke Hamilton proposed that the treaty with England should be first discussed, and the limitations settled before they proceeded any farther in the act of succession. This was agreed to, and that nobleman made a motion for leaving the nomination of the commissioners to the queen. This occasioned a very violent debate; but the question being at last put, Whether the nomination should be left to the queen or the parliament? the duke's motion was approved of by a small majority. A bill was therefore brought in and passed by the house for treating about an union with England; but it was declared that the treaty should not commence till the clause in the English act of parliament, declaring the subjects of Scotland, "Aliens," be rescinded.

It is now time to attend to the affairs on the continent. The duke of Marlborough had, ever since the battle of Blenheim, employed his thoughts in forming a plan for improving the advantage he had gained by that action; and, after the most mature deliberation, none appeared so rational, as that of making an impression on the frontiers of France. Accordingly, the Moselle was pitched upon as the scene of action, and large magazines were formed at Triers. The states-general having agreed to the project, and even contributed their part towards the carrying it into execution, Marlborough set out for Maëstricht, in order to assemble his army. This was performed with such expedition, that by the latter end of May the troops passed the Maese, and directed their march towards the Moselle, under the command of general Churchill; while the duke himself set out for Rastadt, to visit prince Lewis of Baden. Here a long conference was held between these two celebrated generals, in which it was resolved that a sufficient number of German troops should be left for securing Lauterburg and Stollhofen, under the command of general Thungen; and that prince Lewis should advance at the head of a large detachment towards the Saar, in order to act in concert with the duke of Marlborough, in forming the siege of Saar-Louis, the taking of which would open a passage into the very bowels of France.

After passing the Saar, the duke encamped at Elft, in sight of marshal Villars, who was posted in that neighbourhood with a numerous army, but, upon the approach of the allies, he retired to Comingsmaeren.

As forage was very scarce in that part of the country, and, therefore, impossible for the allied army to subsist long between the Moselle and the Saar, Marlborough sent repeated remonstrances to quicken the march of the imperialists; but neither his remonstrances, nor those of the deputies of the states, had any effect. A few of the imperial troops were indeed detached from Lauterburg for the Moselle, but they marched so slowly, that instead of being on the banks of the Saar by the ninth or tenth of June at the farthest, they did not arrive till the 20th, and even then there were neither horses nor artillery provided.

In the mean time the French did not fail to make use of their superiority in the Low Countries, where M. d'Auverquerque was in no condition to oppose their progress. They invested Huy, and carried on their attack with such vigour, that in less than fourteen days the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Flushed with this success, and encouraged by the absence of the duke of Marlborough, the elector of Bavaria and marshal Villeroy undertook the reduction of Liège, and actually began to attack the bastions before the citadel.

This disagreeable news no sooner reached the allied army, than the deputies of the states represented to the duke of Marlborough, "that it was impossible to subsist the army any longer in their present situation; that the Germans, by their delays, had rendered the besieging Saar-Louis impracticable, and defeated the whole scheme for a campaign on the Moselle: that it was to no purpose to continue in these parts, when their forces might be better employed in the Netherlands, in stopping the progress of the enemy." The duke was sufficiently persuaded of the truth of these representations; but being willing to remain till the last extremity, he did not decamp till the 17th of June, when he found all his hopes of penetrating into the bowels of France rendered abortive.

The duke prosecuted his march with such expedition, that he saved Liège, the enemy retiring at his approach with great precipitation. He soon after retook Huy, and obliged the enemy to retire behind their lines, from whence he determined to force them, though the French and Bavarians consisted of near 100 battalions, and 146 squadrons.

To facilitate this difficult undertaking, it was determined to make a false attack, in order to divide the attention of the enemy. Accordingly, the army under the command of M. d'Auverquerque decamped early in the morning of the 17th of July, and marched towards Burdine on the other side of the Meuse. Marlborough made a motion at the same time, as if he intended to support Auverquerque in his attack of the lines in the neighbourhood of Messelin, where they were weakest. This feint produced the desired success; the French detached large bodies of forces to these parts; leaving the others, where the duke really intended to make his attack, in a very weak condition. As soon as night came on, the duke put his army in motion, while d'Auverquerque repassed the Meuse to join, and both marched in conjunction to support a detachment ordered to make an attempt on the enemy's lines near Heylsham. This was the strongest part of the whole, and consequently where the enemy least expected an attack. They were therefore seized with astonishment when the allies appeared, and incapable of making any effectual opposition, the greater part of their forces having been drawn off to guard the other parts.

The confederate troops passed the lines with very little opposition; but were afterwards attacked by twenty-four squadrons of Bavarian horse, and twenty battalions. The dispute was for some time very sharp; but the horse and dragoons of the right wing coming up, the enemy were put to flight, leaving behind them their standards, colours and artillery. The marquis d'Alegre, and the count de Horne, lieutenant generals, were taken prisoners, together with one major-general, two brigadier-generals, and 74 other officers.

Nothing farther of moment happened in Flanders, during the present campaign. The duke put his army into winter quarters, and, after concerting the operations of the next campaign with the emperor and the states-general, he embarked for England.

The army in Portugal gained some advantages over the enemy, but not equal to what was expected. The Portuguese, with their allies the English and Dutch, marched to the frontiers of Spain, and meeting with no enemy in the field on that side, they laid siege to d'Alcantara, in the province of Alentejo, which they soon took by storm. The garrison of Albuquerque, a town of no great strength, capitulated. Several councils were afterwards held for settling the operations of the ensuing part of the campaign. The earl of Galway and general Fagel proposed laying siege to Badajoz; but that town being much better fortified

fortified than either of the former, and furnished with a garrison of nine or ten battalions to defend it, the design was laid aside for the present; and the army, about the middle of June, sent into quarters of refreshment.

In the mean time the marquis del Minas, who commanded a separate body of Portuguese in the province of Beyra, attacked the town of Salvaterra, in which was a garrison of 360 men, who surrendered at discretion. The marquis afterwards plundered and burnt Sarea, but receiving intelligence that a strong body of French and Spaniards were in full march against him, he thought proper to retire to Penamacos. As soon as the summer heats were abated, the earl of Galway again renewed his instances to form the siege of Badajoz, which were not listened to till about the latter end of September, when an army marched towards that place, and on the 4th of October the trenches were opened. The siege was carried on with such vigour that, had it not been for an unforeseen accident, the garrison must soon have surrendered; but the earl of Galway being one day in the trenches, a cannon ball took off his right arm; and the command then devolving on general Fagel, he did not carry on the siege with that vigour his predecessor had done, which gave the marquis de Thessé an opportunity of throwing a relief of 1000 men into the place. All hopes of reducing Badajoz were now over: the allied army therefore abandoned the enterprise, and marched into winter quarters.

The success in Catalonia, however, made up for this disappointment. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, and the earl of Peterborough, reduced Barcelona, and the whole province of Catalonia submitted to Charles. A very remarkable incident happened at the siege of Barcelona, which does the highest honour to the earl of Peterborough. While the viceroy was capitulating with the English general at one of the gates of the city, a party of German soldiers penetrated into the place, and began to pillage the houses and massacre the inhabitants. The viceroy complained of this treachery. Peterborough assured him that he might depend on his honour, and desired permission to enter with his troops, promising to appease the tumult, and return to finish the articles of capitulation. He was trusted, and marched into the city, followed by the English; where he soon put a stop to the disorders, dispersed the German soldiers, took from them their plunder, and returned to sign the articles of the treaty.

After the reduction of Barcelona, a council of war was assembled, wherein it was resolved, that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel should sail for England with the best part of the fleet: that Sir John Leake with a strong squadron should be left in the Mediterranean: that six ships should remain with the earl of Peterborough; two more be stationed at Gibraltar; and a third and fourth to be employed, at the request of his Portuguese majesty, in cruising for the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. In pursuance of these resolutions, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with nineteen ships of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, sailed through the Straights, and arrived at Spithead on the 16th of November.

The new parliament met on the 27th of October, when her majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne; in which she represented the necessity of acting vigorously against France, as the common enemy to the liberties of Europe. She recommended the fortitude of the duke of Savoy, which, she said, was without example, and merited all their endeavours to encourage him to persevere in the same conduct. She informed them of her intention of issuing commissions for treating of an union with Scotland. She

earnestly recommended unanimity and brotherly affection among her people; and observed that some persons had endeavoured to foment animosities, and even to suggest in print, that the established church was in danger. "Such (added she) are enemies to me and my kingdom, and mean only to cover designs which they dare not publicly avow, by endeavouring to distract the nation with unmeasurable and groundless distrusts and jealousies." She declared she would always affectionately support and countenance the church of England, as by law established; that she would inviolably maintain the toleration; that she would endeavour to promote religion and virtue, encourage trade, and every thing else that had a tendency to make them a happy and a flourishing people." And they (added she) who shall concur zealously with me in carrying on these good designs, shall be sure of my kindness and favour."

Both houses were so well pleased with this speech that they presented separate addresses, in which they promised to assist her majesty to the utmost of their power. And on the 13th of November the commons presented a second, in which they returned her thanks for her great care and endeavours to settle the succession to the Scottish crown in the house of Hanover, and promoting the union of the two kingdoms; assuring her no endeavours should be wanting in their part to assist her in perfecting so salutary a work.

A few days after the meeting of the parliament the commons presented the thanks of the house to the duke of Marlborough, (now returned from abroad) for the signal services he had performed during the last campaign, and for his prudent negotiations with the allies. The credit of this nobleman was indeed extremely high at this juncture: for the emperor having proposed a loan of 500,000*l.* on a branch of his revenues, in Silesia, the whole sum, by the interest of Marlborough, was immediately subscribed by the merchants of London. Public credit was very high at this juncture: the nation was blessed with plenty; the forces were well paid notwithstanding the great quantity of coin exported for the maintenance of the war; the paper currency supplying the deficiency so well, that few murmurs were heard in the kingdom.

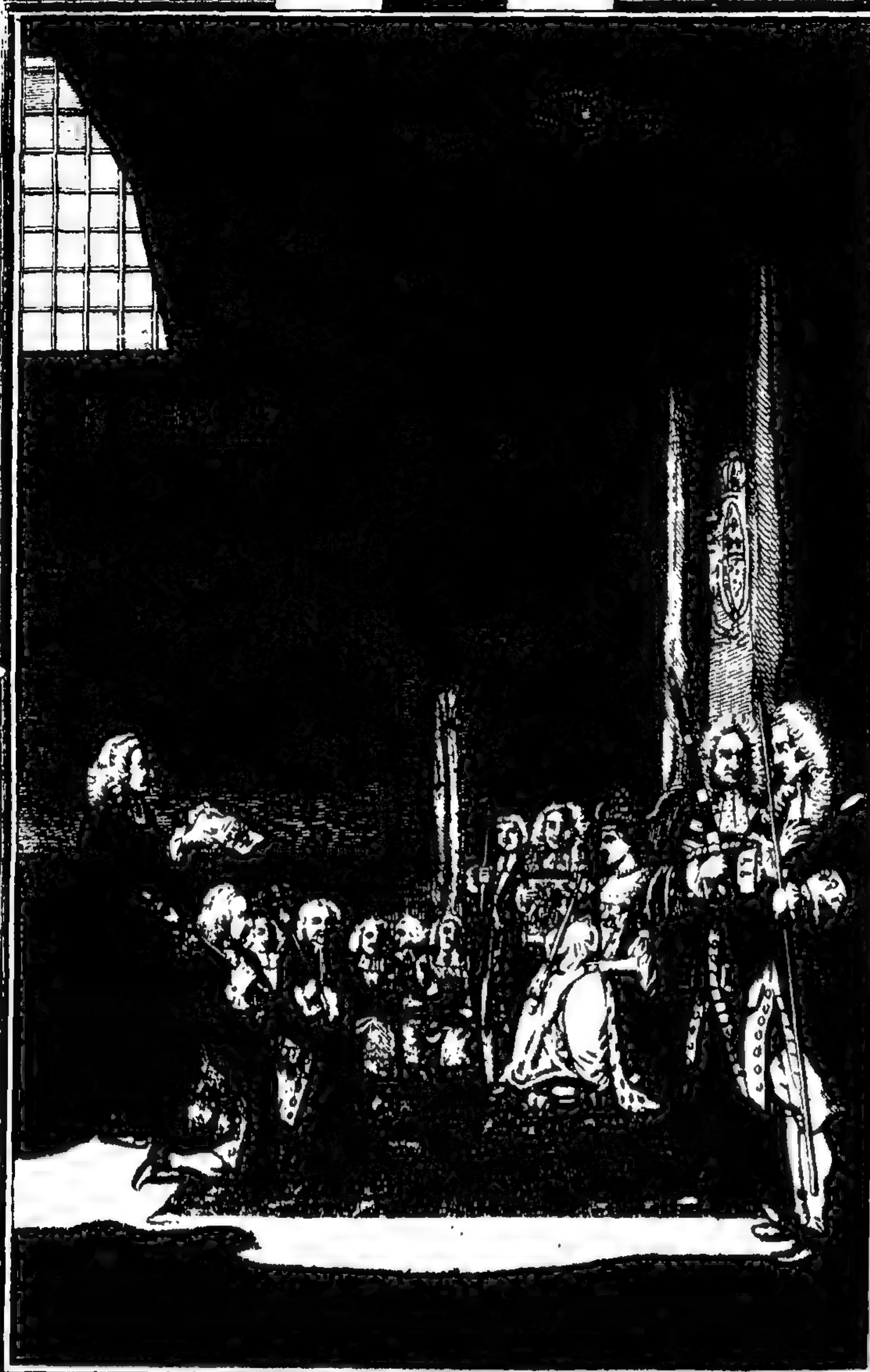
The first business of the parliament was to establish the funds necessary for carrying on the war with vigour during the approaching campaign. This being done, they took into consideration the union with Scotland; and the parliament of that kingdom having declared, that they would enter into no treaty with England till the act in which they were declared aliens should be rescinded, the two houses immediately repealed that act, and also took off the several prohibitions and restrictions which had been laid upon the trade between the two kingdoms.

A. D. 1706. The necessary supplies being granted, and several bills passed for the good of the nation, her majesty went to the house of peers on the 1st of March, and after giving the royal assent to several bills as were ready, she made a speech to both houses, in which she expressed her acknowledgments for the unanimity and dispatch with which they had conducted the public business, and the zeal and industry they had shewn for her service; after which the parliament was prorogued till the first of May following.

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament her majesty appointed commissioners for treating of an union between England and Scotland; a treaty which she was very desirous of concluding.

Every thing being ready for entering on this important work, the commissioners of both kingdoms met on the 16th of April, at the council chamber in the cockpit, in order to negotiate an agreement on

*Engraved for the Subjects
History of England.*



*The ACT of UNION presented
to Queen Anne, by the Duke of
Queensberry & Co.*



A new & Accurate Map
of that part of
GREAT BRITAIN,
called
SCOTLAND
By T. Bowen.

British Statute Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60



WEST

ISLANDS

WESTERN

PART OF
IRELAND

Longitude 7 West from London

was for ever to put an end to the disputes that had for so many ages subsisted between these two sovereignties.

The Scottish commissioners first proposed to conclude a *fœderal* union like that subsisting between the cantons of Switzerland; but nothing less than an incorporating union would satisfy the English, who were determined to take away effectually from the Scottish parliament the power of repealing the articles of this treaty. Pursuant to this resolution, the lord-keeper of England proposed, "That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should be united into one nation, by the name of GREAT BRITAIN; that it should be represented by one parliament; and that the succession of the monarchy, in failure of heirs of her majesty's body, should be subject to the limitations mentioned in an act of parliament made in England, in the thirteenth year of the reign of king William III. intitled, An act for the farther limitation of the crown, &c."

Finding a *fœderal* union would not be accepted, the commissioners of Scotland agreed to the preliminaries proposed by the lord-keeper, with this proviso only, "That all the subjects of the united kingdoms of Great Britain should have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation to and from any part or place within the said united kingdom, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there should be a communication of all other privileges and advantages which do or may belong to the subjects of either kingdom." No objection was made to this proviso, except a reserving such particulars as, in the course of the negotiation, should appear to be advantageous to the subjects of both countries.

These preliminaries being settled, the queen made them a visit, in order to quicken their deliberations, and finish a treaty she had so greatly at heart. They accordingly exerted themselves, in order to satisfy the request of her majesty; and at length finished the negotiation for uniting the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The following are the articles that composed this treaty of union.

ARTICLES OF UNION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

I. That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland shall, from the first of May, 1707, be united into one kingdom, by the name of Great-Britain; and that the ensigns armorial of the same united kingdoms be such as her majesty shall appoint, and the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George be conjoined in such a manner as her majesty shall think fit, and used in all flags, banners, standards, and ensigns, both by sea and land.

II. That the succession of the united monarchy of Great-Britain shall be to the princess Sophia, and her heirs; and that all papists, or persons who marry papists, shall be for ever excluded from inheriting the crown of Great Britain, agreeable to the provision for the descent of the crown of England made in the first year of the reign of their late majesties, king William and queen Mary, intitled, An Act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, &c.

III. That the united kingdoms of Great-Britain shall be represented by one and the same parliament, to be called the parliament of Great Britain.

IV. That the subjects of the united kingdoms shall have freedom of trade and navigation within the same, and plantations belonging to it; and that there be a communication of all other rights, privileges and advantages, except where it is otherwise expressed in the articles.

V. That all ships or vessels belonging to the Scots at the time of ratifying the treaty of the two king-

doms in the parliament of Scotland] shall be deemed British built; the owners making oath that [at the time of ratifying the treaty of union in the parliament of Scotland] the same did, in the whole or in part, belong to them.

VI. All parts of the united kingdom to be under the same regulations of trade, and liable to the same customs and duties, except and reserving the duties upon export and import of such particular commodities, from which any person, the subject of either kingdom, are especially liberated and exempted by their private rights, which, after the union, are to remain safe and entire to them, in all respects as before the same; and that from and after the union, no Scots cattle carried into England shall be liable to any other duties, either on the public or private account, than those duties to which the cattle of England are or shall be liable within the said kingdom; and seeing, by the laws of England, there are rewards granted upon the exportation of certain kinds of grain, wherein oats, ground or unground, are not expressed, that from and after the union, when oats shall be sold for fifteen shillings sterling per quarter, or under, there shall be paid two shillings and sixpence sterling for every quarter of the oat-meal exported in the term of the law, whereby and so long as rewards are granted for the exportation of grains. And that the beer of Scotland have the same reward as barley. And because the importation of victual into Scotland would prove a discouragement to tillage, therefore the prohibition now enforced by the law of Scotland against importation of victual from Ireland, or any other place beyond Sea, into Scotland, do, after the union, remain in the same force as at present, until more proper and effectual ways be provided by the parliament of Great-Britain, for the discouragement of the importation of the said victual from beyond sea.

VII. That all parts of the united kingdom be liable to the same excise upon the same exciseable liquors, except only that the thirty-four English barrel of beer or ale, amounting to twelve gallons Scots present measure, sold in Scotland by the brewer at nine shillings and sixpence sterling, excluding all duties, and retailed, including duties and the retailer's profit, at two-pence the Scots pint, or eighth part of the Scots gallon, be not, after the union, liable, on account of the present excise on exciseable liquors in England, to any higher imposition than two shillings sterling upon the aforesaid thirty-four gallons English barrel, being twelve gallons the present Scots measure.

VIII. Foreign salt in England shall pay the same duty as in Scotland; [but because the duties of foreign salt imported may be very heavy on the merchant importer, that therefore all foreign salt imported into Scotland shall be cellared and locked up under the care of the merchant importer, and the officers employed for levying the duties upon salt; and that the merchant may have whatever quantity thereof his occasions may require, not under a weight of forty bushels at a time, upon his giving security for the duty of what quantities he receives, payable in six months.] By this article it was also provided, that salt made in Scotland should be exempted for seven years from the English duty. But from the expiration of the said seven years, shall be subject to the same duties as salt made in England. [That Scotland shall, after the said seven years, remain exempted from the duty of two shillings and sixpence on home salt, imposed by an act made in the ninth and tenth years of king William III. and if the parliament of Great Britain shall at, or before, the expiration of the said seven years, substitute any other fund in the place of the said two shillings and four pence of excise upon the bushel of home salt, Scotland shall, after the expiration

piration of the said seven years, bear a proportion of the said fund, and have an equivalent in the terms of this treaty.] No salt whatsoever shall be brought from Scotland to England by land under certain penalties denounced: and for establishing an equality in trade, it was provided, that all flesh exported from Scotland to England, and shipped in Scotland to be exported beyond sea; and provisions for ships in Scotland and foreign voyages, may be salted with Scotch salt, paying the duty for what salt is so employed, and the like quantity of fresh salt pays in England, and under the same penalties, forfeitures, and provisions for preventing frauds as are mentioned in the laws of England. And that for the encouragement of the herring fishery, there shall be allowed and paid to the subjects inhabitants of Great Britain, during the present allowances for other fisheries, ten shillings and five-pence sterling for every barrel of white herrings which shall be exported from Scotland; and that they shall be allowed five shillings sterling for every barrel of beef or pork salted with foreign salt, without mixture of British or Irish salts, and exported for sale from Scotland to parts beyond sea, alterable by the parliament of Great Britain.

IX. That whenever the sum of one million nine hundred, ninety-seven thousand, seven hundred and sixty-three pounds, eight shillings and four-pence half-penny, shall be enacted by the parliament of Great Britain on land, that part of the united kingdom, now called Scotland, shall be charged with the additional sum of forty-eight thousand pounds, as the quota of Scotland for such tax; and so proportionally for any greater or lesser sum raised in England on land; the said quota to be assessed in the same manner as the assess now is in Scotland; but subject to such regulations as shall be made in the parliament of Great Britain.

X. That Scotland shall not be charged with stamp-duties now in force in England.

XI. Nor with the duties payable in England on windows.

XII. Nor those on coals or culm.

XIII. Scotland shall not pay the malt duty during its continuance in England, which was to expire the twenty-fourth of June 1707.

XIV. Scotland shall not be charged with any other duties imposed by the parliament of England before the union, except those consented to in this treaty: and if the parliament of England in their provision for the service of the year 1707 shall impose any farther customs, the Scots shall have an equivalent for the share thereof they may be liable to. [And Scotland shall not be charged with any imposition on malt made or consumed in that kingdom during the war.]

XV. Stipulates, that whereas by the terms of this treaty, the subjects of Scotland, for preserving an equality of trade throughout the united kingdom, will be liable to several customs and excise now payable in England, which will be applicable towards paying the debts of England, payable before the union, it is agreed that an equivalent shall be made to Scotland for such part of the English debts, as Scotland may hereafter become liable to pay by reason of the union, other than such appropriations as have been made by parliament in England, of the customs and other duties on exports and imports, excises and all exciseable liquors, in respect of which debts equivalent are herebefore provided; which equivalent is here stipulated to be three hundred ninety-eight thousand, eighty-five pounds ten shillings sterling to be granted by the parliament of England in the manner as in this article is particularly and at large explained. The distinction of this equivalent is in the same article applied, 1. For indemnifying private persons from any losses they

may sustain by reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of that of England 2. For indemnifying the sufferers in the late African and Indian company of Scotland. 3. For discharging the public debts of Scotland. 4. For improving the manufacture of the coarse wool of Scotland. 5. For encouraging and promoting the fisheries, and such other manufactures and improvements in Scotland, as may most conduce to the general good of the united kingdom: and for which end commissioners were to be appointed. [It seems the Scots were so inflamed by the destruction of their Darien and African company by the government of England, that nothing but the absolute assurance of an equivalent for reimbursing their whole capital, employment in that affair, with interest, amounting to two hundred and thirty-two thousand, one hundred and sixty-two pounds, sixteen shillings and eleven pence halfpenny, could have induced them to agree to treat of the union, and they even insisted on the insertion of the above clause.] That if the said stock, capital and interest shall not be paid in twelve months after commencement of the union, that then the said company may from henceforth trade, or give licence to trade until the said whole capital stock and interest shall be paid.

XVI. That the coin be of the same standard throughout the united kingdom as now in England, and a mint to be continued in Scotland under the same rule as the mint of England.

XVII. That the same weights and measures be used throughout the united kingdoms as are now used in England; and standards shall be kept in the burghs, agreeable to the standard of the English exchequer.

XVIII. That the laws for the regulation of trade custom, and such excises as Scotland is to be liable to shall be the same as those in England. Other laws in Scotland to remain as before the union, but alterable by the parliament of Great Britain. Laws which concern public right, policy, and civil government may be the same throughout the united kingdom but no alteration shall be made in the laws which concern private right, except for the evident utility of the subjects of Scotland.

XIX. The court of session and other courts shall remain in Scotland the same as before the union subject, nevertheless, to such regulations, for the administration of public justice, as shall be made by the parliament of Great Britain; and that hereafter none shall be named by her majesty or her royal successors to be ordinary lords of session, but such as have served in the college of justice as advocates principal clerks of session for the space of five years or as writers to the signet for the space of ten years with this provision, that no writer to the signet capable of being admitted a lord of session, shall undergo a private and public trial on the civil before the faculty of advocates, and be found by them qualified for the said office two years before he be named to be a lord of session, yet so as the qualification made, or to be made, for capacitating persons to be named ordinary lords of session, may be altered by the parliament of Great Britain.

XX. That all heritable offices, superiorities, and other jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life, be reserved to the owners thereof as their property, in the same manner as they are now enjoyed by the laws of Scotland, this treaty notwithstanding.

XXI. The rights and privileges of the burghs in Scotland, as they now are, shall remain entire after the union, and notwithstanding that

XXII. That by virtue of this treaty, the peers of Scotland, at the time of the union shall sit and vote in the house of lords, and forty-two

the members of the representatives of Scotland in the house of commons in the parliament of Great Britain, the choice whereof to be according to the act passed in Scotland for that purpose; which act is hereby declared to be valid, as if it were part of it, and engrossed in the treaty: and in case her majesty shall, on the first of May, 1707, declare this present parliament to be the first of Great Britain, the present parliament of England may be so on the part of England, and the sixteen peers and the forty-five commoners for Scotland to sit with them; such parliament to continue no longer than the English parliament is allowed to continue.

XXIII. That the aforesaid sixteen peers of Scotland, mentioned in the preceding article, to sit in the house of lords in the parliament of Great Britain, shall have all the privileges of parliament which the peers of England now have, and which they or any peers of Great Britain shall have after the union, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trial of peers; and that all peers of Scotland, and their successors to their honours and dignities, shall, from and after the union, be peers of Great Britain, and have rank and precedence next and immediately after the peers of the orders and degrees in England at the time of the union, and before all peers of Great Britain, of the like orders and degree, who shall be created after the union.

XXIV. That from and after the union there shall be one great seal for the united kingdom of Great Britain, which shall be different from the great seal now used in either kingdom; and that the quarter of the arms, as well as the rank and precedence of the king at arms in Scotland, shall be left to her majesty; and that in the private seal, signet, cassel, &c. now used in Scotland be continued; but that the said seals be altered and adapted to the union, as her majesty shall think fit: that the crown, sceptre, and word of state, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls and records whatsoever, both public and private, general and particular, and warrants thereof, continue to be kept as they are, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland; and that they shall so remain, in all time coming, notwithstanding the union.

XXV. That all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they are contrary to, or inconsistent with the terms of these articles, or any of them, shall, from and after the union, close and become void, and shall be so declared to be by the respective parliaments of the said kingdoms.

No provision was made in this treaty with respect to religion; for in the acts of parliament of both kingdoms, which empowered the queen to name commissioners for treating of an union, there was an express restriction that they should not treat of those matters.

The above articles being agreed to, they were signed by the respective commissioners on the 22d of May, 1706, and the next day the lords commissioners waited on the queen with the treaty; when Lord Keeper, Cowper, in the name of the English commissioners, made a speech, congratulating her majesty on the conclusion of a treaty which so happily united the different parts of this island under the same monarchy. The earl of Seafield, lord-ambassador of Scotland, spoke to the same effect on behalf of the commissioners of that kingdom; to which her majesty was pleased to return the following answer:

My lords,
I give you many thanks for the great pains you have taken in the treaty, and am very well pleased to see your diligence and application have brought it

to so good a conclusion: the particulars of it seem so reasonable that I hope they will meet with approbation in the parliaments of both kingdoms. I wish, therefore, my servants of Scotland may lose no time in going down to propose it to my subjects in that kingdom; and I shall always look upon it as a particular happiness if this union (which will be so great a security and advantage to both kingdoms) can be accomplished in my reign."

While the ministers of the two kingdoms were employed in establishing an union between their respective countries, the armies of the belligerent powers were carrying on their hostile attempts with great fury. Lewis XIV. had determined to exert his utmost efforts in the course of this campaign, and had accordingly sent very numerous forces into the field. His army in Flanders was commanded by the marshal de Villeroy, a nobleman of great generosity and a favourite at court; but an indiscreet general, blindly confident, and deaf to counsel. He formed the design of surprising the duke of Marlborough before he could be joined by the Danes and Prussians, who were employed last year to act as auxiliaries. The French, accordingly, passed the Dyle early in May, and advanced directly towards the confederate army. It was in vain to hope that it was possible to surprise so vigilant a general as Marlborough. He was well informed of all their motions, and dispatched an express to the Danes to join him immediately, and was readily obeyed. Before this junction the allied army consisted of seventy-four battalions of foot, and 123 squadrons of horse and dragoons, provided with 100 pieces of cannon, twenty howitzers, and forty-two pontoons. About the same time the Danes joined the allied army, that of the French was joined by the marshal Marfin's horse, and by this addition their army amounted to seventy-six battalions and 132 squadrons. This superiority determined Villeroy to give battle to the allied army, though he knew his hopes of surprising the active Marlborough were rendered abortive.

The allies moved forward to meet the enemy, who had now taken possession of the strong camp at Mont St. Andre, their right extending to the Mahaigne, and their left to Anderkirk, the villages of Ofluz and Ramillies being in the center. On the 12th of May, about two in the afternoon, the allied army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz, on the brook Yause, and the left near the village of Franquennes, which was occupied by the enemy. The action was begun on the left of the allied army, who pushed a brigade of foot from their post on the Mahaigne. About the same time M. d'Auverquerque, the Dutch general, charged the French household troops at the head of the horse of the left wing. For near half an hour the success was doubtful; but a reinforcement coming up, the French retired. Lieutenant Scultz was now ordered, with twelve squadrons, and twenty pieces of cannon, to attack the village of Ramillies, which was strongly fortified with artillery. The attack was made with great vigour and resolution; and the enemy at last driven from the village, who endeavouring to make their retreat, were most of them killed or taken prisoners.

In the mean time the Dutch and Danish horse of the left wing of the allied army fell upon the foot in the right of the enemy, cut twenty battalions of them to pieces, and made themselves masters of their colours and artillery. The French now began to retreat in good order, covered by their cavalry of the left wing; but the English horse forcing their passage over the rivulet which separated them from the enemy, attacked them with so much intrepidity that they entirely abandoned their foot who were exposed

to all the fury of the cavalry. The French now gave way on all sides, and it was not without difficulty that marshal Villeroy and the elector of Bavaria saved themselves by flight. An accident which now happened completed the destruction of the French army. Several of the waggons of the vanguard happening to break down in a narrow pass, so obstructed the passage, that neither the baggage nor artillery could proceed, nor could the troops defile in order. The opportunity was not neglected by the victorious horse; they pressed upon them so vigorously, that the French king's own regiment of foot called for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours. The pursuit was continued with great success about five miles from the field of battle.

Few battles recorded in history were more complete than this of Ramillies. The greater part of the enemy's cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the allies, with above 120 colours, and several kettle-drums. The French lost about 40,000 men, near one half of their army; while the loss of the allies was not more than 2000. The French general retired with great precipitation to Brussels, while the allies took possession of Louvaine, and next day encamped at Bethlem.

The battle of Ramillies was followed with the immediate conquest of all Brabant; the cities of Louvaine, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Bruges, and Ghent, submitted without resistance, and acknowledged king Charles. Ostend, though secured by a strong garrison, surrendered after a siege of ten days only. Menin, esteemed the most finished fortification in the Netherlands, and guarded by 6000 men, submitted to the same fate. Dendermonde sustained a blockade of some weeks, which the duke of Marlborough afterwards ordered to be turned into a regular siege, which terminated in the garrison's surrendering themselves prisoners of war. Aeth was next invested, and submitted on the same terms, after twenty days resistance. Thus finished this glorious campaign of the allies in Flanders, after which the army went into winter-quarters. The duke of Marlborough returned to the Hague, and M. d'Auverquerque, being appointed commander in chief in the Netherlands, took up his residence at Brussels.

During these transactions in the Netherlands, the French army exerted themselves in Italy, where Lewis had flattered himself with being able to make himself master of Turin, the duke of Savoy's capital; and almost the only place of strength that prince had now left. Soon after the opening of the campaign the French attacked the imperialists at Calcinato, in the absence of prince Eugene, drove them from their posts, and obliged them to quit the territories of Bresciano, with the loss of 3000 men killed and taken prisoners, besides all their cannon and baggage.

Encouraged by this success, Lewis sent immediate orders to duke de la Feuillade to invest the city of Turin. This order was obeyed, while prince Eugene was on the other side of the Adige; and at too great a distance to come to its relief. Besides, a long train of intrenchments thrown up along the bank of that river, seemed to render the passage impracticable. Fifty-six squadrons and 100 battalions formed the siege; which was opened on the eighth of June. On the 15th the French began to fire red-hot bullets, many of which fell near the duke's palace. His highness therefore sent away immediately his wife and mother, with the young prince and princesses, to some distance from the city; and marched out himself on the 17th, leaving a numerous garrison under the command of count Thuan, general of the emperor's forces. This step was taken in order to amuse the duke de la Feuillade; and, accordingly, the lat-

ter immediately quitted the direction of the siege in order to pursue the prince; but he being much better acquainted with the country, baffled his intention. Convinced that all his attempts to surprize the duke of Savoy would be in vain, he returned to the siege, leaving the duke of Aubeterre with forty squadrons, and five battalions to watch the duke of Savoy's motions. The duke of Vendosme had been posted on the banks of the Adige from the 13th of May to the twentieth of June, in order to cover the siege of Turin; and thought himself certain that seventy battalions and sixty squadrons were sufficient to defend all the passages against prince Eugene. But that commander soon convinced him that he was mistaken. He crossed both the Adige and the Po, a river larger, and, in many places, more difficult to pass than even the Rhine itself.

Vendosme had received orders to leave Italy, in order to take upon him the command of marshal Villeroy's scattered forces in Flanders (that general having been disgraced on account of his late defeat by the allies;) but before his departure he saw prince Eugene in a condition to advance to the relief of Turin.

Lewis, on recalling Vendosme, sent his nephew, the duke of Orleans, to command his army in Italy, who found, on his arrival, the troops in as much disorder as if they had suffered a defeat. Eugene had before passed the Po in sight of Vendosme, and now crossed the Tanaro in view of the duke of Orleans; took Corpi, Corregio and Reggio; stole a march upon the French, and joined the duke of Savoy's army near Asti on the first of September.

In the mean time the city of Turin was reduced to great distress; most of the ammunition being spent, and the French having made a lodgment on the counterscarp. In this dangerous situation the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene saw themselves under a necessity of marching immediately to the defence of the place. Accordingly, they passed the Doria on the sixth of September, and encamped on its banks. The next morning, at break of day, the army moved towards the enemy. Never, perhaps, was a bolder march than the allied army made on this occasion; having a continual fire to sustain from forty pieces of cannon, which the enemy had pointed to gall them.

The duke of Orleans perceiving that all his efforts were not sufficient to stop the intrepidity with which the duke and the prince marched towards him, proposed to quit the intrenchments, and give them battle. He was joined in this proposal by the greater part of the general officers in the French army; but marshal Marlin producing a written order from Lewis, which left every thing to his decision, instead of an action; and, giving his opinion to remain in the lines, the duke of Orleans was forced to acquiesce.

As soon as the confederate army came within the cannon shot of the French line, they drew up in order of battle, and began the attack with their artillery. On this the whole army moved in a moment; the infantry marched up with their muskets to the foot of the intrenchments, and prince Eugene putting himself at the head of the left wing, began the charge, which was made with such alacrity, valour, and activity, that in less than two hours he drove the enemy's line. The lane was done by the duke of Savoy in the centre, and on the right; so that by noon the allies were masters of the French camp. The defeat of the army was become general. The duke of Orleans behaved with great presence of mind, and received several wounds in the action. Marshal Marlin was taken prisoner, after having been though shattered by a cannon ball, and died on the spot.

hours after, under the amputation. The French lost in the action near 7000 men, besides 300 officers, and about 8000 private men taken prisoners; 250 pieces of cannon, 108 mortars, 7800 bombs, 32,000 hand grenades, 48,000 cannon balls, 4000 chests of musquet balls, 86 barrels of gunpowder, all their tents and baggage, 5000 beasts of burden, 10,000 horses belonging to 13 regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the commissary, all fell into the hands of the victors. The mules were so richly laden, that this part only of the booty was valued at near 130,000l. sterling. The loss of the confederates did not amount to 3000 men, killed, wounded or disabled in the attack; exclusive of 2000 of the garrison of Turin, who had fallen during the course of the siege.

The duke of Savoy now entered his capital in triumph, and the duke of Orleans, finding it impossible to procure subsistence for his troops, retired into Dauphiné.

It would be unpardonable to omit the following singular circumstance, which occurred during the above siege of Turin. The enemy had broke into one of the largest subterranean galleries belonging to the citadel, and the French engineer was rewarded with 200 Louis d'ors, for making the discovery. The French now concluded they should make their way into the citadel by means of this secret passage, and accordingly posted 200 grenadiers there. One Micha, a Piedmontese peasant, who served as a pioneer, and who, by his good natural parts, and long practice, had acquired such a skill in his profession as to be made a corporal of that corps, was then working near the spot, with about twenty men, in order to complete a mine; but hearing the French busy over his head in securing their post in the gallery, he immediately perceived that his work was become useless, and that the enemy was possessed of a post that would be of infinite advantage to them: at the same time, he was convinced that it would cost him his life to prevent them; his mine having no saucisson, by which he might spring it with less danger. There was, however, no time for deliberation, and he instantly formed a scheme that would have done honour to the greatest hero. He ordered his companions to withdraw out of the mine, and to fire a musket as a signal, when they reached a place of safety; at the same time, requesting them to acquaint the duke, his master, that Micha implored assistance for his wife and children. His companions immediately retired, and on this intrepid pioneer's hearing their signal, he set fire to the mine, and thus sacrificed his own life to the service of his country. The 200 French grenadiers were blown up into the air, and the secret passage on which the enemy had placed such flattering hopes, was totally obliterated. His companions faithfully delivered his message to the duke, who not only provided for his widow and children, but settled a perpetual annuity of 600 livres a year upon Micha's descendants.

The French were equally unsuccessful in Catalonia, in Flanders and Italy. Philip, assisted by the marshal de Telle, laid siege to Barcelona in the spring. The city was defended by an inveterate rival, in person. The siege was carried with the utmost vigour, and the place at last reduced to extremity. The earl of Peterborough advanced to its relief at the head of 2000 men; but it being impossible to enter the city, he took post on an adjoining hill, and harassed the besiegers with continual skirmishes. The siege was, however, carried with such vigour, that it was thought impossible for the besieged to hold out many days, when the approach of the English fleet obliged the town admiral, who had blocked up the place by a battery, to retire. Philip, however, seemed determined

to carry on his approaches, even after the combined fleets of England and Holland came to an anchor in the bay: but the next morning he raised the siege in a very disorderly manner, leaving behind him all his tents, and great part of his military stores, together with his sick and wounded. The marshal de Telle recommended the latter to the care of the earl of Peterborough. He could not have applied to a more humane general. The sick and wounded felt the lenient hand of compassion, and were used with the greatest tenderness. In the mean time, lord Galway took several Spanish towns, and penetrated to the capital itself, which was abandoned at his approach; but Charles protracting his stay in Arragon, notwithstanding repeated expresses, lord Galway was obliged to abandon Madrid, and retire before the Spanish army.

The pride of Lewis was now humbled to such a degree as might have excited even the compassion of his enemies. He employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters, in his name, to the duke of Marlborough, and the deputies of the states-general, containing proposals for opening a congress. He had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial presented by the marquis d'Alegre. He offered to cede either Spain and the West-Indies, or Milan, Naples and Sicily, to Charles, to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and to indemnify the duke of Savoy for the ravages which had been committed in his dominions. The powers that formed the confederacy were fired with the ambition of making conquests; and England in particular thought herself entitled to an indemnification for the immense sums she had expended. Animated by these concurring considerations, queen Anne and the states-general rejected the offers of France, declaring they would not enter into any negotiations for a peace, but in concert with their allies.

During the campaign abroad, England and Scotland were engaged in treating of the union which had been agreed to by the commissioners between the two kingdoms. The Scottish parliament met on the 3d of October, when a letter from the queen was read to the assembly; in which she acquainted them, that the commissioners appointed to treat of an union between the two kingdoms had finished the treaty, and hoped the articles would prove acceptable to her subjects of Scotland: that an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace; it would secure their religion, their liberties, and their properties; remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations. She renewed her assurance of maintaining the government of the church; and told them they had now an opportunity of taking such steps as might be thought necessary after the union: desired the necessary supplies till the parliament of Great Britain could provide for those matters; and observed, that the great success with which it had pleased God to bless her arms, afforded a nearer prospect of a happy peace, with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union; and concluded with recommending calmness and unanimity in debating on this great and weighty affair, of such importance to the whole island of Great Britain.

But notwithstanding the union was so useful in the system of government, and so necessary to the well-being of the state, it met with the most violent opposition in the Scottish parliament. All parties seemed at first united to oppose it. The presbyterians imagined their religion would be lost; and the jacobites were enraged to see the pretender for ever excluded from the crown. The nobility were shocked at the loss of their best privileges, by the total abolition of their parliament. The merchants trembled for their commerce,

commerce, notwithstanding the advantageous liberty of trading to the English colonies. The nation in general considered itself as robbed of its rights, given up to slavery, and sold to a foreign power. The duke of Hamilton, who headed the party that opposed the union, made a most vehement speech against the treaty. "What!" cried he, "shall we abandon in the space of one half hour, what our ancestors have maintained for so many ages at the expence of their lives and fortunes? Are there here no descendants of those brave patriots, who defended the liberty of their country against every assault? Where are the barons, where are the peers, who once joined their breasts as a bulwark to the nation? Shall we sacrifice the sovereignty, the independency of our country, when our constituents call upon us to defend them, when they promise us support?" Others observed, that to consent to the treaty would be to overturn the constitution of the kingdom; that every people had their fundamental laws, which no authority could invade; that the existence of the rights of parliament forming an essential part of the state, the parliament itself had no right to dispense with them: that the whole body of individuals ought to concur in the sacrifice of their privileges; and that a sacrifice of that kind was most palpably pernicious.

The clamour without doors was still greater than within: the presbyterian preachers employed all their power and credit to rouse the resentment of their hearers against the treaty; nor did they labour in vain. The populace, transported with fury, erected the standard of rebellion, burnt the articles of the union publicly, published a manifesto, and declared they intended to dissolve the parliament. Even in the capital itself the people grew mutinous, and assaulted the house of Sir Patrick Johnson, provost of Edinburgh, and one of the commissioners of the union; nor did the person of the high-commissioner escape insult, the rabble throwing stones into his coach as he passed through the streets though surrounded by his guards. These tumults alarmed the ministry, and it was thought necessary to march several regiments of horse and dragoons into the north of England, that they might be in readiness should the enraged multitude break out into open rebellion. At last, however, affairs took a more favourable turn; whether the influence of the court or the means of corruption prevailed over the national spirit; whether the advantages of the union appeared in the end to over-balance its inconveniences, and the first alarms subsiding, reason and argument took place; or whether all these operated in concert, the Scottish parliament ratified all the articles with some slight alterations.

The English parliament met on the 3d of December, when her majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne; in which she congratulated them on the glorious success of the British arms; desired the commons would grant such supplies as would enable her to improve those successes; and concluded with recommending dispatch in public affairs, as the surest method of convincing both friends and enemies of the vigour and firmness of their proceedings.

The parliament were highly pleased with her majesty's speech, and affectionate addresses were presented by both houses. The commons, after examining the estimates, voted near 6,000,000 for the ensuing year; and when the speaker presented the money bills to her majesty, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough at Ramillies was gained before it could be supposed the armies were in the field, so the commons had granted supplies to her majesty before the enemy could well know that the parliament were sitting.

The parliament also voted their thanks to the duke of Marlborough for the eminent services he had done his country during the last campaign.

On the 7th of December the lords presented an address to her majesty, expressing their desire, that the honours and titles of the duke of Marlborough might be settled upon his posterity by act of parliament, and begging her majesty's direction therein, which she was pleased soon after to signify; when a bill was brought in, passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

The commons soon after presented an address to the queen, intimating, that as her majesty was pleased to erect the house of Blenheim as a monument of the glorious actions of the duke of Marlborough, they were desirous of making provision for the more honourable support of his dignity to his posterity, in whatever manner her majesty should think fit. To which the queen was pleased to answer, "that she having settled a pension of 5000l. per annum, out of the revenues of the post-office, on the duke of Marlborough, it would be agreeable to her, if it might be continued to his posterity for ever." Accordingly a bill was brought into the house of commons, and soon after passed into an act.

A. D. 1707. On the 28th of January her majesty went to the house of peers, and in a speech to both houses, informed them, that the treaty of union, with some small alterations and additions, was ratified by the Scottish parliament: that she had ordered it to be laid before them, and hoped that it would meet with their approbation and concurrence. She desired the commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent in case the treaty was ratified; and then, addressing herself to both houses, concluded as follows:

"You have now an opportunity before you of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms, which I hope will be a lasting blessing to the whole island, a great addition to its wealth and power, and a firm security to the protestant religion."

"The advantages that will accrue to us all from an union are so apparent, that I will add no more, but that I shall look upon it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which has been so often attempted without success, can be brought to perfection in my reign."

On the 3d of February the commons formed themselves into a committee of the whole house on the treaty of union; when it was opposed with the utmost violence by the tory party. Sir John Packer observed, that the union might be compared to a forced marriage, where the woman does not consent. "An act like this," said he, "produces corruption within doors, and by violence without can never be permanent. The queen, obliged by her coronation oath to maintain the church of England, hath now farther engaged herself to support the presbyterian kirk of Scotland. How can two churches incompatible be conciliated in the same kingdom? How can two nations, differing in a matter so essential, be united?" He concluded with observing, "the church of England being established by law, and the Scots pretending that the kirk was also by divine right," he desired the convocation might be consulted on this critical circumstance.

In answer to this colonel Mordaunt observed, for his part he knew of no other "pure divine right" but God's permission, and in this sense the church of England and the kirk of Scotland might both be said to be "pure divine," because God had permitted the former to prevail in England and the latter in Scotland. "The member who spoke last," continued colonel Mordaunt, "may, if he pleases, consult the convocation for his own particular information, but I believe the commons will not be so easily misled."

commons stand in no need of such instruction : they are sufficient judges of the propriety of their own measures ; and in any event it would be derogatory to the rights of the commons of England to ask, on this occasion, the advice of any inferior assembly, who had no share in the legislature."

The debate was continued for a considerable time with great spirit ; till the Tory members, finding there was a very considerable majority against them, quitted the house. All opposition was now at an end : the commons examined the treaty, article by article ; and on the 11th of February it was approved of by a great majority.

On the 15th it was taken into consideration by the lords ; but the debates were more solemn, and carried on with more deliberation than they had been in the lower house. Lord Haversham observed, that the articles came to their lordships with the greatest countenance of authority that it was possible for any thing to receive ; but authority, though the strongest motive to restrain the will, was certainly the weakest in the world to convince the understanding. He was not, he said, against a federal union, a union in interest and in the succession ; but this was a matter of a different nature : the question was, whether two nations, independent in their sovereignties, with different laws and interest, and, which is not to be forgotten, of different forms of worship, church-government, and order, shall be united into one kingdom ? That, in his opinion, this was an union composed of so many dissimilar pieces, of such jarring, incongruous ingredients, that he feared it would require a standing force to keep the whole from falling asunder, and breaking to pieces every moment. He farther observed, that by this act, 100 Scots peers, and as many commanders, were excluded the British parliament ; gentlemen who as little thought of being excluded a year or two before as any of their lordships did then ; that their rights were as well and as strongly secured to them as their lordships were at that time, by the fundamental laws of their kingdom, by the claim of right, and by act of parliament, whereby it was made high-treason to make any alteration in the constitution of the kingdom. He said that the union was contrary to the sense of the Scottish nation, as was sufficiently evident from the murmurs of all ranks of people while the treaty was under consideration by that parliament. But the argument on which he laid the greatest stress, was the injury the good English constitution, justly allowed to be the most equal and best poised government in the world, might suffer by having the weight of 61 Scottish members, and those too returned by a Scottish privy-council, thrown into the scale.

It was no difficult task to refute these arguments. Great affairs wear many different aspects. The advantages and disadvantages appear in contrast ; when the former preponderate, they ought to determine the debate. "The security and tranquillity of the kingdom," said one of the advocates for the union, "will evidently be the fruits of this treaty. Our inveterate enemies, France and Popery, will be no longer formidable, when Great Britain is united into one body. With respect to ecclesiastical affairs, a wise and moderate government may put an end to disputes. Are not the Swiss cantons united, though of different religions ? And is not the German diet a proof that diversity of creeds is no obstacle to political union ?"

A treaty supported by reason, and opposed only by weak arguments, carried the majority of votes. The parliament approved the union ; and experience soon made those phantoms vanish, which imagination had raised against the good of the public. A bill of ratification was now brought in, which passed both houses ; and on the 14th of March her majesty went

to the house of peers, when the bill being presented to her by the dukes of Queensberry and Dover, her majesty received it with the most distinguished marks of satisfaction, and after having given it the royal signet, addressed herself to the parliament as follows :

" My lords and gentlemen,

" It is with the greatest satisfaction I have given my assent to a bill for uniting England and Scotland into one kingdom.

" I consider their union as a matter of great importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island ; and, at the same time, a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that till now, all attempts that have been made towards it, in the course of above one hundred years, have proved ineffectual ; and therefore I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. I desire and expect from all my subjects of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness one to another, that so it may appear to all the world they have hearts disposed to be one people.

" This will be a great pleasure to me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the good effects of this union.

" And I cannot but look upon it as a particular happiness, that in my reign so full a provision is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the security of our religion, by so firm an establishment of the protestant succession throughout Great Britain.

" Gentlemen of the house of commons,

" I take this occasion to remind you of making effectual provision for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland within the time appointed by the act ; and am persuaded you will shew as much readiness in this particular, as you have done in all the parts of this great work.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The season of the year being now pretty far advanced, I hope you will continue the same zeal, which has appeared throughout this session, in dispatching what yet remains of the public business before you."

Thus, after many vigorous, tho' ineffectual, attempts for the purpose, was at length happily accomplished an union between England and Scotland, which took place on the 1st day of May 1707. And thus was a final period put to those fatal quarrels that had so often desolated great part of both kingdoms.

During these transactions in England, the French king determined to make another attempt to recover his affairs, and, if possible, procure an honourable peace. He sent fresh troops into Spain, however necessary they might be in Flanders, where the victorious Marlborough triumphed over every opposition. The duke of Berwick, natural son to James II. commanded the army of Philip, and advanced to Almanza ; while the allies, under the command of lord Galway, marched to meet the enemy. On the 14th of April, the two armies were in sight of each other, and a general engagement was now unavoidable. This was the most fatal battle the allies suffered during the whole war ; and the following account of it was published by authority.

" Our army entered the plain of Almanza about noon, formed into a line of battle, and marched in that position till they came within a mile of the enemy. Lord Galway, to supply our want of cavalry, had interlined a brigade of foot with each wing of horse ; but the enemy having drawn from the left

some

some squadrons to reinforce the right wing, lord Tyrrawley, who commanded on the left wing, ordered the Portuguese horse of the left of the rear-line, commanded by the count of Attalaya, to double into our first line, in order to make an equal front with the enemy.

"On the 25th of April, about three in the afternoon, the earl of Galway posted himself at the head of the English dragoons, and advanced to begin the battle with the enemy's right wing of horse; the Portuguese being ordered to take the charge as it should come to them from the left, but not before the English and Dutch were actually engaged. While we were advancing, the enemy began to play upon us from a battery on a rising ground, nearly in the front of their right; but our troops pressing on to come to a close engagement, the cannon on either side did very little execution; and a detachment of dragoons being sent, under colonel Dormér, to attack the enemy's battery, they retired, with their artillery, with great precipitation. As soon as our left wing was advanced within an hundred paces of the enemy's horse, they also advanced out of their line to meet our charge, and the engagement soon became very bloody and obstinate on both sides. The enemy, by the weight of their squadrons, forced ours to retreat some paces; but two regiments of foot, on the left of that brigade which was interlined with the horse in the first line, coming up, threw in their fire upon the enemy's flank and rear; and our cavalry, at the same time, renewing their charge in front, they were drove, in disorder, through their own lines, with great slaughter.

"By this time the English and Dutch foot, who formed the center of our army, under the command of lieutenant-general Erle and baron Freyheim, were sharply engaged, and broke through the enemy's first and second line, bearing all down before them as far as the walls of Almanza: but this success was not of long duration; for the enemy's squadrons of the second line fell upon their flank, and forced our infantry back with great loss.

"The enemy observing that the cavalry of our right did not advance with our left wing, detached some squadrons to fall upon the Portuguese, who formed the right wing, under the command of the marquis das Minas. These troops, in the most dastardly manner, gave way upon the first charge; the whole horse of the right wing fled, and abandoned their infantry, who were most of them either killed or taken prisoners. The battle still continued on our left wing, the enemy still charging us with fresh squadrons, but without success; which the duke of Berwick perceiving, he sent nine battalions, most of them French, who drew up before the first line of Spanish horse, to oppose our brigade of foot, consisting of five regiments. At the same time, he brought up several fresh squadrons, to make another charge upon our left wing of horse. The count de Attalaya, who commanded the Portuguese horse that were mixed with our dragoons, was carried off wounded. Our troops were now attacked on every side; and being left naked in the flanks by the cowardly flight of the Portuguese wing, were surrounded and hemmed in on all sides.

"In this dreadful situation, they formed themselves into a hollow square, and retired from the field of battle. Had they been able to make good their retreat, the enemy would have had no great cause to boast of the victory, the loss on both sides being nearly equal, but the men, after marching nine hours without any refreshment, and fighting about six, were faint with fatigue: all their ammunition was spent, they saw themselves abandoned by their own horse, and in a country to which they were utter strangers; desti-

tute of provisions, and cut off from all hopes of a supply. These considerations induced them to surrender themselves, amounting to thirteen battalions, prisoners of war. They accordingly dispatched a messenger to the duke of Berwick, desiring honourable terms, which were readily granted. The duke, who believed this body beyond his reach, immediately dispatched the count d'Asfeldt to receive their surrender on these conditions: that they should be prisoners of war till exchanged; that they should be all disarmed, except the officers, who were to keep their swords, and that they should have liberty to send for their baggage before they marched any farther. The Portuguese, and part of the English horse that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira."

The confederates lost in this action upwards of 10,000 men, 2,000 of whom were left dead on the field of battle, and among those several officers of distinction. Lord Galway himself was wounded in the face, and several others very dangerously. The loss of the enemy on the field was nearly equal to that of the allies.

After this unfortunate battle, the earl of Galway retired with the poor remains of his army to the frontiers of Catalonia, in order to join Charles. The next day the duke of Orleans joined the French army, marched into Valencia, and reduced almost the whole province together with its capital city, before the middle of May. He marched thence to Saragossa; and on his approach, that city, with the whole kingdom of Aragon, made their submission to him, imploring the duke to intercede for them to Philip. Orleans promised to use all his interest to obtain their pardon; but, at the same time, thought proper to disarm them, and obliged them to purchase their peace with large sums of money, and procure provisions for the subsistence of his army. The duke of Orleans closed the campaign with the taking of Lerida, which happened on the 2d of November; after which our armies retired into winter quarters.

In the mean time Villars became formidable in Germany; but France was still in danger. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene passed the Var, and besieged Toulon. The combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, blocked up the place by sea, and assisted in the reduction of this important place. Had the enterprise succeeded, Provence would have been lost, and the allies might have carried the conquest much farther into France. But the operations were not pursued with that vigour that seems to command success. The secret of the expedition had not been kept, and a powerful reinforcement arrived before the place could be taken. It was therefore determined to raise the siege, but not before they had left evident marks of their visit. Orders were therefore issued for a general bombardment, both by sea and land. This dreadful farewell greatly distressed the enemy: eight ships of the line were burnt in the harbour, twelve others were sunk at the entrance of the mole, five of which could ever be recovered; several magazines, some above sixty houses, were destroyed in the city; the devastations committed in the adjacent country were estimated at near 500,000 pound sterling.

The raising the siege of Toulon was followed by several other cross accidents, and losses to our fleets. The very seasons seemed to aim against them. The fleets were greatly shattered by bad weather at sea, in which several ships were lost, or fell a prey to the enemy's cruizers. England in particular suffered sensible loss in the unhappy fate of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who, on his return with the fleet to England, ran upon the rocks of Scilly, where his own flag ship, the *Swallow*, was lost.

association, together with the Eagle, Firebrand, and Romney were lost, and all the crews perished*.

The campaign in the Netherlands was totally barren of events. The dukes of Marlborough and Vendôme spent their time in marches and counter-marches, in order to gain some advantages over each other; but these great generals were so remarkably cautious, that no action happened between the two armies, nor was there a single town besieged. The troops on both sides returned, at the end of the campaign, into the same quarters they had occupied the preceding winter.

On the 23d of October, the first parliament of Great-Britain met (according to appointment) at Westminster. The session was opened by her majesty with a speech from the throne; in which she told them, that she did not doubt but they came prepared to make the union so prosperous, that it might answer the most sanguine hopes of her subjects, and the reasonable apprehensions of her enemies: that nothing was so material as to convince her foes by demonstrating, that the uniting their interests had not only improved their abilities, but also their resolutions to prosecute the war with vigour, till an honourable peace could be obtained. She observed, that though the attempt upon Toulon had not been attended with the desired success, it had not been wholly without effect. She mentioned the loss we had sustained in Spain, and the operations of the war in Italy; and requested the supplies necessary for prosecuting the war during the approaching campaign. Then directing her discourse to the late union, she said, "It is impossible but some doubts and difficulties must have arisen on account of that measure, which, however, she hoped, were so far overcome, as to have defeated the designs of those who would have made use of that handle to foment disturbances." After recommending several particulars rendered necessary to be provided for by the articles of union, she concluded with assuring them, "that nothing should be wanting on her part to procure her people all the blessings that could follow from that happy circumstance of her reign, and to extinguish the least occasion of jealousy, that either the civil or religious rights of any part of her united kingdom could suffer by the consequences of the union; and hoped they would offer nothing to prevail with them to disunite among themselves, or abate their zeal in opposing the common enemy."

In return to this speech, both houses presented very affectionate addresses to her majesty; and immediately voted near 600,000 for the service of the ensuing year. They afterwards presented an address to her majesty against making any peace, as it could not be possible to her and her allies, while Spain and the Netherlands, or any part of the Spanish monarchy, remained in the hands of the house of Bourbon. In answer to this address, the queen thanked them for their advice, told them she was of the same opinion, and intimated in every particular to direct her measures in such a manner as to give satisfaction to them, and peace to her people.

A. D. 1708. Lewis XIV. was so irritated at the besieging Toulon, that he determined to retaliate, by attempting an invasion of Great Britain. He knew that the generality of the Scots were attached by the union, and flattered himself that he should readily join a French army to place the son of an abdicated monarch on the English throne. He was not deceived with regard to the Scots. Highly desirous to an incorporating union with England, they

could not, without the highest indignation, behold themselves reduced to a state of dependence upon the English; and thought no means so likely to shake off the yoke as that of bringing about a revolution in the government. Lewis accordingly received the most flattering promises of assistance should he land a body of forces in that kingdom.

In consequence of this, and the engagements of the Pretender to exert his utmost efforts, a fleet of men of war and transports was expeditiously fitted out at Dunkirk, and 10,000 land-forces, with many officers, a great quantity of ammunition, artillery and arms, were embarked. Major general Cadogan, her majesty's envoy in Holland, gave immediate notice of these preparations; and then went to Brussels, and concerted matters in such a manner with M. d'Auverquerque, that ten battalions of the English forces in Flanders were immediately drawn down to the coast, ready to be sent to England. At the same time the English admiralty used such diligence in fitting out a fleet, that three and twenty sail of men of war, under the command of Sir George Byng, and the lord Dursley, appeared before Dunkirk on the 27th of February, when the enemy thought it impossible for England to have any fleet at sea.

On the 9th of March the Pretender arrived at Dunkirk: but the sight of the English fleet induced the French admiral, M. Fourbin, to send to court for fresh instructions. But Lewis sent peremptory orders to his admiral to venture out of the harbour. The French admiral accordingly obeyed, and sailed from Dunkirk, at a time when the contrary winds had drove the English from their station. Their fleet was now increased to the number of forty ships of the line, besides frigates and tenders. Sir George Byng being informed that the French had left Dunkirk, immediately sailed in pursuit of them, and at the same time the forces were embarked at Ostend, and convoyed to England by admiral Baker. These forces, together with several regiments of horse, marched for Scotland with all expedition. In the mean time Sir George Byng had, by his vigilance, rendered these precautions unnecessary, arriving at the Frith of Edinburgh almost as soon as the enemy, whereupon they took the advantage of a land-breeze which sprung up in the night, and bore away with all the sail they could possibly carry. As soon as the day appeared, the combined fleet gave chase, but were out-sailed, and, except the Salisbury, a man of war formerly taken from the English, all the French ships escaped. They loitered about some time with intention to land at Inverness; but having no pilots, and the wind not permitting a frigate, which they had sent for some provisions, to get ashore, they stood off, and, dispersing themselves, they, by the help of hazy weather, which prevented the confederate fleet from seeing them, got back to Dunkirk in a most shattered condition.

Lord Giffin, lord Clermont, Mr. Middleton, a lieutenant general, his aid de-camp, a colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, five captains and two lieutenants, French officers; fifteen Irish officers, five companies of French infantry, 250 seamen and all the officers of the ship, were taken prisoners in the Salisbury. The lords Giffin and Clermont, with most of the other principal persons, were sent up to London, and committed to the Tower; as were also the duke of Hamilton, lord Belhaven, and several of the Scottish nobility and gentry, on suspicion of carrying on a correspondence with the court of St. Germain; but most of the latter were soon after admitted to bail.

The body being cut ashore was stripped by the people, and buried in the sand, but was afterwards discovered, and conveyed to Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to Westminster abbey, where it noble was erected, at the expense of the queen, to the me-

memory of this gallant officer, as a mark of gratitude for the loyal services which he performed to his country. He was born of mean parentage in the county of Suffolk, and by the force of his personal merit alone, without any particular patron, raised himself to the highest station in the navy.

The only inconvenience that attended this attempt was a considerable run upon the bank, which it was feared would affect the credit of the nation. The commons immediately voted, "That whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy or lessen the public credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was in danger of an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and an enemy to her majesty and the nation." The lord treasurer also signified to the bank, that her majesty would allow for six months an interest of six per cent. upon their bills. This advantageous proposal induced several opulent noblemen and merchants to offer them a very considerable sum; and the directors having called in 20 per cent. on their capital stock, they were soon in a condition to answer all the demands made upon them by the timorous, the envious, or the disaffected.

The parliament, which continued sitting at Westminster, by frequent addresses to the queen, gave public assurance that they would exert themselves in defeating this bold attempt of the enemy. They likewise passed a bill, empowering her majesty to imprison all such persons whom she had cause to suspect of conspiring against her person and government. This and several other bills being ready, on the first of April the queen went to the house, and gave them the royal assent; after which she prorogued the parliament; and on the 15th dissolved it by proclamation. At the same time new writs were issued for calling another, and a proclamation was published, commanding all the peers of North Britain to meet on the 17th of June, at Holyrood-house, in Edinburgh, in order to elect sixteen peers to represent them in the ensuing British parliament, pursuant to the twenty-second article of the treaty of union. The privy council of Scotland was dissolved, and a new one constituted for the whole united kingdom.

Lewis, equally chagrined by adversity as elated with success, made strong efforts to triumph over fortune. Notwithstanding his losses were immense he still found resources. An army of 100,000 men, commanded by his grandson the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the duke of Vendôme, was to retrieve the honour of the French arms in the Low Countries. But these generals, unfortunately for Lewis, were of different dispositions; the former pious, the latter licentious, and consequently agreed but ill with each other. They, however, surprized Ghent and Bruges; advanced into Dutch Flanders, and laid the country under contribution.

As soon as the duke of Marlborough (who was at this time in Flanders) was informed of these proceedings, he immediately wrote to prince Eugene, desiring he would hasten his march and join him, being determined to give the enemy battle. Though the allied army was greatly inferior in number, yet he thought this the most prudent step, and the only method to prevent their progress. The prince had no sooner joined the army than it was determined to pass the Dender and offer the enemy battle. Confident of success from their superiority of numbers, the French invellied Oudenard, from a persuasion that they should be able to take it before the prince could join Marlborough's army. They were deceived. The allies marched with surprising expedition, and the French thought to raise the siege at their approach. The duke of Vendôme was for drawing up the army in order to battle; but was opposed by the duke of Burgundy, who resolved to continue his march. But an incident soon convinced him that it was now impossible to avoid an engagement. General Cadogan, at the head of sixteen battalions and eight squadrons, fell upon seven battalions of foot posted in the village of Heynem, a little below Oudenard, upon the Schelde. The attack was made

with so much success, that the enemy was soon driven out of the village, and being pursued with a great fire, a whole brigade threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. The duke of Burgundy now endeavoured to disengage his army from the hollow ways and defiles through which they were marching, in order to draw them up in the plain; but the confederate generals were too experienced to give him time to effect his purpose: his army was already drawn up in order of battle, and advanced to the charge with great alacrity. The enemy faced about and formed, but with great disorder, which was increased by the misunderstanding that prevailed between their two generals, the duke of Burgundy continually countermanding what the duke of Vendôme had ordered. On the 12th of July, about four in the afternoon, the battle began and continued with great firmness till ten at night. The allies had the advantage in every attack, and drove the enemy from one post to another, till they put an end to the combat. The foot were principally engaged in this action, the broken ground rendering it very difficult for the horse to act. Marlborough perceived it, and detached the greater part of his cavalry from the right and left wing to a considerable distance, where they fell upon the enemy both in flank and rear with such impetuosity that the French were thrown into confusion, part of them retired with the baggage and artillery towards Dender and Ghent, and another part to Courtray. The duke de Vendôme, seeing the forces flying in every part, formed a rear-guard of about twenty-five squadrons, and the same number of battalions, with which he secured the retreat of his forces. This precaution proved the safety of the whole French army; for the next morning at day-break the duke of Marlborough detached a large body of horse and foot, under the command of the lieutenant-general Bulau and Lumley, to pursue the fugitives, but the prudence of the duke de Vendôme prevented them from executing their designs.

In this action, which was called the battle of Oudenarde, about 4000 of the enemy were left dead on the field of battle, 2000 deserted, and about 8000 were taken prisoners, including a great number of officers. The allies also took ten pieces of cannon, about 100 standards, eight pair of kettle drums, and 4000 horse. The loss of the allies did not amount to 1000, officers included.

This conquest was followed by an attempt surprized all Europe, namely, the laying siege to a town in sight of a formidable army, which might have carried off their convoys, and by that means brought them to the last extremity, if they did not hold them in their intrenchments. But notwithstanding all these circumstances, the place was invested on the 10th of August; prince Eugene commanded on one side, and the prince of Orange on the other, while the duke of Marlborough covered the siege. Lille was a town in Flanders, furnished with ammunition for every necessity, and the garrison had been reinforced with one and twenty battalions of troops in France, commanded by marshal de Camille.

The siege was carried on with the utmost vigour, while every effort was made by the French to induce the confederates to abandon the undertaking. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme marched to the duke of Marlborough, and for some days besieged his camp; but finding all their endeavours to bring him to an engagement fruitless, they determined for the future to employ their forces in cutting off the convoys coming with provisions and ammunition to the beleaguered town, and in covering

provinces which were exposed to the incursions of the allies.

The duke of Marlborough had detached 6000 men to cover the march of 700 waggons coming from Ostend with supplies to prince Eugene's camp. The duke of Burgundy had information of this convoy, and sent an army of 20,000 men to intercept it. But the small detachment that guarded the waggons made so noble a defence, under the command of major general Webb, that they obliged the enemy to retire with the loss of 7000 men killed on the spot. This action is called the battle of Wynenendale, and was one of the most glorious achievements performed during the whole course of the war.

In consequence of this success the allies carried on the siege with such vigour, that on the 22d of October the town was surrendered, and the garrison retired into the citadel, where they made a gallant defence till the 8th of December, when the marshal delivered up the place. The garrison marched out with all the honours of war, and were escorted to Douay.

While the allies lay before Lille, the duke of Bavaria made an attempt to reduce Brussels, which he had nearly effected, when the duke of Marlborough marched with the army to its relief, and prevented his design. On the 18th of December the duke invested Ghent, where the count de la Motte commanded with thirty battalions. On the 24th the trenches were opened, and notwithstanding the numerous garrison, the town surrendered on the 30th. After these two important conquests, the numerous army under the dukes of Burgundy, Berwick, and Vendôme, began by degrees to diminish, and having suffered the duke to take Bruges, and every other post, at last retreated to their own country; while the generals of the allies, having settled the plan of winter-quarters, repaired to the Hague, leaving the forces under the command of count Tilly.

In the mean time the duke of Savoy made himself master of the passes leading into Dauphiné. The emperor Joseph, brother to the archduke Charles, got possession of Landau, one of the keys of France. Paris now trembled, and the whole kingdom was thrown into the utmost confusion.

During this campaign the English ministry had left nothing untried which might put the affairs of his catholic majesty into good order, and, if possible, retrieve the terrible consequences of the fatal battle of Almanza. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was by the 27th of March in Lisbon harbour; on the 23d of April he sailed from thence for Barcelona, with near twenty sail of the line, besides transports, where he arrived on the 15th of May. Charles was now in a manner shut up in Barcelona, and had no hopes of being delivered, but by our fleet's transporting the German troops that were ready for his service in Italy. The last thing, before that the admiral did was to send the transports, under the protection of a strong squadron, sailing over these forces; after which it was determined to attempt the reduction of the island of Sardinia. Accordingly, on the 12th of August, the admiral appeared before Cagliari, the capital of that island, and after having bombarded it for a day and night, general Wills landed, with about 800 men, and made the necessary dispositions for an attack, when the governor saved his troops any farther trouble by speedy capitulation: and at the same time the greater part of them entered into the service of Spain. The whole island following the example of Cagliari, the several states assembled, gave assurances of their loyalty and affection to Charles, and provi-

ded 30,000 sacks of grain for the subsistence of his troops.

General Stanhope having formed a plan for the reduction of the island of Minorca, concerted with Sir John Leake the necessary measures for carrying it into execution, when they resolved to obtain from count Staremberg, the commander in chief of the allied army in Spain, a few battalions of English, Spaniards, and Portuguese; which being granted them, they sailed from Barcelona on the 23d of August, accompanied by brigadier Webb and colonel Petit. They were also furnished with a fine train of British artillery. On the 26th they landed with 3000 men, about two miles from fort St. Philip, and formed the siege of the town. The garrison consisted of 1000 Spaniards and 600 French mariners: but the siege was carried on with such vigour, that by the end of September the place surrendered. According to the articles of capitulation the garrison were transported on board our vessels, some to France and others to Spain. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, with the loss of forty men only, the rest of the island gladly submitted to the English government; and general Stanhope appointed colonel Petit governor of fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole island. After this important conquest, the general returned to the army in Spain, where an unsuccessful attempt to surprize Tortosa put an end to the campaign. Sir John Leake, with the largest ships sailed for England, and on the 19th of October, arrived safely at St. Helen's.

While victory attended the confederates in every quarter, the queen had the misfortune to lose her husband, the prince of Denmark. He died about ten in the morning on the 28th of October, in the 56th year of his age. He was a prince of a very amiable character, without ambition or intrigue, and therefore incapable of giving offence to either party. He always contented himself with being the first subject, seldom interfering in business, though his office of lord high admiral gave him a claim to a very considerable share. Her majesty, who had been the most tender and affectionate wife, was inconsolable for his loss. He died at Kensington, from whence his corpse was removed, on the 11th of November, to the painted chamber at Westminster, where it lay in state till the 13th, when it was buried privately in Henry the seventh's chapel in Westminster-abbey.

About this time an event happened which engaged the attention of the whole nation. Count Mattheoff, the Russian ambassador, was arrested in the street at the suit of one Morton, a laceman, and insolently treated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to a spunging house; nor could he obtain his liberty till he was bailed by the earl of Feverham and a merchant in the city. This insult on the person of an ambassador was loudly complained of, as an atrocious breach of the law of nations. Enraged at this insult, the ambassadors of the emperor, the king of Prussia, and those of several other powers, demanded redress. The Czar himself declared he would be satisfied with nothing less than the death of the offenders. The queen, who resented the injury as much as the Czar, was very desirous of making him satisfaction: but the laws of England admit of no such punishment. She observed to the Czar that justice in this country is dispensed by the laws only, and no exception was found for a case of this nature. The judges of the queen's bench granted information against the laceman and thirteen others. They were found guilty, and the privileges of ambassadors again acknowledged, and the parliament passed a bill for securing the privileges of foreign ministers. The queen consented to make apologies, by her ministers, to the Russian

Russian court; and the Czar was satisfied. He could not help admiring, notwithstanding his despotism, that mild legislation which is so attentive to guard the meanest subject from the attacks of arbitrary power.

The new parliament (being the second of Great Britain) met on the 2d of November, and chose Sir Richard Onslow, by the queen's approbation, speaker of the house of commons. Her majesty's grief for the loss of her consort not permitting her to go to the house, she appointed commissioners to open the session, in whose name the lord chancellor made a speech, importing, "that the commissioners were appointed by her majesty to acquaint them, that she expected they would continue to prosecute the war with the same vigour and resolution with which it had hitherto been conducted: that she hoped they would enable her to make such augmentation of her forces as they should judge necessary for preserving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands: that she desired they would prepare such bills as might confirm and perfect the union; that if they would propose means for the advancement of trade and manufactures, she would take pleasure in enacting such provisions; and that, as she had the most sincere regard for the preservation of their liberties, and the support of the protestant succession, she would continue to exert her utmost endeavours to defeat the designs of the pretender, and of all his open and secret abettors."

Both houses presented addresses of condolence and congratulation to her majesty; the former occasioned by the death of her royal consort, and the latter by the success of her arms the last campaign. They proceeded to consider of the supplies for the ensuing year; and an augmentation of 10,000 men was approved and judged necessary, to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. They then voted the supplies, which amounted to 6,457,830*l*. In order to raise these sums, they settled the land-tax at 4*s*. in the pound; and the bank of England agreed to add 400,000*l*. upon condition of their being continued a corporation for twenty-one years longer. They proposed to raise the subscriptions for doubling their stock, to enable them to circulate 2,500,000*l*. in exchequer bills, desiring that a fund might be appointed for paying off and cancelling the said bills in some certain time: and that a fund be granted for paying 150,000*l*. yearly, being the interest for the said sum at six per cent, with some other conditions relating to the said bills; which proposal was received by the parliament, and enacted accordingly.

During this session several important affairs came under the consideration of the parliament; but the principal was the naturalization of foreign protestants. This proposition was debated with great spirit in both houses, and many forcible arguments were advanced on both sides of the question. The whigs supported the bill; the tories opposed it. The former assumed, that it would prove an effectual means of encouraging industry, improving trade and manufactures, and repairing the loss of men which the war had occasioned. They instanced the conduct of

the king of Prussia, who, by inviting the French to settle in his dominions, had fertilized a barren and ill-peopled country, improved its trade and manufactures, augmented its revenues, and procured many other very considerable advantages. But the chief motive of the whigs for pushing this bill was, to draw an additional weight of foreigners into the balance against the landed interest. The opposers of this act of naturalization objected, that such a swarm of aliens might bring with them many dangerous consequences to the constitution; that it was, in fact, inviting to many spies and informers among us, since it could not be supposed they would leave all affection to their mother country behind them, though they might gladly embrace, for the present, the asylum offered them in this kingdom. It was said, they would find means to insinuate themselves into many places of trust and profit, and even to seats in the great assembly of national representatives; and, by frequent intermarriages, contribute to the extinction of the English race. It was added, that they would greatly increase the number of our poor, already so great a burden to this country; and take out the mouths of English tradesmen and labourers, who of the bread they now earned by their industry. These arguments, however powerful, were not sufficient to prevent the bill from passing both houses, and afterwards received the royal assent.*

Several enquiries were made, and great debates held, relative to the intended invasion of Scotland; on the close of which a bill was brought into the house of lords, under the title of, "An act for improving the union of the two kingdoms." By this law, trials for treason committed in Scotland were regulated according to the manner of proceeding in England, with very little variation. This act was opposed by the Scottish members, as an encroachment upon the form of their laws; and they were joined by several of the English, who made it a maxim to oppose every measure of the court. But notwithstanding all their efforts, the bill passed in both houses, and received the royal assent. The queen, however, in order to make them easy, granted an act of grace, wherein all treasons were pardoned, except such as were committed upon the high seas; an exception levelled at those who embarked with the pretender in his last expedition.

A. D. 1709. France was now not only completely humbled, but even trembled for its own safety. Resources began to fail, credit was at a stand, and the people, who had idolized their monarch in his prosperity, began to murmur against him when he became unfortunate. The severity of the winter completed the despair of the nation. The fruit-trees in the southern provinces were destroyed, and the greater part of the fruit-trees killed by the frost. There were no hopes of a harvest, and very little corn in the granaries. The numerous armies of Lewis seemed to be perishing for want, and the haughty monarch was reduced to the necessity of imploring a peace. He offered to demolish Edinburgh and Dunkirk, to abandon the pretender, and renounce all pretensions to the Spanish monarchy.

* In consequence of this bill there came over, in the month of May this year, near 2000 of the poor Palatines and Swabians from the borders of the Rhine in Germany, who had been utterly ruined, and driven from their habitations by the French. It was at first proposed to settle them in the New Forest of Hampshire, where land might be parcelled out for them by shares or lots. This, however, was objected to, and some method remained to be concerted for their disposal. At length it was agreed, that a sufficient number of them should be settled for them on Blackheath, and near Camberwell, which was ac-

cordingly done, and a brief was granted throughout the country for a collection for them. Some were taken into the houses; 500 families of them were sent into Ireland, and 24,000*l*. were granted by parliament for their transport. A length 3000 of them were sent over to New York, where they were upon Hudson's River, but being badly received, they were removed to Pennsylvania, where they were better received by the quakers, which afterwards proved the means of drawing thither many thousands of German and Swiss planters.

grant the states-general the barrier they demanded in the Low Countries, and to treat with the emperor, agreeable to the treaty of Ryswick. The more this proud monarch was humbled by distress, the more his misfortunes were insulted. Prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the grand pensioner Hensius, united in the same political views, were wisely for reducing him to the last extremities. They were desirous of preventing him from troubling the repose of Europe for the future. Accordingly they demanded, that as he gave up the crown of Spain, he should take proper measures to see it vacated, and even employ his troops for that purpose. This was a proposal nothing but the utmost distress could induce the French monarch to accept. He absolutely refused it, and determined to carry on the war for some time longer, rather than submit to such unworthy conditions. "If I must use arms, (said he) I should rather chuse to use them against mine enemies, than against my own children."

Lewis, on this occasion, had recourse to a very extraordinary measure. He laid the unreasonable demands of the allies before his people, in a circular letter; and after acquainting them with the additional burdens he was obliged to lay upon them, he endeavoured to excite their indignation, to rouse their honour, and even excite their pity. This produced the desired effect: the people resolved to expend their whole substance in defence of the honour of their king, and even to fight his battles without pay, rather than abandon him to the infamy of accepting such humiliating terms. The manufacturers and labourers, who wanted bread, turned soldiers. Villars was appointed commander in chief; Boufflers, though his senior, consenting to serve under him. This patriotic concession acquired him more honour than if he had been intrusted with the principal command.

The allied army, which amounted to 110,000 men, assembled in the neighbourhood of Lille on the 22d of June, and it was determined by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough to open the campaign immediately. Villars had taken possession of a very advantageous camp in the plain of Lans, where he threw up entrenchments, in order to act on the defensive. The allies, not chusing to attack the enemy in their entrenchments, opened the campaign with the siege of Tournay. The town itself made no great resistance; but the citadel was so strong, both by art and nature, and so gallantly defended by lieutenant-general Surville, at the head of 4,000 men, that it held out a month against all the efforts of the allies, and was at last surrendered by an honourable capitulation.

Tournay being thus reduced, the victorious confederates resolved to invest Mons; and Villars, in order to cover the place, posted himself behind the woods of la Merte and Trainiere, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The French amounted to 60,000 men, and the allies, who were now joined by the Hessians, to near the same number. On the 9th of September, the two armies were so near each other, that a cannonade began between them, and the allies perceiving that it would be impossible to invest Mons while the French army continued in its present situation, it was determined to attack the enemy in their entrenchments. Pursuant to this resolution, batteries were erected on the wings and in the center of the allied army, and every thing prepared for making the attempt.

General Schuylenburgh and the duke of Argyle began the attack about eight in the morning, at the head of eighty six battalions, supported by two and twenty squadrons, commanded by count Luttim. The attack and resistance were equally obstinate, but the assailants at last prevailed, and the left wing of the French were driven from their entrenchments

into the woods of Sart and Trainiere. The right of the enemy, posted in the wood of la Merte, and secured by triple entrenchments, was next attacked by the prince of Orange and baron Fagel, at the head of thirty-six battalions of Dutch troops. The battle was here supported with the most desperate courage on both sides. The French were obliged to quit the first entrenchment, but were repulsed with great slaughter from the second. Marshal Villars, having received a wound in his knee at the attack, was obliged to be carried from the field of battle. The loss of their commander greatly depressed the courage of the French, and their resistance, from that moment, became less vigorous. The prince of Orange having rallied his forces returned to the charge, and soon drove the enemy from their entrenchments, and out of the wood into the plain, where their horse were all drawn up in proper order. The battle now became general, and the victory was disputed with great vigour till three in the afternoon, when the French began to give way, and were pursued, with great slaughter, to the debile of Bavay.

This was the dearest victory the allies purchased during the whole war; near 18,000 of their troops being slain on the field of battle, and among them several officers of distinction. The loss of the enemy did not amount to more than 8 or 9,000; but the disgrace of a total defeat, and even of being driven from their entrenched camp, struck such a panic into the French soldiers that their generals did not think it prudent to make any farther attempt to save Mons, which surrendered about the middle of November, when both armies retired into winter quarters.

The campaigns in Spain and Portugal were also very unfavourable to the allies. The city of Alicant, garrisoned by two English regiments, had been besieged, and held out for a considerable time against a very numerous army of the enemy, under count d'Asfeldt. At length, the city being absolutely untenable, colonel Richards, the commander, retired with his garrison into the castle, which had hitherto been deemed impregnable. In consequence of this, d'Asfeldt ordered the rock to be undermined; and after lodging 200 barrels of gun-powder in the cavity, gave Syburg the governor to understand, that he might send two of his officers to inspect the condition of the works. Syburg accepted the offer; and the chevalier accompanied them to the mine, where he told them that the thoughts of seeing so many gallant men perish in the ruins of a place they had so bravely defended, induced him to make this offer of saving themselves from destruction. But Syburg, with an obstinacy that flowed rather from stupidity than valour, refused the offer. The centinels giving notice that the fire was set to the mine Syburg ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, with several officers, when the rock opening under their feet, they fell into the chasm and were crushed to death.

This dreadful incident, however, was not sufficient to intimidate d'Albaume, who succeeded to the command: he determined to defend the place to the last extremity. In the mean time a squadron of 18 English men of war, under the command of Sir Edward Whetaker, sailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place, and came into Alicant road on the 17th of April, from whence they made a furious fire upon the town, and endeavoured to land some forces to throw into the castle, but the enemy had taken such measures to prevent their landing, that the English thought proper to desist from the design. General Stanhope, who commanded the land forces on board the fleet, seeing the impossibility of relieving the place, sent a boat ashore with a flag of truce, and an officer with a letter to the Spanish governor, wherein he offered to surrender

surrender the castle on honourable terms, which was accordingly done, and the garrison sent to Minorca. Thus was Alicant reduced, the only strong place that Charles had in Valencia.

The parliament met on the 15th of November, and the queen opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which she told both houses, "That the enemy had, in the beginning of the year, endeavoured, by false appearances, and deceitful insinuations of a desire after peace, to create jealousies and divisions among the allies; but that they had been disappointed in their expectations, such measures having been taken as rendered it impossible for them to disguise their insincerity: that God had been pleased to bless the arms of the confederates with a most remarkable victory, and other successes, which had laid France open to the impression of the allied arms, and consequently rendered peace more necessary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign: that she hoped they would enable her to prosecute the advantages she had gained, by reducing within proper limits that exorbitant and oppressive power, which had so long threatened the liberties of Europe."

Both houses presented addresses of thanks to the queen for her speech, congratulated her on the success of her arms, and thanked the duke of Marlborough for his signal services. The commons were so eager for prosecuting the war with vigour, that they voted above 6,000,000 for the service of the ensuing year.

These immense sums granted by parliament struck the court of France with terror, as they sufficiently demonstrated that the credit of England was in its full vigour, while their own was reduced to the lowest ebb. At the same time, it was evident that the English parliament was determined to carry on the war till the haughty Lewis was sufficiently humbled.

The greater part of this session was taken up in adjusting a matter of a very singular nature, and which tended greatly to re-kindle the animosity of parties. On the 13th of December, a complaint was laid before the house of commons by Mr. Dolben, against Doctor Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's in Southwark, for having preached and published two sermons, containing several dangerous positions. Sacheverel was a clergyman of an over-heated imagination, but narrow capacity, and took every opportunity of venting his animosity against the dissenters. This complaint was seconded by Sir Peter King, and the sermons were voted malicious, scandalous and seditious libels, highly reflecting upon her majesty and government, the late happy revolution, and the protestant succession as by law established; tending to alienate the affections of her majesty's subjects, and create jealousies and divisions among them. In pursuance of this resolution, they ordered, that Doctor Henry Sacheverel, and Henry Clements, his bookseller, should attend the bar of the house.

Accordingly, on the 14th of December the Doctor was brought to the bar, where he acknowledged himself the author of both the sermons, and declared that he had received encouragement from the lord-mayor to print that intitled, "the perils of false brethren in church and state." The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the lord-mayor was asked, if he had commanded doctor Sacheverel to print the sermon in question. In answer to which, the lord-mayor declared he never desired, ordered, or encouraged the printing of that libel. Upon this declaration, the commons ordered Mr. Dolben to impeach Sacheverel at the bar of the house of lords, in the names of all the commons of England; appointed a committee to draw up articles against him; and commanded the usher of the black rod to take him into custody.

On the 17th the Doctor petitioned the house that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refused, and the commons seemed determined to carry on the prosecution with the utmost severity. The lords, however, thought proper to admit him to bail, that he might be more at leisure to draw up an answer to the charge. This he accordingly did, denying some articles, and endeavouring to justify or extenuate others. The commons having sent up a replication, declaring they were ready to prove the charge, the lords appointed the 27th of February for the trial at Westminster-hall.

A. D. 1710. This extraordinary trial commenced on the day appointed, and continued near three weeks, during which time all business was suspended, and the capital thrown into the utmost ferment. The doctor was attended to and from Westminster, during the time of his trial, by multitudes of people, crying out, "God bless the church and Sacheverel." They even proceeded to such lengths, that they demolished several meeting-houses, and made bonfires in the streets with the materials, at the same time shouting, with loud huzzas, "High-Church and Sacheverel."

The debates in the house of lords became so interesting, that the queen herself was present. The earl of Wharton observed, that Sacheverel's doctrine of passive obedience might have the most serious and dangerous consequences; that the principle of resistance was the corner-stone of the revolution; that to suppose it unlawful, was to suppose a great part of the people, and the parliament itself, guilty of rebellion and injustice; that, of consequence, the present government could not be considered as lawful because the queen's right was wholly derived from the revolution. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, the famous partisan of William, justified resistance from history, both ancient and modern. He alledged the examples of the ministers, the Dutch, the conduct of Elizabeth in their behalf, and the succours granted to the Hugonots; adding, that though the contrary opinion had prevailed, those who affected to support it were the first to plead for resistance when they saw themselves oppressed. The bishop of Bath and Wells, who was more a tory in his principles than Burnet, agreed that resistance might be lawful in certain extraordinary cases; but added, that the doctrine ought not to be propagated among the people, who would be ready, on many occasions, to abuse it: and that the revolution, which should be rather called a "Revocation," ought not to be cited as an example; that the term, "original contract," if not used with great reserve, might inspire the most pernicious sentiments; and that obedience could not be preached with too much zeal, when resistance was supported by indirect apologies. These reflections irritated the duke of Argyle: he asserted, "that the clergy had in all ages, abandoned the interests of the people, and extolled the majesty of kings, that they might govern them with greater ease; and that this was a sufficient reason why they should not interfere in political matters." Several of the most distinguished tories owned, that the doctor's sermons were extravagant and absurd; but insisted that they were not sufficient to condemn him. He was, however, found guilty by a majority of seven votes; on which he was suspended from the pulpit for three years, and his sermons condemned to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. This sentence was thought so favourable by Sacheverel's party, that they considered it as a victory over the whigs, and celebrated the triumph with bonfires and illuminations.

On the 1st of April, her majesty went to the house and, in a speech to the lords and commons, expressed her concern for the necessary cause which had taken up so much of their time: she declared that no private

could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and prosperity of the church than herself; and therefore she thought it very injurious to take a pretence from wicked and malicious libels, to insinuate that the church was in danger under her administration. Her majesty then prorogued the parliament.

During these transactions Lewis, seeing the miseries of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, once more sued for peace. The allies enjoyed the humiliation of his ambition. The negotiations were opened at the little town of Gertruydenberg, where the French ambassadors met with a thousand mortifications. It was in vain that Lewis made such offers as would have been shameful if necessity had not the same power over sovereigns as over common men. He even offered to furnish money sufficient to drive his grandson from the throne of Spain, in case he refused to abandon it, in exchange for a small dominion that should be assigned him. It was absolutely insisted upon, that Lewis himself should dethrone him by force of arms. This the French monarch refused, and the ambassadors returned to their respective countries.

These conferences, however, did not retard the operations of the campaign. On the 15th of April, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague for Tournay, in order to assemble the forces which were quartered on the Maese, in Flanders and Brabant. They immediately advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines thrown up by the French to cover Douay and other frontier towns. On their approach, the troops left for the defence of the lines retired; and the allies having laid bridges over the Scarpe, the duke of Marlborough, with his division, passed that river, and encamped at Verry, while prince Eugene invested Douay. The French army, which was extremely numerous, and still commanded by marshal Villars, passed the Schelde and encamped at Bouchain, in order to give battle to the confederates. Upon their approach, an alteration was made in the disposition of the allies, and proper precaution taken to give them a warm reception. Villars, whose real design was to interrupt the siege of Douay by continual alarms, advanced in order of battle; but viewing the situation of the confederates, marched back to the heights of Laurence, and there pitched his camp. On the 26th of June, the town of Douay capitulated; and the allies finding it impossible to attack the enemy in their fortified lines, undertook the siege of Bethune, which surrendered upon the 29th of August. The towns of Aire and Venant were also taken without much difficulty, after which the armies marched into winter quarters.

During this campaign, the war in Spain was carried on with great spirit, and each side, in its turn, experienced success and disgrace. General Stanhope, at the head of the horse and dragoons of Charles's army, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almenara. Stanhope charged in person, and slew with his own hand general Amellaga, who commanded the guards of Philip. The Spanish horse were entirely routed, and the main body of the army retired with great precipitation to Lerida. The allies pursued them to Saragossa, where, on the 9th of August, an engagement ensued. The enemy was totally defeated, with the loss of all their cannon, and the greater part of their colours. Out of forty battalions, not above 4,000 men escaped; and of sixty squadrons, only 3,200; all the rest being either killed or taken prisoners. Charles entered the town of Saragossa in triumph, the garrison and citadel having surrendered themselves prisoners of war; while Philip, with the wreck of his army, retired to Madrid.

Soon after this engagement, the Spanish army was considerably reinforced by detachments of French troops, and, at the same time, the duke of Vendosme was sent from France to take the command of them. On the 27th of November, the whole army surrounded general Stanhope, who was quartered in the little town of Brehuega. As the place was not tenable, and the general had very little ammunition, he was obliged, after a vigorous resistance, to surrender himself and all his forces prisoners of war. On the news of this misfortune, count Staremberg, one of king Charles's generals, assembled his forces, and about eleven in the forenoon began his march towards Brehuega; but the roads were so bad, that night came on before he reached the heights in that neighbourhood. On the 29th they were attacked by the enemy, who were twice their number, and Staremberg's left wing was entirely defeated; but his right maintained the fight with surprising valour and perseverance until night, when Vendosme retired in disorder, leaving Staremberg master of the field of battle and all his artillery. The allies had, however, suffered so severely in the attack, that the general, after having nailed up the cannon, retired to Catalonia, and afterwards to Barcelona.

No material circumstance happened, during this campaign, on the Rhine, both sides being equally incapable of entering upon action. The elector of Brunswick, who commanded the imperial army, weary of so inactive a life, thought proper to resign a command, from which he plainly perceived neither honour to himself, nor advantage to the general cause could accrue: count Gronselt was appointed to succeed his highness.

The military operations were equally languid on the side of Piedmont: the duke of Savoy being indisposed, the command of the forces was still vested in count Thaun, who attempted to cross the Alps, in order to force his way into Dauphiné. But the duke of Berwick, who commanded on the frontiers of that country, had secured it by such strong entrenchments, that the imperial general found himself obliged to desist from his enterprize, and march his army back to their quarters.

During these transactions on the continent, the intrigues formed in England against the whig ministers began to appear in a very distinguished manner. A popular spirit of aversion to those who favoured the dissenters had been excited by Sacheverel's trial; and the queen herself began to shew her attachment to the tories. The duke of Marlborough, though born to be an honour to his country, was a man, and therefore subject to failings. He was too fond of wealth and grandeur, and this gave a handle to his disgrace. He daily lost credit with the queen, because he wanted to act the master rather than the subject. The caprice and intolerable haughtiness of his duchess occasioned an incurable rupture. The queen had now another favourite, and the tories determined to employ her interest in bringing about a total change in the ministry. Mrs. Masham, the lady in question, was intimately connected with Mr. Harley, the late secretary of state, who directed her in the manner she was to proceed with the queen, and such springs it was necessary to put in motion, in order to affect the intended purpose. Mrs. Masham was possessed of every requisite to make her the agreeable companion and confederate. The duchess of Marlborough grew intolerably jealous, and, by her natural impetuosity, widened the wound she should have endeavoured to close. She wrote a very insolent letter to the queen, in which, among other haughty expressions, she said, "Do me justice, and give me no answer." She was, however, soon sensible of her fault, and was very desirous

sirous of making reparation; but neither her repentance, her prayers, nor her tears, had power to move a wounded heart she had so long held in slavery. "You desired no answer," said the queen, and you shall have no answer."

In the mean time Mrs. Masham neglected neither art nor opportunity to fix herself firmly in the affections of her royal mistress; and succeeded beyond her hopes. In one of their conversations, she artfully gave the subject a political turn, in the course of which she informed her of many things to which she was before wholly a stranger; and when she perceived her curiosity was sufficiently awakened, she referred her, for farther satisfaction, to Mr. Harley, of whom the queen had entertained a very high opinion. He was accordingly admitted to several private conferences, and by him the queen was informed of the general discontent which prevailed in every part of the kingdom, at seeing its most essential interests sacrificed to gratify the ambitious views of a private family. He assured her majesty she had nothing to fear from the malignancy of party; that by far the major part of her people were inspired with the genuine principles of loyalty, and entirely devoted to her service; and engaged, if she would remove from about her person the petty tyrants who kept her enslaved, and engage to call a new parliament, such representatives would be sent to the house of commons, as were the truest friends to monarchy, to the established church, and to the protestant succession.

These arguments prevailed: the queen determined to shake off the yoke of the whigs, and supply their places with a tory ministry. Accordingly the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state; the earl of Godolphin, lord-treasurer; the lord chancellor Cowper; the earl of Wharton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; lord Somers, president of the council; and several other whigs, were displaced, and their employments enjoyed by their rivals. Other changes followed, till at last no whig remained in any place of trust. The parliament, in which the whiggish interest had prevailed, was dissolved, and sure measures were taken for obtaining a parliament of tones.

Though this change was entirely brought about by the interest of Mrs. Masham, yet the trial of Dr. Sacheverel seems first to have rendered the queen uneasy with regard to the principles of the whigs, who, in their speeches on that memorable occasion, had treated monarchical power in such indecent terms, that the queen was alarmed: she found herself, according to their doctrine, reduced to a mere servant of the people. This determined her to examine the matter to the bottom, and the consequence was a total change of the ministry.

Dr. Sacheverel, whose trial had occasioned so much noise, a feeble instrument in himself, but very capable of enflaming the populace, now became one of the principal agents of the court. He was appointed to a living in Wales, and repaired thither in triumph, with a pompous equipage. The university of Oxford treated him as some illustrious personage; and the towns through which he passed expressed their zeal to do him honour. Thousands of the populace ran before him with acclamations. The clergy in general encouraged the enthusiasm of the people, and every place resounded with "The church and Dr. Sacheverel." This happened at the time of the general election; and no incident could have been of more advantage to the tories, of whom this parliament was almost wholly composed.

The new parliament met on the 25th of November, when Mr. Bromley was chosen speaker without opposition. On the 27th her majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which she recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour,

especially in Spain. She declared she was firmly resolved to support the church of England, to preserve the British constitution agreeable to the union, to maintain the indulgence allowed by law to scrupulous consciences, and to employ none but such as were sincerely attached to the protestant succession in the house of Hanover.

Both houses presented very affectionate addresses, and the commons immediately voted the necessary supplies for carrying on the war.

About the latter end of December the duke of Marlborough arrived in London, when her majesty gave him to understand, that he might expect the thanks of the parliament as formerly; adding, that she hoped there would be a perfect harmony between him and her ministers. The duke wisely expressed no resentment against the changes that had happened in the administration, the good of his country having determined him to continue at the head of the army as long as possible.

A. D. 1711. On the 2d of January the queen sent a message to both houses, acquainting them that an action had happened in Spain to the disadvantage of Charles, in which the English forces particularly suffered; and that she had given orders for procuring troops to repair the loss. This opportunity was seized by the house of commons for shewing their hatred to the old ministry. The duke of Marlborough, who had long been considered as an honour to his country, was now become the object of parliamentary censure: he who had humbled the pride, and checked the ambition of France, who had retrieved the honour of the British arms, and secured the liberties of Europe, was now become the object of contempt, and suffered the most shameful indignities. So uncertain is the favour of princes, and so changeable is the breath of popular fame! The people now insulted the hero they had before almost worshipped. He was accused of pride, avarice, cruelty, violence, extortion, fraud and rapine: even his courage was disputed in the midst of his victories. Never did Rome or Athens know popular clamour more absurd or unjust. The parliament engaged, with the same partiality, into the unsuccessful war in Spain. They censured the conduct of Galway and Stanhope, and loaded Peterborough, their rival, with encomiums. To blacken the former ministry, the house resolved, that those who had supported the bill for a general naturalization, in consequence of which vast numbers of poor Palatines were brought into England, were enemies to the queen and the nation.

Though Harley had so eminently contributed to bring about the late change in the ministry, he soon lost the confidence of the tories, because he was too prudent to join in their violent measures. But a dangerous circumstance soon after restored his reputation. The marquis de Guiscard, a French reneger in the English service, thinking his services were repaid by a precarious pension of 400*l.* a year, endeavoured, in vain, to obtain an audience of the queen, in order to solicit a more considerable appointment. The desire of revenge, added to the most enormous ambition, now induced him to seek his peace with the court of France; and accordingly, he offered his services in a letter to one Moreau, a banker in Paris: but his packet being intercepted, a warrant was issued in order to try him for high treason. As soon as the warrant was served he was carried to the Cock-pit in order to be examined, where seeing a pendule lying on the table, he took it up without being perceived by any of his attendants. Finding his correspondence with Moreau was discovered, he desired to speak a word in private with Mr. secretary St. John, but this request was refused, and that gentleman being out of his reach, he

stept up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, "Have at thee then," stabbed him in the breast with the pen-knife he had concealed. He repeated the blow with such force, that though the weapon broke against the bone, without penetrating the cavity, the chancellor fell to the ground. Upon this Mr. secretary St. John cried out, "the villain has killed Mr. Harley;" and immediately drew his sword. His example was followed by several other members of the council, and Guiscard received a number of wounds. He, however, made a desperate defence; but being overpowered by the messengers and servants, he was conveyed from the council-chamber to Newgate, where he soon after died of a gangrene, occasioned by the bruises and wounds he had received.

The injurious suspicions that had been entertained of the minister vanished, when an enemy to the state had attempted his life. Both houses addressed the queen on this occasion, in which they declared, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, had, in their opinion, drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction: that they would effectually stand by and defend her majesty, and all those who had the honour of being employed in her service, against all the public and secret attempts of her enemies; at the same time beseeching her majesty to take all possible care of her sacred person, upon whose life the welfare and happiness of her people, as well as the happiness of Europe entirely depended; and for that purpose to give directions for causing all papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster. In consequence of this address, a proclamation was published, ordering the laws to be strictly put in practice against papists. The earl of Rochester dying about this time, Harley became sole minister; was created baron of Wigmore, and raised to the rank of earl by the ancient titles of Oxford and Mortimer; and was soon after appointed lord-treasurer.

On the 17th of April an express arrived at the English court with the news that the emperor Joseph I. died of the small-pox at Vienna on the 6th of that month. He left the dominions of the house of Austria, and the German empire, together with his pretensions to Spain and the West-Indies, to his brother Charles, who was accordingly soon after elected.

On the 12th of June her majesty went to the house of peers, and the commons being sent for, she made a speech to both houses, and then put an end to the session of parliament.

Though the duke of Marlborough had lost his power in the cabinet, yet he was still at the head of the allied army, and appeared again with applause on the theatres of his victories. He left England in the month of January, and about the middle of April assembled an army at Orchies, between Lille and Douay; while marshal Villars drew together the French forces in the neighbourhood of Cambray and Arras. The lines which Villars had formed to secure his army were thought impenetrable: he therefore bid defiance to all the efforts of the English general. These lines began at Bouchain on the Scheld, and were continued along the Sautet and the Scharpe to Arras; and thence along the Upper Scharpe, and the Uys to the Canche, the openings between these rivers being entrenched and fortified with the utmost art and care. But difficulties only stimulated Marlborough to overcome them. He determined to make himself master of the French lines, and succeeded in a most extraordinary manner. By a feigned march he artfully diverted the attention of Villars, that he entered the lines near Arleux, almost without opposition, on the 4th of August. This was justly considered as the boldest attempt that had been made

during the whole war; and the honour of it was the greater to the duke of Marlborough, as his army was not only weakened by a large detachment which prince Eugene had carried to the Rhine, but by the calling over 5000 of the best troops in his army for an expedition intended to be undertaken by sea; so that the troops of the enemy were superior in number to his own. This raised his reputation beyond all he had done formerly; it was considered as a master-piece of generalship, which had hardly ever been exceeded. Villars, on the contrary, was not only censured for his conduct at Paris, but even ridiculed by his own officers. Marlborough immediately dispatched brigadier Sutton to London with the news that he had made himself master of the French lines, without the loss of a man, though the enemy had boasted they were impenetrable.

Marlborough now determined to besiege Bouclam contrary to the opinion of the deputies of the states-general, who thought the attempt too difficult. The town was situated in the middle of a morass, strongly fortified, well supplied with provisions and stores, and defended by a numerous garrison. Add to this, that Villars with an army superior in number to that of the allies, was encamped within a mile of the town. The place was invested on the 10th of August by 30 battalions and 12 squadrons, commanded by general Fagel. The siege was pushed with the utmost vigour, and the town soon laid in ruins by the artillery and bombs. Marshal Villars attempted to raise the siege, but in vain. Marlborough had taken his measures so well, that his designs were rendered abortive; and the place surrendered on the 30th of August. Nor could the garrison obtain any better terms than that of being prisoners of war.

The allies were now in possession of the Meuse almost to the influx of the Sambre, of the Scheld beyond Tournay, and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. Besides the conquests in Germany they had also reduced so much of Guelderland, as had formerly been left to Spain by the treaty of Munster; and likewise Limburg, Brabant, Mechlin in Flanders; two thirds of Hainault with their fortresses, the conquest of which was thought almost impracticable. By the taking of Bouchain, and the progress of the confederate army on the Scharpe and the Lys, they were become masters of two rivers, which, by means of the Deule and its canal, had been serviceable to the French for many years in their continual invasions of the Spanish Netherlands, of which they were wholly deprived. All these important conquests the allies had made during the course of this war, under the conduct of the duke of Marlborough; who, having given orders for securing the navigation of the Scharpe to Douay, and covering the workmen employed in fortifying several posts on that river and on the Scheld, left the army, and after a short stay at the Hague, landed in England on the 17th of November.

In the beginning of this year the duke of Argyle was appointed ambassador extraordinary to king Charles III. and commander in chief of her majesty's forces in Spain. On the 29th of May his grace landed at Barcelona, where he had the misfortune to find the British troops in the utmost distress for want of provisions. The French army was also in a wretched condition; and had Staremberg been properly supported by the allies, he might doubtless have obtained very singular advantages: but the remittances were so long in coming, that Argyle was obliged to borrow money on his own credit before the British troops could take the field. At length Staremberg advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the pass of Prato del Rey, where they were repulsed with considerable loss. The duke of Argyle was soon after

seized with a violent fever, and conveyed back to Barcelona. Vendosme now laid siege to the castle of Cordoua, which was vigorously defended till the end of December, when a detachment being sent to the relief of the place, the besiegers were defeated, 2000 of them killed upon the spot, and all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage taken. Staremberg was, however, unable to pursue this advantage. Argyle wrote pressing letters to the ministry, and complained loudly that he was entirely unsupported; but all his remonstrances were without effect, no remittances arrived, and he returned to England without having been able to attempt any thing of importance.

The new ministry had for some time carried on a negotiation for peace with the court of France, and hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce for the subjects of Great Britain, as would silence the clamours of detraction. They made no doubt of maintaining the superiority they had gained in parliament, and it is not unlikely that some of them cherished views in favour of the pretender, whose succession to the crown would have demolished the whig party, and firmly established them in the administration. A private message was therefore sent by the earl of Jersey to the court of France, intimating the queen's sincere desire of peace, and impossibility of carrying on a secret negotiation; for which reason Lewis was desired to propose a renewal of the conferences with the Dutch, in which case the English plenipotentiaries should have such instructions, as would render it impossible for the states-general to prevent the conclusion of the treaty. This intimation was extremely agreeable to the French court, but at the same time it seemed averse to renew the conferences with the Dutch. Mr. Prior was therefore sent to Versailles to communicate the preliminary demands of the English, receive the answer of the French king, and know whether Philip had transmitted a power of treating to his grandfather. When Prior arrived at Fontainebleau he presented the queen's memorial, in which she demanded, "that the Dutch should have a barrier in the Netherlands and the emperor one on the Rhine: that there should be a security given for the Dutch commerce, and a general satisfaction to all the allies: that the strong places taken from the duke of Savoy should be restored, and that he should possess such towns and districts in Italy, as had been ceded to him in former treaties: that Lewis should acknowledge queen Anne and the protestant succession, demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and conclude a new treaty of commerce: that Gibraltar and Port Mahon should be ceded to the crown of England: that the negro trade in America, at that time carried on by the French, should be given up to the English, together with some towns on that continent, where the slaves might be refreshed: that her majesty's subjects trading to Spain should have security for enjoying all the advantages granted by that crown to the most favoured nation: that the English should be put into possession of Newfoundland and Hudson's bay: that both nations should continue to enjoy the territories in North-America they might possess at the ratification of the treaty; and that substantial security should be given, that the same person should not enjoy the crowns of France and Spain."

Mr. Prior had no power to negotiate, and was ordered to return immediately, if the French started any difficulties. They, finding he was not sufficiently empowered to treat, ordered M. Meluager, deputy of the council of commerce in France, to attend him back to England, and at the same time gave him full power to settle the preliminaries of the treaty, which, after various disputes, were signed on the 8th of October, by the French minister and the two secretaries of state.

These articles being communicated to the foreign ministers residing in London, by Mr. secretary St. John, who at the same time notified to them, that her majesty had fixed on the city of Utrecht for the place of congress, and that the conferences would begin on the first of January, count Gallas, the Imperial ambassador, treated them in so disrespectful a manner, that the queen sent him a message forbidding him her court, and at the same time informing him, that the sooner he left England the more agreeable it would be to her. The states-general likewise sent over M. Buys, one of their deputies, to persuade her majesty not to give ear to any proposals made by the court of France; but they were disappointed in their expectations; the queen was determined to procure peace, and put a stop to the great effusion of blood which had for so many years deluged half Europe. Accordingly the earl of Strafford, the English ambassador at the Hague, was ordered to demand the immediate concurrence of the states, declaring, in her majesty's name, that she should look on any delay as a refusal to comply with her propositions. Intimidated by this declaration, and being apprehensive that by rejecting their interests from those of Great Britain they should not be able to obtain a barrier to their mind, and, after long deliberation, thought it most prudent to acquiesce in the queen's measures.

A memorial was also presented by baron Boller, envoy extraordinary from his electoral highness of Hanover, dissuading her majesty from treating with the court of France till the demands of the allies were fully complied with. In order to quiet the apprehensions which the elector had been inspired with by the insinuations of the whig party, who represented all these measures as so many steps to bring in the pretender, the earl of Rivers, the English ambassador at Hanover, was ordered to assure that prince that his succession to the crown should be effectually secured in the treaty.

Charles VI. wrote to the queen on the same subject, and with similar arguments of dissuasion, but her majesty did not honour his letter with an answer. However, in order to render all parties as easy as possible, she wrote to the allies in general, explaining to them the steps she had taken, and inviting them to the congress. She even condescended to have a conference with the dukes of Marlborough, Graham, and St. Alban's; the earls of Dorset and Scarborough; the lords Somers, Cowper, and others, on the same subject; but they remained fixed in their opposition to a pacification.

On the 7th of November her majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne in which she observed, "That notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the time and place for a general congress were finally appointed: that our allies, especially the states-general, whose interest she considered as inseparable from her own, had by their ready concurrence, expressed an entire confidence in her conduct: that her chief concern was, that the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the nation should be preserved inviolate, by securing the succession as it was limited by parliament, in the house of Hanover: that she should use all her endeavours in the ensuing negotiation, to obtain all the advantages of trade and commerce, which a tender and affectionate sovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people: that with regard to the princes and states who were engaged in the war, she would leave no means unattempted to obtain for each of them a reasonable satisfaction: that as the best way to forward the treaty would be to make early provision toward opening the campaign, she hoped they would grant the necessary supplies for the ensuing year, and begged they would proceed in this affair with the

dispatch, as might convince the enemy, that if she could not obtain a good peace, she was ready to prosecute the war with vigour."

As soon as the queen was retired, a motion was made in the house of lords for returning her majesty thanks for her speech; but the earl of Nottingham, who from being one of the chief supports of the Tory party, had of late associated with the whigs, proposed, that a clause should be inserted in the address, "that no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies were allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon." This motion occasioned a violent debate, in the course of which the earl of Anglesea represented the necessity of easing the nation of the burdens occasioned by an expensive war: he even affirmed, that if some persons who thought it their interest to prolong the war, had not interposed, an advantageous peace might have been procured immediately after the battle of Ramillies. The duke of Marlborough, against whom this insinuation was levelled, made a long speech in his own vindication: he appealed to the queen, who was then in the house incog. whether he had not on all occasions informed her and her council of all the proposals offered by the enemy for a peace; and had not desired instructions for his conduct on that subject: he declared, upon his conscience, and in presence of the Supreme Being, before whom he soon expected to appear, that he was always desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace, and very far from entertaining any design of prolonging the war for his own advantage, as had been falsely represented by his enemies. At last the question was put, whether the earl of Nottingham's clause should stand as part of the address, and carried in the affirmative. The same clause was proposed to be inserted in the address of the commons, but rejected by a great majority.

Persuaded that while Marlborough continued at the head of the army, the strongest opposition would be made to the offers of peace, the ministry determined to strip him of all his posts. The committee for examining the public accounts, having proved that he had received annually a considerable sum from the victuallers of the army, the queen declared in council, that in order to enquire impartially into that affair, she thought it necessary to divest him of all his employments. This declaration was the next day imparted to him in a letter wrote by the queen's own hand, in which she took occasion to complain of the treatment she had received from him and his friends. It was now sufficiently evident what reliance is to be placed on the favour of the people, when the object however deserving, is no longer in power. That great general, whom they had so lately in a manner deified and adored, and whose glorious actions filled every mouth with praises, was now become the object of the most indecent satire, and the most bitter invectives. He who had so lately possessed the favour and confidence of almost every power in Europe, now found himself unable to oppose the inveterate attacks of a destructive party.

But notwithstanding the ministry had found means to destroy the power of Marlborough, they perceived that it would be impossible to procure the approbation of the house of lords to the intended peace, unless some method could be found to turn the majority in favour of the court, it being now sufficiently evident that it was in favour of the other party. Accordingly the queen was persuaded to create no less than twelve new peers; a number which the ministry imagined would secure them the majority in the upper house.

A. D. 1712. Charles VI. thinking that of all the allies he was likely to be the greatest sufferer by a peace with France, thought proper to send prince Eugene to England, as a person the most likely to promote his interest with the queen, and also hoping that his presence, with the assistance of the whigs whose hatred to the new ministry appeared on every occasion, would raise such a flame of discontent in the nation, as might turn to the advantage of the advocates for war. His highness arrived in England on the first of January, and, though his business was far from being agreeable to the ministry, was received with all the respect due to his rank and distinguished character. He was immediately admitted to an audience with the queen, who received him with great complacency, and, having perused the letter which he delivered to her from the emperor, she told him, "She was sorry that the state of her health did not permit her to converse with his highness as often as she could wish; but that she had ordered the treasurer and Mr. secretary St. John to receive his proposals, and confer with him as frequently as he should think proper."

The chief business with which the prince was charged was to persuade the queen from agreeing to the settlement of the crown of Spain on the house of Bourbon; and his memorial consisted of proposals and methods for carrying on the war in that country with success. Accordingly, as soon as the house of commons met, after the holidays, Mr. secretary St. John informed them that he had received her majesty's commands to lay before the house a proposal made her by prince Eugene, in the name of the emperor, for supporting the war in Spain. The substance of it was, "That his imperial majesty judges that 40,000 men will be sufficient for this service; and that the whole expence of the war in Spain may amount to about four millions of crowns, towards which his imperial majesty offers to make up the troops he has already in that kingdom, to 30,000 men, and to take one million of crowns upon himself."

This proposal was received with great coldness in the house of commons; so that though Eugene was received with all the honours due to his birth and merit, he saw no prospect of succeeding. He therefore hastened back to the continent, to take upon himself the command of the army, in which he had now no competitor for glory.

In the mean time the examination into the conduct of Marlborough was deferred; but notwithstanding all the regard and friendship Eugene shewed for that great leader, the commons kept no measures with the duke. They accused him of malversation; and it is certain that too great a thirst of wealth had sullied the glory of that illustrious general. But that glory, and his eminent services, were surely sufficient to have thrown a veil over a few failings, especially as he had it in his power to justify his conduct by orders from the ministry. He was, however, unwilling to inflame the nation, and prudently sought refuge in foreign countries, to elude a prosecution carried on by a party who could not bear to see him any longer in power, or even enjoy, unmolested, the fruits of his victories.

The Dutch having shewn evident signs of displeasure at the peace now in agitation, the commons, in revenge, attacked the treaty concluded some years before with the states, by which the barrier was granted to them in the Low Countries. They represented to the queen, in a flushed remonstrance, "that Holland had not furnished her contingent of troops, and that England had been overcharged 10,000,000 during the war." The states general published

published a memorial in vindication of their conduct; and the commons voted it a scandalous libel, injurious to the house, and tending to alienate the minds of the people from the present government.

In the mean time the conferences were opened at Utrecht with all the appearance of success. The emperor and the states-general continued obstinate to their proposals, and were for reducing the French monarch to the most humiliating concessions. The British ministry, therefore, found it absolutely necessary to carry on the treaty without them, or break off the negotiation. The French now delivered their specific explanation of the offers for a general peace. These were transmitted to London, and, as far as they related to Great Britain, were as follow:

"The French king will acknowledge, at the signing of the peace, the queen of Great Britain in that quality; as also the succession of that crown according to the present settlement, and in the manner her Britannic majesty shall please.

"His majesty will cause all the fortifications of Dunkirk to be demolished immediately after the peace, provided an equivalent be given him to his satisfaction.

"The island of St. Christopher's, Hudson's Bay, and streight of that name, shall be yielded up entire to the crown of Great Britain; and Acadia, with Port Royal and the Fort, shall be restored entire to her majesty.

"As to the island of Newfoundland, the king offers to yield up that also to Great Britain, reserving only to himself the port of Placentia, and the right of catching and drying fish as before the war.

"It shall be agreed to make a treaty of commerce, before or after the peace, as England shall chuse; the conditions of which shall be made as equal as possible between the two nations."

These offers occasioned great debates in the house of lords; several of the members considering them as trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majesty and her allies. Some endeavours were made to adjourn the debates, but in vain; and it was resolved, without a division, to address the queen, representing the just indignation the house entertained at the insolence of France, in having proposed to acknowledge her majesty's title to these realms no sooner than when the peace should be signed; as also at the terms of peace offered to her and her allies by the plenipotentiaries of France; declaring, at the same time, that they would assist her majesty to the utmost of their power in prosecuting the war, until they should obtain a safe and honourable peace.

The duke of Ormond having been appointed commander in chief of the English forces, in the room of the duke of Marlborough, he passed over to the continent in the beginning of April; and on the 20th of May his grace, in consort with prince Eugene, assembled the army between Douay and Marchiennes, where it was found, upon a review, that the allied army consisted of 120,250 men. Prince Eugene soon after proposed to attack the French army under marshal Villars, or to invest the town of Quesnoy; but Ormond, who had now received fresh orders from Mr. secretary St. John, gave the prince and deputies of the states general to understand, that her Britannic majesty, having a prospect that the negotiations would prove successful, had commanded him not to act offensively against the enemy.

The prince and the deputies of the states were thunderstruck at these orders, the latter of whom not only complained to the British ministers at the congress, but also sent over a letter to the queen, ordering their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. It contained an excuse for the backwardness they had shewn in acting in consort with her majesty

They said, "That all the difference between the queen and them, was a disparity of sentiments, and if for such a cause, confederates united by the strongest ties, might quit their engagements, no engagements could be relied on for the time to come." The Dutch envoy also received orders to publish copies of this letter in the public papers. This was accordingly done, and they were printed and dispersed at the very time when the letter came to the queen's hand.

Incensed at these proceedings, which were considered as a remonstrance rather than a representation, and an appeal to the people than an address to the sovereign, the queen wrote a very sharp letter to the states. At the same time the commons voted an address to her majesty, wherein they assured her "of the just sense the house had of the indignity offered to her majesty, by printing and publishing a letter from the states-general; and humbly desired that she would so far relent such indignities, as to give no answers for the future to any letters or memorials that should be so printed and published."

During these transactions, some events happened which had nearly rendered the whole scheme abortive. In the course of the preceding year the duc dephin had died of the small pox, and his title conferred on the duke of Burgundy; who also, on the 1st of February, paid the great debt of nature, six days after the death of his wife, Mary Adelaide of Savoy. These were soon followed to the grave by their eldest son the duke of Brittany: so that none remained alive of the duke of Burgundy's children except the duke of Anjou, at this time a very sickly infant. A series of misfortunes like these must be extremely shocking to Lewis in his old age: and equally alarming to the queen of England, who saw that nothing but the precarious life of an unhealthy child could divide the two monarchies of France and Spain: an union she was absolutely determined to prevent. Guader was therefore sent to Paris with a memorial, couched in the strongest terms, representing the danger to which the liberties of Europe must be inevitably exposed, if Philip enjoyed both the crowns of France and Spain, and therefore demanding, that in consequence of his pure, voluntary, and simple renunciation, his title to the crown of France might be transferred to his brother the duke of Berry: and that the latter should renounce all title to the crown of Spain, provided he should ascend the throne of France.

Philip yielded to necessity; and having ratified the renunciation of all future pretensions to the crown of France, the queen agreed to a suspension of arms. Orders were immediately sent to the duke of Ormond to put an end to hostilities. Her majesty had the plan of the treaty before both houses; and notwithstanding all the efforts of the whig party, presented separate addresses, in which they thanked the queen for her great condescension in communicating these conditions to her parliament, and expressed an entire satisfaction of her conduct.

On the 21st of June the queen put an end to the session by a speech from the throne, wherein she expressed her satisfaction at the addresses and assurances she had received, and observed, that should the treaty be broke off, the burdens of the war would be at least continued, if not increased: that the present opportunity would be irrecoverably lost, of obtaining a real balance of power in Europe, and improving her own commerce; and that it was of the allies should gain something by such a proceeding, the rest would suffer in the common calamity.

When the duke of Ormond abandoned the allies, prince Eugene undertook the siege of Quesnoy, but almost all the foreign troops in English pay refused to follow him. In the mean time Lewis agreed to give

up Dunkirk as a pledge to the English for his engagements, and waited with impatience the events of a critical campaign. Eugene took Quesnoy, and besieged Landreci; while detachments from his army ravaged the country, and the kingdom of France was thrown into the utmost confusion. But the lines of Eugene were too much extended. Villars forced the entrenchments of general Albemarle, who was encamped at Denain, and the prince was unable to give him any assistance. He took Marchiennes, where the magazines of the allies were formed; raised the siege of Landreci, retook Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain; and in one campaign became superior to the conqueror, so long flushed with victory.

A. D. 1713. The success of Villars greatly alarmed the allies; and they now began to perceive that all their efforts, without the assistance of England, would be in vain: they therefore came into the English measures, and the famous treaty of Utrecht was signed on the first of April.

By this treaty the French king acknowledged the protestant succession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain; and engaged for himself, his heirs and successors, not to suffer the Pretender to return into France, nor any way to succour or assist him.

"That the crowns of France and Spain should never be united under one head; that renunciations should be made by both sides in due form; and that they should never be united under any pretence whatsoever.

"That the trade between France and Spain shall be on the same footing as in the time of Charles II.

"That the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and the harbour filled up, never to be repaired. That the bay and streights of Hudson should be restored, and satisfaction be made to the company for the damages they had sustained.

"That the whole island of St. Christopher should be hereafter possessed by the English, and also Nova Scotia or Acadia, with the port now called Annapolis Royal.

"That the island of Newfoundland should belong wholly to Great Britain; the French having only huts for drying their fish, and liberty to fish only from Cape Bona Vista to the northern point of that island, and so down the western side as far port Roche. But the French were to retain Cape Breton, and other islands in the mouth of the river St. Lawrence.

"That the French in Canada should not molest the five nations of Indians subject to Great Britain; nor the subjects of Great Britain molest the Indians under the protection of France.

"That all letters of marque, counter-marque, and reprisal, be annulled.

"That justice shall be done to the Hamilton family with regard to the duchy of Chatelault; to the duke of Richmond concerning such requests as he had to make in France; and to Charles Douglas, with regard to certain lands to be reclaimed by him."

A treaty of navigation and commerce was at the same time concluded; whereby a free trade was established according to the tariff of 1664, except in a few commodities, which in 1699 were subjected to new regulations. It was agreed that the duties imposed upon the productions of France imported into England should not exceed those laid on the same commodities from other countries; and that commissioners should meet at London to adjust all matters relating to commerce.

It was also stipulated, that the emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan in the Spanish Netherlands; that the duke of Savoy should enjoy Sicily with the title of king: that the

same title with the island of Sardinia should be given to the elector of Bavaria, to indemnify him for the losses he had sustained: that the states-general should restore Lille and its dependencies; and that Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburgh, Ypres, and Newport should be added to the other places they already possessed in Flanders: that the king of Prussia should have Upper Gueldres in exchange for Orange, and the other estates belonging to that family in Franche Compté. The king of Portugal declared himself satisfied with the treaty, but the emperor postponed giving his answer till the first of July.

The parliament met on the 9th of April, when the queen, in her speech, informed both houses, that the treaty of peace was signed, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged: she expressed her hopes that what she had done for the protestant succession, and the perfect friendship that subsisted between her and the house of Hanover, might convince such who wished well to both, and had the quiet and safety of their country at heart, how vain all attempts were to divide them. Then, addressing herself to the commons, she observed, that she left it entirely to them to determine what force might be necessary for the security of trade by sea, and for guards and garrisons; and then proceeded in the following manner: "Make yourselves easy and I shall be satisfied: next to the protection of divine providence I depend upon the affection and loyalty of my people; I want no other guarantee." Then again directing herself to both houses, she said, "she hoped they would concert proper measures for easing the foreign trade of the kingdom: for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fishery: for employing the hands of idle people: for suppressing the scandalous and seditious libels that were every day published; and for putting a stop to the impious practice of duelling." She concluded her speech with this pathetic exhortation; "Now we are entering upon peace abroad, let me conjure you all to use your utmost endeavours for calming mens minds at home, that the arts of peace may be cultivated. Let no groundless jealousies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by party-rage, effect that which our enemies could not. I pray God to direct all your consultations for his glory and the welfare of my people."

Addresses of thanks and congratulations were immediately presented by both houses of parliament, and their example was followed by the houses of convocation, and all the principal corporations in the kingdom.

The ratifications of the treaty between Great Britain and France being exchanged, on the 5th of May the peace was proclaimed in the cities of London and Westminster, with the usual solemnities.

On the 16th of July her majesty went to the house of peers, and put an end to the session with a speech from the throne; in which she thanked both houses for the good service they had done the public; recommended to them the making her subjects truly sensible of what they had gained by the peace; and endeavour to dissipate those groundless jealousies which had been so industriously fomented among the people, that unhappy divisions might not weaken, and in some measure endanger, the advantage which had been gained. By her majesty's command the lord chancellor now prorogued the parliament to the 28th of August, but it never sat more; for on the 8th of August, a proclamation was issued for dissolving the present parliament, and declaring her majesty's intention of calling a new one. Accordingly, on the 18th of the same month, writs were issued in due form, and the new parliament appointed to meet on the 12th of November.

About this time the magistracy of Dunkirk sent a deputation

deputation with an address to the queen, humbly imploring her majesty to spare the port and harbour of that town, and representing that they might be useful to her own subjects. To this address lord Bolingbroke, by her majesty's order, returned the following answer, "that the queen had read with attention the address he had presented to her in the name of the magistrates of the town of Dunkirk; and she had commanded him to tell them, that she beheld with sorrow the damages which the inhabitants of that town would sustain by the demolition of its ramparts and harbours, but that she did not think it convenient to make any alteration in a thing agreed on and determined by a treaty." Hereupon M. Tugge, the principal deputy, presented a second address or memorial to her majesty on the same subject, which he caused to be printed and published. The arguments it contained were, however, refuted by Addison, Steele and Mainwaring: and commissioners were sent to see the fortifications of Dunkirk entirely demolished. They were accordingly razed to the ground, and the harbour filled up.

In the mean time the Tories took care to manage the elections in such a manner as to retain the legislative power in their own hands; but the queen's ill state of health, and the contest among her ministers, delayed for some time the meeting of the parliament. Oxford and Bolingbroke were at once competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for abilities; they were both aspiring and ambitious, began to form separate cabals, and adopt different principles. Sensibly affected by their dissensions, the queen interposed both her advice and authority; but though an exterior accommodation was effected, their mutual animosity continued to increase. Bolingbroke was powerfully supported by Sir Simon Harcourt, the chancellor, Sir William Windham, and Mr. Secretary Bromley; while Oxford, perceiving his authority began to decline, formed a design of retiring from public business.

On the 24th of December, her majesty, who had some time before repaired to Windsor, was seized with an inflammatory fever. This accident revived the hopes of the Jacobites; the public funds fell immediately, and so great a run was made on the bank, that the directors sent one of their members to represent to the treasurer the danger that threatened the public credit. The recovery of the queen, however, which happened in two or three days after, banished the fears that had seized the principal persons in the nation.

During these transactions in England, the emperor Charles VI. having rejected the terms of peace, proposed to carry on the war, at his own expence, by the assistance of the empire; but his forces on the Rhine, commanded by prince Eugene, were so inferior in number to those under Villars, that the prince could not prevent the French general from making himself master of the two important fortresses of Landau and Friburg. His imperial majesty, however, did flatter himself, that some fortunate event might cause an alteration in the affairs of Europe, favourable to his interest, and depended on the great abilities of prince Eugene for gaining some remarkable advantage over the forces of the enemy. But finding himself disappointed in all his expectations, and, at the same time, unable to support the expences of another campaign, he listened to the overtures of peace made by the electors of Cologne and Palatine; and the treaty was soon after signed by Eugene and Villars. Lewis, by this treaty, ceded to the emperor, Old Brisac and all its dependencies, Friburg, the forts in the Brisgau and the Black Forest, and fort Kehl. He also engaged to demolish the fortifications, opposite to Hunningen, the castle at Sickingen, and all the works between that place and Fort Louis. On

the other hand, the town and fortress of Landau, ceded to the king of France, who acknowledged the elector of Hanover; restored the electors of Bavaria and Cologne to all their dignities and domains; and put the emperor into immediate possession of the Spanish Netherlands.

A. D. 1714. The new parliament met on the 16th of February, and was opened by council (the queen not being sufficiently well to attend). Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker, after which they adjourned till the second of March.

During this adjournment the ratifications of the treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Spain were brought over to England, and peace was proclaimed on the 1st of March. The principal articles of this treaty were the following: "That the union of France and Spain should never be united; that the protestant succession should be acknowledged, and never be opposed on any pretence; that navigation and commerce should be on the same footing as the treaty of 1667; that no licence should be given to the French, or other nations, to introduce any goods or any merchandises, into the Spanish dominions in America, except what might be agreed on by the treaty of commerce, and the privilege granted by the assiento of negroes; except also what should be granted by the catholic king, after the assiento should be determined; that the American dominions should not be alienated from the crown of Spain, to any other nation; that Gibraltar and the island of Minorca should be given up to England for ever; that no Moors were to come thither but on account of traffic; that all the Spanish inhabitants should enjoy their estates and religion, or have liberty to sell their estates, and retire; that the South-sea company should have the privilege of introducing negroes into several parts of America for thirty years, commencing with the year 1713, in the same manner as granted by the French; that the Catalans should have full and free pardon, with the possession of all their estates and honours, and enjoy the same privileges as the inhabitants of both Castles; that Sicily should be yielded to the duke of Savoy; but in case of his dying without heirs, the kingdom should return to Spain. By two separate articles the queen promised to assist in the measures, by which she had taken care to disengage other part of the Spanish monarchy should be separated from it; and obliged herself to procure the prince of Urbin to be put into possession of Lambergue, or any other country in the Netherlands, which should produce 30,000 crowns a year, pursuant to a grant made her by king Philip in the year 1711."

The day after peace was proclaimed with satisfaction the parliament met, according to adjournment. The queen went to the house of peers, and made a speech to both houses; in which she told them, that she had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the quiet of the allies; and was persuaded, with their concurrence, her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe. That the electors of these kingdoms pointed out their true interest, as this country can only flourish by trade, and be most formidable by a right application of its force. She complained, that sedition had been taken to suppress these seditions by seditious rumours, by which degrading notions were able to sink credit, and cause the most dangerous. She observed, that some had arrived at the height of malice as to insinuate, that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover was in danger and in jeopardy, but that such persons, whose only design was to distract the minds of men with imaginary fears, could only mean to disturb the public tranquillity, and to bring real evil upon the public.

that after all she had done to secure the religion and liberties of her people, and to transmit both safe to posterity, she could not mention these proceedings without some degree of warmth, and hoped the parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy, could never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession. "I have done," said she, "and shall continue to do my best for the good of my subjects. Let it be your endeavour, as it shall be mine, to unite our differences; not by relaxing from the strictest adherence to our constitution in church and state, but by observing the laws yourselves, and enforcing a due obedience in others."

This speech produced some debates in both houses; but addresses of thanks were voted both by the lords and commons; and the queen, after thanking the lords for their affectionate address, added, "That any who were nearest the throne would, first of her subjects, feel the evil consequences of any diminution of the royal authority: that it was a comfort to her she had the assurance of their support; and they ought depend upon it, she would never give way to a least attempt on the just authorities of the crown, or any of their rights and privileges."

The next day the convocation complimented the queen in a joint address "on her recovery and happy return to her royal city in health and safety;" concluding with their wishes, "That after a long and happy reign, she might be able to transmit the protection of the church and state to a protestant successor in the illustrious house of Hanover, which her majesty, to the great satisfaction and comfort of all her faithful and good subjects, had so often declared to be at her royal heart."

Notwithstanding these affectionate addresses, the gail of party still subsisted, and the minds of the people were daily inflamed by pamphlets and papers. Addison, Steele, and Halifax headed the whig party, and Fortescue the champion of the Tories. In the month of March a complaint was made in the house of commons of several scandalous papers lately published, under the name of Richard Steele, esq; a member of that house. Sir William Wyndham declared, that these papers contained insolent, injurious reflections on the queen herself, and could only be dictated by the spirit of rebellion. A day being appointed for Richard Steele to attend in his place, when he owned the writings, and entered into a circumstantial defence. Mr. Addison, general Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole were his principal defenders; his opponents Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Fortescue, and the attorney-general. Nothing, however, could be alledged in his favour, had the least support with the majority, who were determined to condemn him; and accordingly two pamphlets intitled "The Englishman," and "The Critic," written by Richard Steele, esq; were voted scandalous and punishable, and that the author should be expelled from the commons.

Not taking into consideration the state of the nation, the leaders of the whigs represented the queen, that she attended the protestant succession, on account of the pretender's not being yet removed from France, and the ill condition the affairs of Europe were left in by the late treaties of peace, and moved that addresses be presented to the queen; first, for an account of what steps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the kingdom of France, and what answers had been given to that duke. Secondly, an account of the negotiations of peace, what measures had been taken to procure universal peace, and what obstructions had met with. Thirdly, an account of

the monies granted since the year 1710, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal."

These addresses were presented without opposition. But the ministry perceiving that the whigs were forming several other motions which could not fail of greatly embarrassing their measures, the lord-treasurer moved to adjourn the house till the 31st of March, which was carried by a small majority.

Though the ministry had increased their party during the recess of parliament, yet the debates were carried on with great vehemence. No satisfactory account had been yet given with respect to the present residence of the pretender, who, it was asserted, still continued in Lorrain. The earl of Sunderland said, "that notwithstanding the earnest application made last session by both houses to her majesty, to use her utmost endeavours to get him removed from thence, yet he was assured by baron Fostner, the duke of Lorrain's minister, some weeks before his departure, that, to his certain knowledge, no instances had yet been made to his master for that purpose." To this lord Bolingbroke answered, "He wondered baron Fostner could make such a declaration, since he himself had made those declarations to him in the queen's name." But lord Halifax confirmed what the earl of Sunderland had advanced, by saying, "That baron Fostner had told him as much but four days before; so that lord Bolingbroke must be mistaken, at least in point of chronology."

This debate brought on a motion of more consequence; the question was "whether the protestant succession be in danger under the present administration?" This question gave rise to a very warm debate, which continued for near seven hours, during which time many warm speeches were made against the ministry. That of the earl of Anglesea was remarkable. He said, among other things, "That when he came into the house, he thought indeed the protestant succession to be still in danger on the part of France, whose interest it was to restore the pretender: but that after he had heard what so many noble members of that august assembly, persons of undoubted honour and probity, had alledged against the ministers, and no answer offered to confute it, either by the ministers themselves or their friends, he could not believe the succession to be in danger." He afterwards endeavoured to clear himself with regard to the share he had in some late transactions. "I own," said he, "I gave my assent to the cessation of arms, for which I take shame to myself, and ask God, my country, and my conscience pardon. But, however, this fault I did not commit, till that noble lord (turning towards the lord-treasurer) had assured the council, that the peace would be glorious and advantageous both to her majesty and her allies." Adding, "That, as the honour of his country, and the good of his sovereign, formed the rule of his actions, so he had no respect of persons; and if he found himself imposed upon, he durst pursue an evil minister from the queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold."

The lord treasurer, against whom the latter part of this speech was levelled, said, "That the peace was as glorious and advantageous as could be expected, considering the necessity of affairs, and the opposition the queen's ministers had met with, both at home and abroad." Several lords replied, that no ministers ever had it in their power to make so honourable and advantageous a peace as the queen's ministers had. The duke of Argyle added, "That he had lately crossed the kingdom of France, both in going to and returning from Minorca. That it was indeed one of the finest countries in the universe, but that there were marks of general desolation in all the places through which he passed. That he had rid forty miles together without meeting a man fit to carry arms; that the rest

of the people were in the utmost misery and distress; and, therefore, he could not apprehend what necessity there was to conclude a peace so precipitately with a prince whose dominions were so greatly exhausted of men, of money, and of provisions." With regard to the question in debate, he said, "That he firmly believed the succession of the illustrious house of Hanover to be in danger from the present ministers, whom he durst charge with mal-administration both within doors and without: that he knew, and offered to prove, that the lord-treasurer had yearly remitted 4000*l.* to the highland clans in Scotland, who were known to be devoted to the Pretender, in order to keep them under discipline, and ready for any attempt: that, on the other hand, the new-modelling of the army, by disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and by removing from their employments a vast number of officers merely on account of their known affection for the house of Hanover, were clear indications of the designs in hand: that it was a disgrace to the nation to see men who had never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the posts of several brave officers, who, after they had often exposed their lives for their country, were now starving in prison for want of their pay." The lord-treasurer now rose, and, laying his hand upon his breast, said, "I have, on so many occasions, given such signal proofs of my affection to the protestant succession, that I am sure no member of this august assembly could call it in question. At the same time I own I have remitted to Scotland, for two or three years past, 3800*l.* to the highland clans; but I hope the house will give me an opportunity of clearing my conduct with regard to that point. As for the reformed officers, I have given orders they shall be paid directly."

After several other speeches, the question was put, and carried in the negative by 12 voices only. But though the protestant religion was thus voted not to be in danger, lord Halifax, in order to put their professions of affection for the house of Hanover to the test, moved, "That an address be presented to the queen, that she would renew her instances for the speedy removing the Pretender out of Lorrain; and that she would, in conjunction with the states-general, enter into the guaranty of the protestant succession in the house of Hanover; and also with such other princes as she should think proper." He was seconded by the earl of Wharton, who moved likewise, that, in the address, "Her majesty might be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should bring the Pretender dead or alive:" this motion was seconded by the duke of Bolton, who also moved, that the reward might be suitable to the importance of that service. Nothing was said in opposition to the motions: but it being late, some members expressed their desire that the house should adjourn. But the other side calling for the question, it was unanimously resolved that the address should be presented.

When the address against the Pretender was reported by the committee appointed to draw it up, the lord North and Grey made a long speech, wherein he endeavoured to shew the barbarity of setting a reward upon any man's head; which, he said, was nothing less than giving encouragement to murder and assassination; and how repugnant such a practice was to the laws of christianity, the law of nature, and of all civilized nations. He represented in particular, "How inconsistent such a proceeding was with the honour and dignity of so august an assembly in a nation and government famed for lenity and clemency." He concluded with saying, "No man either had more respect for the illustrious house of Hanover, or would do more to secure them than

himself; but that they must excuse him if he would not incur perdition for them." He was supported by lord Trevor, who said, "What that noble peer had spoke was sufficient to shew how inconsistent such a proceeding was with christianity and the civil law; and, therefore, he would confine himself to the laws of England; and, if he knew or understood any thing of these, he was confident they were no less opposite to such proceedings than the civil law. He knew he did not speak there as a lawyer or judge, but as a peer: but he was so fully convinced of our law discountenancing all such proceedings, that if ever such a case should come before him as a judge, he should think himself bound in justice, honour, and conscience, to condemn such an action as murder; and, therefore, he hoped the supreme court of judicature in England, and the most august tribunal in the universe, would not make a precedent for encouraging assassination;" and, therefore, he moved, "that the reward should be for apprehending and bringing the Pretender to public justice, in case he should land, or attempt to land, either in Great Britain or Ireland: and that her majesty should issue her royal proclamation, whenever in her great wisdom she should judge it necessary." To this it was answered, "That however contrary such a proceeding might be to the precepts of christianity, it was warranted by the practice of the old Romans, of the most civilized nations in Europe, and of our own nation in particular. For, without recurring to remoter instances, we have the example of James II who set a price on the head of his own nephew, the duke of Monmouth." But these reasonings were not well supported, and the motion was agreed to by a majority of ten voices. When the address was presented to the queen, she returned the following answer:

"My lords,

"It would be a real strengthening to the succession of the house of Hanover, as well as support to my government, that an end were put to these groundless fears and jealousies, which have been so industriously promoted. I do not, at this time, see any occasion for such a proclamation. Whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having one issued. As for the other particulars in this address, I will give proper directions thereon."

The whig party were not a little dissatisfied with this answer; and in order to give the queen all the mortification possible, the earl of Wharton proposed this question in the house of lords, "Whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration?" A warm debate ensued, but at length the succession was voted out of danger, by a great majority.

On the very same day the above address was presented an incident happened which threw the ministry into the utmost confusion. Most of the whig lords had held a consultation at the house of lord Halifax, to which baron Schutz, envoy from the elector of Hanover, was admitted. In this meeting it was resolved, that the baron should take the first opportunity of demanding a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the house of peers, as duke of Cambridge. Accordingly, Schutz made a visit to the chancellor, and among other civilities acknowledged the affection he had shewn on several occasions to the house of Hanover. The chancellor told him "he was extremely sensible of the honour he did him by this visit and compliment; and desired him to assure the elector of his entire devotion and service, hoping that his highness gave no credit to the false reports that were industriously spread, in order to give him jealousies of her majesty's ministers." The baron answered that

he would not fail to discharge so agreeable a commission; but he had a favour to ask of him in the name of the electoral prince, that his lordship would be pleased to make out a writ for his sitting in the house of peers as duke of Cambridge. Surprized at this unexpected demand, the chancellor told the baron, "That though it was unusual to make out writs for peers who were not in the kingdom, yet he would immediately apply to her majesty for direction." The baron answered, "he did not doubt the chancellor's performing the duties of his office. But, with regard to the objection of the duke's being out of the kingdom, he could assure him his electoral highness proposed coming over very speedily, and might, perhaps, be landed before the writ was made out." The baron now took his leave, and the chancellor desired him to remember, "That he did not refuse his demand, but thought proper to acquaint the queen of it, which he would do immediately." A council was directly held in the queen's presence; and after very long debates it was resolved, that the chancellor should make out a writ for the duke of Cambridge. The queen was, however, so highly offended at the baron's making his application to the chancellor, before he had informed her of his intentions, that she forbade him the court.

But though the writ was ordered to be made out for the duke of Cambridge, the ministry was determined he should not visit England; and a report prevailing that the princess Sophia intended to desire the queen's approbation for the duke of Cambridge's coming into England, her majesty, with the advice of her cabinet council, wrote that princess the following letter:

"Madam, Sister, Aunt,

"Since the right of succession to my kingdom has been declared to belong to you and your family, there have always been disaffected persons, who, by particular views of their own interest, have entered into measures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even while I am living. I never thought till now, that this project would have gone so far as to have made the least impression on your mind. But, as I lately perceived by public rumours, which are industriously spread, that your electoral highness is come into this sentiment, it is of importance, with respect to the succession of your family, that I should tell you such a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it some consequences that will be dangerous to that succession itself, which is not safe any other way, than as the prince, who actually wears the crown, maintains her prerogative. There are here (such are our misfortunes) a great many people that are sedulously disposed. So I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raise, if they should have a pretext to begin a commotion. I persuade myself, therefore, you will never consent that the least thing should be done that may disturb the repose of me and my subjects.

"Open yourself to me with the same freedom I do to you, and propose whatever you think may contribute to the security of the succession, I will come near it with zeal, provided it do not derogate from my dignity, which I am resolved to maintain. I am, with a great deal of affection, &c.

At the same time her majesty wrote the following letter to the duke of Cambridge:

"Cousin,

"An accident which has happened in my lord Paget's family, having hindered him from setting forth so soon as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with

respect to the design you have formed of coming into my kingdoms. As the opening of this matter ought to have been first to me; so I expected you would not have given ear to it without knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what I owe to my own dignity, the friendship I have for you, and the electoral house to which you belong; and the true desire I have that it may succeed to my kingdom: and this requires of me that I should tell you, that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my dominions, and the right of succession in your line, and consequently more disagreeable to me, than such a proceeding at this juncture.

"I am, &c."

The princess Sophia (who was now in the 8th year of her age) was so affected on the receipt of these letters, that the very day after she was seized with an apoplectic fit, as she was walking in the gardens of Herenhausen, and died in the arms of the electoral princess, before physicians could come to her assistance. She was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederick, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth of England, only daughter of James I. This princess was of a strong and healthy constitution, and a perfect mistress of most of the modern languages; her genius was equally turned for conversation or business, and hence she became at once the ornament and delight of her court; her turns of wit were sprightly and surprizing; her judgment solid and penetrating. Nothing could exceed the beauties and advantages of her conversation, but her letters; both were easy, entertaining and useful. She enjoyed a fund of happiness within herself, which gave a relish to her retirements; but her care in government, and œconomy, shewed the just sense she entertained of being born for the good of others. Her piety was exemplary without affectation; and her sentiments of religion just and noble. She lived beloved, and her hearse was bedewed with the tears of the good and the virtuous.

The leaders of the tory party, at the head of whom was lord Bolingbroke, determined, if possible, to defeat the protestant succession; they, therefore, brought in the famous schism bill, it being thought necessary, for accomplishing their scheme, to ruin the dissenters. It was presented to the house of commons by Sir William Wyndham, and strenuously opposed by the whole power of the whig party; but at length passed the house by a considerable majority.

It was strongly supported in the house of peers by lord Bolingbroke, who, on its being read the first time, said, "It was a bill of the last importance, since it concerned the security of the church of England, the best and firmest support of the church and monarchy; both which all good men, and particularly that august assembly, who derive their lustre from, and are near the throne, ought to have most at heart, and, therefore, he moved that it should be read a second time." Lord Cowper replied, "That no man was more ready than himself to do every thing that should appear necessary to attain the seeming intention of this bill, the preventing the growth of schism, and the further securing the church of England. But that the enacting part would be so far from answering the title of it, that, in his opinion, it would have a quite contrary effect, and prove equally pernicious to church and state. That instead of preventing schism, and enlarging the pale of the church, this bill tended to introduce ignorance, and its inseparable attendants, superstition and irreligion. That in many country towns, reading, writing and grammar schools were chiefly supported by the dissenters, not only for the instruction and benefit of their

their own children, but likewise those of poor churchmen; so that the suppressing those schools would, in some places, suppress the reading of the Holy Scriptures." On the other hand he observed, "that this bill struck at the antient rights and prerogative of the house of peers; which, by the constitution, is the supreme court of judicature, and the dernier resort in all causes; whereas, by this bill, the justices of the peace were impowered to hear and finally determine the offences against the same. I would, my lords, added he, rather enlarge than abridge the power of justices of the peace, were it only to encourage gentlemen to take upon them an office so troublesome, and so unprofitable, unless it be, perhaps, in the county of Middlesex. But, at the same time, my lords, I shall never consent to give up the birth-right and ancient privileges of this august assembly, of which I have the honour to be a member."

The earl of Wharton attacked the supporter of the bill with the most poignant irony. "I am, said he, agreeably surprized to see some men of pleasure become on a sudden so religious as to set up for patrons of the church. But I am astonished that persons who have been educated in dissenting academies, whom I could point out, and whose tutors I could name, should appear the most forward in oppressing them. This is surely but an indifferent return for the benefit the public has received from those schools, which have bred these great men, who have made so glorious a peace, and treaties that have executed themselves. I can, therefore, see no reason for suppressing these academies, unless it be from an apprehension, that they may produce still greater geniuses, that may drown the merits and abilities of these great men. To be serious, my lords, it is no less melancholy than surprizing, that at a time when the court of France prosecutes the design they have long since formed to extirpate our holy religion; when not only secret practices are used to impose a popish Pretender on these realms, but men are publicly enlisted for his service: it is, I say, melancholy and surprizing, that at this very time a bill should be brought in, which must tend to divide the protestants; and consequently to weaken their interest, and hasten their ruin. But the wonder will cease when we consider, that madmen were the contrivers and promoters of this bill." He declaimed particularly against the word schism, with which the frontispiece of the bill was decorated, and said, "It is something strange that they should call schism in England, what is the established religion in Scotland, and, therefore, if the lords who represented the nobility of that part of Great Britain, were for this bill, he hoped, that in order to be even with us, and consistent with themselves, they would move for bringing in another bill to promote the growth of schism in their own country." He added, "That both in the bill itself, and also in the speeches of those who had declared for it, several laws were recited and alledged, but there was a law which had not yet been mentioned, it is the law of the gospel, To do unto others as we would be done unto."

Some other very sarcastical speeches were made on this remarkable bill, and several amendments were made to it, which rendered it very different from what it appeared in its original state. With these amendments it was carried in the house of peers by a majority of five voices, and afterwards received the royal assent: but the queen dying before it took place, the act was rendered ineffectual.

It now appeared sufficiently evident that the lords were determined to censure the conduct of lord Bolingbroke, but the queen, in order to prevent the consequences that might ensue, went to the house of

peers, on the 9th of July, and put an end to the session with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The progress which has been made in public business, and the season of the year, render it both convenient and necessary, that I should put an end to this session.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I return you my hearty thanks for all your good services to me and to your country, and particularly for the supplies you have given me, as well to defray the expences of the current year, as towards the discharging of the national debt. In our present circumstances it could not be expected, that a final provision should be made on both these heads. What you have granted shall be laid out with the best husbandry, and to the greatest advantage.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I hope early in the winter to meet you again, and to find you in such a temper as is necessary for the real improvement of our commerce, and of all the other advantages of peace. My chief concerns to preserve to you, and to your posterity, our holy religion, and the liberty of my subjects, and to procure the present and future tranquillity of my kingdom. But I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be attained, unless you bring the late dispositions on your parts; unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among you, be laid aside: and unless you shew the same regard for my prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have always expressed for the rights of my people."

This was the last speech the queen ever made in her parliament: her constitution was now quite broken; one fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health, was the discord that prevailed among her ministers. While the parliament continued sitting, they maintained some appearance at least of unity, fearing an attack from that branch of the legislature, but their fears being now over, they laid no restraint upon their passions. Their disputes became intolerable; they so far forgot their duty to her majesty, and regard for their country, that whenever Oxford and Bolingbroke met in council, they studied rather to oppose each other than to settle or pursue any regular plan of government. And their jealousies arrived at last to such a shameful height, that it is believed a quarrel that happened between them in the queen's presence hastened her death. It is certain that the severest reproaches passed between these ministers on the 27th of July, when Oxford was deprived of the white staff. He imputed his disgrace to Bolingbroke, lady Masham, and the chancellor, and told her in the queen's presence, "That he had been wronged and abused by lies and misrepresentations, but he should be revenged, and leave some people as he found them."

Such confusions, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet council on this event, had so violent an effect on the queen's spirits, that, on the 29th of July, she was seized with a lethargic disorder, and the next day, about seven in the morning, was struck with an apoplexy. She, however, recovered in some degree, the use of her senses, and during that interval gave the white staff to the duke of Shrewsbury, bidding him use it for the good of her people.

This was the last act of her government, for the council now took upon themselves the direction of public affairs. Their first consideration was the security of the kingdom, and orders were immediately issued to the four regiments of horse and dragoon



quartered in the neighbouring counties, to march with all expedition into the neighbourhood of London. At the same time, seven of the ten British battalions in the Netherlands were directed to embark with the greatest expedition at Ostend, for England. An embargo was laid upon all shipping, and directions given for equipping all the ships of war that were in a condition for immediate service. Nor was the elector of Brunswick forgot: a letter was written to that prince, informing him of the dangerous condition of the queen's life; and desiring him to repair to Holland with all convenient speed, where a British Squadron would attend to convoy him safe to England, in case of her majesty's decease. The ministry also took care to secure the sea-ports, to awe all the jacobites in Scotland, and to prevent the friends of the pretender from assembling in England.

In the mean time every effort was used for the recovery of the queen; but the violence of her disorder rendered the power of medicine ineffectual. After having dozed in a lethargic insensibility for near thirty-six hours, she paid the great debt of nature, on the first of August, about seven in the morning, in the sixth year of her age, and the 13th of her reign.

Queen Anne was in her person of the middle size, and well proportioned. her hair of a dark brown, her complexion ruddy, her aspect rather comely than majestic, her voice clear and melodious, and her presence engaging.

During the reign of this prince's justice flowed in an impartial and uninterrupted course; and both the church and state experienced a profusion of royal bounty. While her subjects laboured under the burden of an expensive war, she generously assailed them with a very considerable part of her own revenue. She piously applied the first-fruits and tenths, one of the choicest flowers of the crown, to the maintenance of the poor clergy. She always expressed the greatest concern for the advancement of religion, and with the purest zeal promoted the design of erecting churches to her Saviour's honour. She gave every encouragement to charity schools for the support of the indigent youth of her populous capital; that the seeds of religion and virtue might be early sown in their tender minds, and even the universities those celebrated seats of learning, always found her an indulgent patroness. She always shared

in the joys and sorrows of her subjects, nor ever concealed herself from their distresses. She was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity; a tender mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent mistress. In a word, if she was not the greatest, she was, at least, one of the best sovereigns that ever adorned the throne of England.

Queen Anne had six children, but none survived her. The duke of Gloucester only reached his 12th year, all the rest died in their infancy.

The only remarkable occurrence that happened during this queen's reign was the following:

On the 26th of September, 1703, about eleven o'clock at night, there arose the most dreadful tempest that had ever been known in the memory of man, attended with such flashes of lightening and peals of thunder as filled every mind with terror and consternation. The houses in London shook from their foundations, and several of them falling, overwhelmed the inhabitants in their ruins. The Thames overflowed several streets, and rose to a considerable height in Westminster-hall. London-bridge was almost choaked up with the wreck of vessels that were beat to pieces in the river. Thirteen men of war were destroyed on the English coasts, besides a great number of merchant ships; and upwards of 1500 seamen perished. The loss sustained by the capital alone was estimated at near two millions, and the city of Bristol suffered to the amount of 200,000l.

The greatest improvements were made in learning and the polite arts during this queen's reign, which put her court, at least, on a footing with that of Lewis XIV. in its most splendid days. Many of the great men, who had figured in the reigns of the Stuarts and William were still alive, and in the full exercise of their faculties, when a new race sprung up in the republic of learning and the arts. Addison, Prior, Pope, Swift, lord Bolingbroke, lord Shaftesbury, Arbuthnot, Congreve, Steele, Rowe, and many other excellent writers, both in prose and verse, need but be mentioned to be admired, and the English were as triumphant in literature as in war. Natural and moral philosophy kept pace with the polite arts, and even religious and political disputes contributed to the advancement of learning, by the unbounded liberty which the laws of England allow in speculative matters.

B O O K XV.

From the Accession of GEORGE I. to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

G E O R G E I.

AS soon as the late queen's death was made known, orders were immediately issued by the Council for proclaiming George, * elector of Brun-

wick, king of England; which was accordingly done on the very same day, at the usual places, and with the accustomed ceremonies. The earl of Dorset

was

* This prince, when he acceded to the throne of England, was in the 55th year of age. He was endowed by nature with a brave genius, cultivated by an excellent education; and together with his experience, rendered him perfectly capable of supporting the weight of a crown, to which he was now

called by the voice of the people. He had long been known to the English, having commanded a body of troops in the allied army, where his valour and conduct had gained him universal esteem.

was at the same time appointed to carry the news of his majesty's accession, and to attend him in his voyage to England.

In the mean time the greatest precautions were taken by the lords of the regency for guarding against a surprize. They dispatched such officers of the army as they knew they could trust to their respective posts; gave orders to reinforce the garrison at Portsmouth, and sent vessels out to view the harbours of France, and discover whether any preparations were making for an invasion of this kingdom. They chose Mr. Joseph Addison for their secretary, and ordered all letters and dispatches directed to the secretary of state to be sent to him. This was a mortifying circumstance to lord Bolingbroke, who was now obliged to stand at the door of the council chamber, with his bag and papers, and to receive orders from those whom, but a few days before, he expected to command.

The parliament, in conformity to the act of succession, met at Westminster on the very day the queen died. On the 5th of August the lords-justices went to the house of peers, and the lord-chancellor, in the name of the rest, made a speech to both houses, wherein he acquainted them, "that nothing had been omitted, since her majesty's death, which might contribute to the safety of these realms: that they had, in conjunction with the council, proclaimed our lawful and rightful sovereign king George: that several branches of the public revenue being expired by the queen's demise, he recommended to them to make such provisions as might be requisite to support the honour and dignity of the crown." He then, with the utmost earnestness, exhorted them to a perfect unanimity and firm adherence to their sovereign's interest, as the only means to continue the present tranquillity.

Both houses immediately agreed upon an address of condolence for the death of the queen, and congratulations for his majesty's happy accession; promising to support his right to the imperial crown of these realms, against the Pretender, and all persons whatsoever, and desiring his presence among them. These addresses being transmitted to his majesty, were most graciously received, and he was pleased to return the following answer.

"I take this first opportunity of returning you my most hearty thanks for your address, and the assurances you have given me therein. The zeal and unanimity you have shewn upon my accession to the crown, are great encouragements to me, and I shall always esteem the continuance of them as one of the greatest blessings to my reign. No one can be more truly sensible than I am of the loss sustained by the death of the late queen, whose piety and virtues so much endeared her to her people, and for whose memory I shall always have a particular regard. My best endeavours shall never be wanting to repair this loss to the nation. I will make it my constant care to preserve our religion, laws and liberties inviolable, and to advance the honour and prosperity of my kingdoms. I am hastening to you, according to your desire, so affectionately expressed in your address."

The parliament were so well pleased with this answer, that they immediately voted an address of thanks; after which they granted the yearly sum of 116,573*l.* during the term of thirty-two years, for the support

of his majesty's household, and the dignity of the crown.

Having dispatched the other matters that lay before them, the lord's justices, on the 21st of August, went to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to the bills for the support of the king's household, for rectifying mistakes in commissioners names for the land-tax, and for enabling persons, residing in Great Britain, to qualify themselves there for continuing in their respective employments in Ireland. The two houses now adjourned to the 25th of August, and were then, by his majesty's command, prorogued to the 23d of September.

The court of France was greatly confounded on receiving the news of the late queen's death. They found it was impossible for them to oppose the protestant succession to the crown, and therefore they acknowledged George, elector of Hanover, king of Great Britain. The pretender, who had been flattered with the hopes of assuming the English throne both by the ministers of France and England, no sooner heard that the queen was either dead, or past all hopes of recovery, than he posted immediately to Versailles; but before he reached the palace, he was met by the marquis de Torcy, who told him, "That his most christian majesty was surprized at his behaviour, returned into his dominions, knowing the engagements he was under with regard to the succession of the crown of Great Britain in the house of Hanover, and therefore desired him to quit his territories immediately." This unexpected reception greatly afflicted the pretender, who immediately departed, and again returned to the court of Lorrain.

On the 28th of August Mr. Murray arrived with expresses from Hanover, informing the regency that his majesty had deferred his departure for some days and ordered the lords-justice to remove lord Bolingbroke from his office of secretary of state. This was accordingly done on the 31st, and not without particular marks of the royal displeasure; for the seals were not only taken from him, but the doors of his office were locked and sealed.

During these transactions the duke of Marlborough arrived in England; he landed at Dover the evening the queen paid the debt of nature. His grace had been invited over, first by the lord treasurer Oglethorpe when he had formed a design of ingratiating himself with the whigs; and afterwards by lord Bolingbroke who found it necessary to acquire a colleague to support him in power, so that it is no wonder he made large promises to the duke. His grace seemed indeed so elated with returning greatness, that he forgot the loss of that prudence, which had hitherto been the invariable guide of his conduct. He endeavoured to make a public entry; and accordingly about 2000 of the inhabitants of Southwark, with their men at their head resolved to attend him through the Borough. He was also escorted through the city by a like number on horseback; but the people who had been poisoned by the reports of the duke, did not receive him in the manner he expected.

On the 16th of September the king embarked for England, and on the 18th landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the duke of Norfolk, captain of the life guard, and the lord-chancellor at the head of the lords of the regency. The king chose to walk to his house in the park, accompanied by most of the nobility, and great numbers

* On the 24th of August the remains of her late majesty were deposited with the usual solemnities in Westminster abbey. She

was interred in the same vault with her late consort prince George of Denmark.

the principal gentry, through an infinite croud of persons of all conditions.

The king made his public entry into London on the 20th of September, with great pomp and magnificence. Above 200 coaches belonging to the nobility and gentry, all drawn by six horses, preceded the king's. He was met at St. Margaret's-hill in Southwark, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, recorder, sheriffs and officers of the city of London, in whose name Sir Peter King, the recorder, made a congratulatory speech. The lord-mayor delivered the city sword to the king, who returned it, and he bore it in the procession. The number of people assembled on this occasion was amazing, all of whom testified their satisfaction by the loudest acclamations.

Few princes ever mounted a throne with greater éclat than did George the First; notwithstanding which his reign commenced with troubles. The animosity that at this time subsisted between the Whigs and Tories was much higher than ever. The whigs, who had been in disgrace during the four last years of the late reign, were filled with resentment at the usage they had received from the tories, and hoped to have full satisfaction under a reign, the commencement of which they considered as the end of their humiliation. The tories were apprehensive of a fall, and this had engaged several of their leaders in practices not only dangerous, but directly opposite to measures for maintaining the protestant succession.

The king, highly esteemed for his prudence, seemed capable of distinguishing the heats of faction, or at least of turning them to the public good. Possibly he might have succeeded had he maintained an equal balance between the two parties, and endeavoured to unite them by a proper conduct and address; but whether he thought it impossible to reconcile the turbulent passions of the two parties, or whether the prejudice he had conceived against the tories carried him beyond proper bounds, he gave all his confidence to their adversaries.

These measures tended only to widen the breach, and increase the number of enemies to the principles of the revolution. Not only the papists espoused the interest of the abdicated family, but also great numbers of those who professed the tenets of the church of England; and it was feared they would join with the catholics, to dethrone a prince whom they considered as a foreigner. Neither the famous distinction between a king *de jure* and a king *de facto*, nor the doctrine of passive obedience, was yet forgot; and hence several refused to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

The changes that ensued were a farther proof that the tories were to expect no favour from the new king. Bolingbroke had been dismissed before his arrival, and lord Townshend appointed secretary of state in his room. The command of the army was taken from the duke of Ormond, and restored to the duke of Marlborough. The lord Cowper was made lord-chancellor; the earl of Wharton, lord privy-seal; and the earl of Sunderland, lord lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Devonshire was appointed steward of the household, in the room of earl Paulet; and Mr. James Stanhope, secretary of state in the room of Mr. Bromley. The duke of Somerset was made master of the horse, the duke of St. Albans captain of the band of pensioners, and the duke of Argyll commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. William Pulteney was made secretary at war, and Mr. Robert Walpole receiver and paymaster-general of all the forces in Great Britain, and paymaster to Chelsea hospital. This revolution extended to other public employments, and the whigs triumphed with as much a hand on this occasion, as they had before been humbled and disgraced.

These changes being made in the government, his majesty assembled his council, whom he addressed to the following effect: "That he was resolved to maintain the churches of England and Scotland as by law established; that he hoped to succeed without infringing that toleration granted to the protestant non-conformists, a toleration so advantageous to commerce and the public welfare; and that he would be particularly careful to secure property, that precious right of the subject, which essentially constitutes the happiness of the nation.

On the 15th of October the king was crowned at Westminster. There was never so great an appearance of lords spiritual and temporal, as on this occasion; no less than seventeen archbishops and bishops attended; all the dukes in and about London, except the duke of Buckingham; seventy earls and viscounts, and among them the earl of Oxford and viscount Bolingbroke, and as many barons. The demonstrations of joy throughout the kingdom seemed to be general on this happy event, some few places excepted, where the populace shewed their hatred to the protestant succession by riots and outrages.

The demolition of Dunkirk having been represented as not going on with that vigour as had been stipulated by the late treaty of peace, the English resident at Paris was ordered to present a memorial to hasten the work, as also to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finished. Lewis having returned an equivocal answer, Mr. Prior was recalled, and the earl of Stair appointed ambassador to the French court, where he prosecuted the affair with great vigour. And as the barrier, now on the carpet between the emperor and the states-general, was of great consequence to the trade of this nation, general Cadogan was sent to Antwerp to assist at the conferences.

During these transactions the number of mal-contented in England was considerably increased; the old clamour of the danger the church was in was revived; seditious libels were dispersed among the people; and terrible tumults raised in different parts of the kingdom, particularly at Birmingham, Bristol, Norwich, and Reading. The party cry was, "Down with the whigs! Sacheverel for ever!" The pretender, who went by the title of the chevalier de St. George, attempted to avail himself of this juncture, by publishing a manifesto, wherein he complained that a foreign prince had been proclaimed contrary to the fundamental and incontestable law of hereditary right; observing that no act of parliament could set aside that law, and that his subjects, by violating it, were no less injurious to themselves than to him.

A. D. 1715. The present parliament consisting chiefly of tory members, it was judged altogether improper to continue it any longer at this critical juncture. Accordingly, on the 5th of January, a proclamation was published for dissolving it, and a new one was appointed to meet on the 17th of March. This proclamation was filled with complaints against those who had shewed themselves disaffected to the established government. It was added, "that his majesty hoped such persons only would be elected as were capable of putting an end to the present disorders, and that particular attention would be paid to such as had supported the protestant succession when in danger." Nothing could be more clearly pointed out to the whigs, nor mark more strongly on which side he wished the votes to fall. A very strong opposition was, however, made by the tory party, but the influence of the court, and the spirit of liberty among the people, produced the desired effect: a large majority were on the side of the revolution.

The new parliament met on the day appointed; and the commons having elected Mr. Spencer Compton

ton for their speaker, the session was opened on the 21st, with the following speech from the throne :

" My lords and gentlemen,

" This being the first opportunity I have had of meeting my people in parliament, since it pleased God to call me to the throne of my ancestors, I most gladly make use of it, to thank my faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness, which hath been shewn in defence of the protestant succession, against all the open and secret practices that have been used to defeat it ; and I shall never forget the obligation I have to those, who have distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

" It were to be wished that the unparelled successes of a war, which was so wisely and chearfully supported by this nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a suitable conclusion ; but it is with concern I must tell you, that some conditions, even of this peace, essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, are not yet duly executed, and the performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious until we have formed defensive alliances, to guaranty the present treaty.

" The pretender, who still resides in Lorrain, threatens to disturb us, and boasts of the assistance which he still expects here, to repair his former disappointments.

" A great part of our trade is rendered impracticable. This, if not retrieved, must destroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation.

" The public debts are very great, and surprizingly increased, ever since the fatal cessation of arms. My first care was to prevent a farther increase of those debts, by paying off forthwith a great number of ships, which had been kept in pay, when there was no occasion for continuing such an expence.

" Gentlemen of the house of commons,

" I rely upon you for such supplies as the present circumstances of our affairs require for this year's service, and for the support of the public faith. The proper estimates shall be laid before you, that you may consider of them, and what you shall judge necessary for your safety, I shall think sufficient for mine.

" I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that nothing can contribute more to the support of the credit of the nation, than a spirited observance of all parliamentary engagements.

" The branches of the revenue, formerly granted for the support of the civil government, are so far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remain and have been granted to me, will fall greatly short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown. And since it is my happiness, as I am confident you think it yours, to see a prince of Wales, who may, in due time succeed me on the throne, and to see him blessed with many children, the best and most valuable pledges of our care and concern for your posterity, this must occasion an expence, to which the nation has not for many years been accustomed, but such as surely no man will grudge, and therefore I do not doubt but you will think of it with that affection which I have reason to hope from you.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the issue of this first session. Let no unhappy divisions of parties here at home divert you from pursuing the common interest of your country. Let no wicked insinuations disquiet the minds of my subjects. The established constitution in church and state shall be the rule of my government. The happiness, ease and prosperity of my people shall be the chief care of my life. Those who assist me in carrying on these measures I shall always esteem my best friends ; and I

doubt not but I shall be able, with your assistance, to disappoint the designs of those who would deprive me of that blessing which I most value, the affection of my people."

As soon as his majesty left the house, the lords took the royal speech into consideration, and immediately voted an address, the conclusive part of which was to the following effect : " that they would take such measures as would preserve the public credit, restore our trade, extinguish the very hopes of the pretender, and recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts ; the loss of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions, is by no means to be imputed to the nation in general." This gave occasion to a very warm debate. The tories alledged, " that it was injurious to the late queen's memory, and clashed with that part of his majesty's speech, which recommended to both houses, the avoiding the unhappy divisions of parties, and that it was unjust to condemn persons without hearing them." Lord Bolingbroke, in particular, was very warm on this subject, and moved that part of the clause might be omitted. But it was carried against him, and the address was presented in its original.

The whigs now determined to enquire into the late negotiations, and a secret committee was appointed for that purpose. The famous Sir Robert Walpole was appointed chairman ; who, after delivering the report, impeached lord Bolingbroke of high-treason, as the author of a particular treaty concluded with Lewis XIV. Lord Coningsby immediately rose, and said, " The worthy chairman has impeached the hand ; I impeach the head : he has impeached the clerk ; I the judge : he the scholar ; I the matter. I impeach Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, of high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Harley, the earl of Oxford's brother, spoke in his defence. He alledged, " that the minister had done nothing but by the immediate order of the queen ; that the peace of Utrecht was an advantageous peace, and, as such, it had been approved by two parliaments."

On the 21st of June Mr. secretary Stanhope impeached James duke of Ormond of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors. The duke was defended by several members. Sir Joseph Jekyll in particular said, " That if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had, in a course of many years, exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country : that as the statute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treason against him was founded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the house ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the duke, but only to impeach him of high crime and misdemeanors." This occasioned a long and warm debate ; but the question being put, it was carried for his impeachment. The duke perceiving he was already pre-judged by his enemies, who were determined to carry on the impeachment with the whole force of their party, consulted his own safety by withdrawing himself from the kingdom.

Articles of impeachment were also drawn up by the commons, against Robert earl of Oxford, who, being agreed to, lord Coningsby went up to the bar, and, at the bar of the house, impeached the said earl of high-treason ; demanding, at the same time, that he might be sequestered from parliament, and committed to safe custody. The earl, after protesting his innocence, observed, that if ministers of state were only executed the orders of their sovereign, were responsible for their conduct, every member of the house might one day be exposed to the same untimely fate. He added, " My lords, I am about to

my leave of your lordships and this honourable house, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my life with pleasure, in a cause favoured by my dear royal mistress. When I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content: and, my lords, God's will be done." He was suffered to return to his own house, in custody of the Black Rod, in consequence of his being ill of the gravel. The next day he was brought to the bar of the house, where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. But he was ordered immediately to the Tower, notwithstanding his bad state of health.

These proceedings greatly contributed to increase the popular ferments. Tumults were raised in various parts of the kingdom against the friends and adherents of the new ministry. A general spirit of discontent, so openly manifested, filled them with terror for their own safety, and the house of commons thought proper to address the king to put the laws against rioters vigorously in force. A new law, called, "The Proclamation, or Riot-act," was prepared, and soon after received the royal assent, decreeing, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after having been required in his majesty's name to disperse, by a justice of the peace, or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

On the 20th of July the king went to the house of peers, and having sent for the commons he acquainted them that he had received certain advices of an attempt preparing abroad in favour of the pretender; and that a rebellion was actually begun at home: he therefore expected that the commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the public safety. The commons immediately drew up an address, in which they assured his majesty, they would support him, with their lives and fortunes, against all his open and secret enemies, and desired him to raise sufficient forces, as soon as possible, for the security of the kingdom; and the next day, the lords addressed him to the same effect.

The Habeas Corpus act was now suspended, and orders were issued to arrest all suspected persons. A reward of 100,000*l.* was offered to any one who should take the pretender, dead or alive. Troops were raised, a fleet was equipped, and every necessary preparation made for the security of the kingdom.

On the 5th of August the articles of impeachment against the duke of Ormond were read in the house of lords, upon which warm debates ensued, but the several articles were at last agreed to by a great majority. The first of these articles charged the duke, in corresponding with the marshal Villars, the French general, while he commanded the British army in Flanders. The second, that he wickedly tempted and engaged, that he would not attack the French army, nor engage in any siege against France. The third, that he did falsely, maliciously, wickedly, and traitorously adhere to the French king, and in defiance of a promise he had secretly made to the marshal Villars, he endeavoured to persuade the general of the confederate army to raise the siege of Bouchoy, and, when he could not prevail, marched with the queen's troops, and gave the general of the enemy advice of it. All the rest of the articles consisted of the duke's conduct in Flanders reduced to a charge, and both he and the lord Bolingbroke excluded from justice, bills were brought in to sum-

mon them to surrender themselves by the 10th of September, and, in default thereof, to attain them of high treason, which passed both houses, and received the royal assent. These noblemen having neglected to surrender themselves within the time limited by this proclamation, the house of lords ordered the earl marshal to raze their names and armorial bearings out of the list of peers; inventories were taken of their personal estates; and the duke's achievement, as knight of the garter, was taken from St. George's chapel at Windsor.

The alarm of an intended invasion was not without foundation. The Tories had held a correspondence abroad, and the pretender relied on the promises of Lewis XIV. but that prince dying on the first of September, the face of affairs in that kingdom was totally changed. The regency devolved to the duke of Orleans, who had neither the power nor inclination to sacrifice the treasures of the state he governed to support the interest of a wretched exile, who had very small hopes of obtaining the crown he claimed as his birth-right.

The Jacobites, however, had proceeded too far to think of retreating; and the earl of Mar erected the pretender's standard on Brae-Mar on the 25th of September. He afterwards caused him to be proclaimed at Cullinstown, Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, and several other places. Several suspected persons were seized, and committed to the castle of Edinburgh. Two vessels found means to elude the vigilance of the English fleet, and landed several officers, together with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, in Scotland. This was, however, the only assistance the pretender received from France. The regent found it his interest to cultivate a friendship with the English ministry. The rebels now published a manifesto, in which they gave their reasons for taking up arms; enumerated the grievances of the nation, and promised to redress them.

The duke of Argyle, who had been appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, set out on the 9th of September, for that kingdom; and about the same time the earl of Sunderland offered his service to go and raise the highland clans in the most northern counties of Scotland, which was readily accepted, and the Queenborough man of war was appointed to carry him thither. Several other Scottish peers, particularly the duke of Roxburgh, the marquises of Anandale and Tweeddale, the earls of Selkirk and Loudon, Ross, Haddington, Forfar &c. readily embraced this opportunity of shewing their loyalty to their king, and zeal for their country.

A dangerous conspiracy was about this time discovered and rendered abortive in England. On the 2d of September lieutenant colonel Paul, who had a company in the first regiment of foot-guards, was secured, and the next day sent prisoner to the Gatehouse. He was charged with enlisting men for the pretender's service, and other treasonable practices. The titular duke of Powis, a Roman catholic, was committed to the Tower for high-treason, and the lords Landdown and Tuplin were also taken into custody, and a warrant issued for apprehending the earl of Jersey. At the same time, Mr. secretary Stanhope acquainted the commons, "that he was commanded by the king to communicate to them, that his majesty, having just cause to suspect that Sir William Windham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Hervey, sen. of Combe, Mr. Thomas Foster, jun. Mr. John Aultis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, were engaged in a design to support the intended invasion of this kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them, and desired the consent of the house, to his causing them to be committed and detained, if he

he should judge it necessary." This was unanimously agreed to and an address presented to his majesty for that purpose.

The consent of the house being thus obtained, warrants were immediately issued for apprehending the six members, two of whom, Hervey and Anstis, being then in town, were immediately secured. Mr. Hervey, some few days after, stabbed himself with a knife, in two or three places of his breast; but the wounds did not prove mortal. Mr. Foster bid defiance to justice, and with the assistance of two Romish lords, raised a rebellion in Northumberland. Sir John Packington was brought up to town from Worcestershire, and after being examined before the council, was honourably discharged. Mr. Kynaston made his escape, and colonel Huske, a captain in the foot guards was sent down with a messenger to apprehend Sir William Windham, in Somersetshire. On their arrival, which was about five in the morning, they desired to see Sir William immediately; but the porter told them he was in bed and could not yet be spoke with. The colonel told him he came express, and that the person with him had a packet of letters of such consequence, that it was absolutely necessary for him to inform his master of their arrival immediately. This alarmed the porter, and Sir William immediately leaped out of bed, and came in his gown to the colonel, who told him he was his prisoner, the messenger at the same time shewing him the badge of his office. Sir William laid he readily submitted; but desired no noise might be made to frighten his lady, who was then with child. They now entered a chamber, where the colonel, seeing Sir William's coat and waistcoat lie, told him he had orders to seize all his papers, and that he must take leave to search his pockets, where he found a bundle of papers, which he secured. Sir William would have diverted him by offering him the keys of his closet in order to search for more; but the colonel had now secured those of the utmost importance. Sir William desired the colonel would stay till seven o'clock, when he would order his carriage to be ready; adding, he would only retire and put on his clothes, and take leave of his lady. This was granted; but the colonel soon found he had been too complaisant; Sir William instead of retiring made his escape. On the colonel's return a proclamation was issued, promising 1000*l.* reward to any person who should apprehend Sir William.

Finding it would be in vain any longer to secrete himself, Sir William repaired to London, and surrendered himself to the earl of Hertford, captain of one of the troops of life-guards. After a strict examination before the council, he was committed to the Tower, notwithstanding the duke of Somerset offered to bail him. This refusal so irritated the duke that he immediately resigned all his employments.

On the 21st of September the king went to the house of peers, and after giving the royal assent to such bills as were ready, put an end to the session.

The designed insurrection in the western counties was so well concerted, and the conspirators so powerful and numerous, that the jacobites at Bath, depending on their majority, openly asserted, that the affair of Scotland was only a diversion to draw the king's troops that way; but that the effectual attempt would soon be made in the west. The government, however, having received information of the secret proceedings of the malcontents, took such measures as rendered all their designs abortive. Their first attempt was intended to be against Bristol, which they proposed to make a place of arms. This was prevented by the earl of Berkley, lord lieutenant of the county, and governor of that city, who re-

paired thither immediately, and took the necessary precautions for securing that important place. Several persons were apprehended, and among the rest Mr. Hart, a merchant, who was charged with having collected a vast quantity of warlike stores for the use of the conspirators.

About the same time lord Windor's regiment of horse, under the command of major-general Wade, marched to Bath, which was both the rendezvous and one of the arsenals of the conspirators. Upon a strict search the king's officers discovered and seized eleven chests of fire-arms, a hoghead filled with basket hilted swords, and another of cut-throats, three pieces of cannon and one mortar, which had been buried under ground. About 200 horses were seized, and eight of the principal leaders were committed to prison.

The disaffected in the north of England were more successful than their brethren in the west. Measures had been concerted at London by the Pretender's friends, some time before the insurrection broke out in Northumberland. The insurgents received great assistance from captain John Shastoe, a half-pay officer, and captain John Hunter, in North Tyne, who had a commission from queen Anne to raise an independent company. Besides these was captain Robert Talbot, an Irish papist, who had been in the French service. He carried an account of the resolutions formed in London, and by his advice every necessary precaution was taken for preventing any part of their scheme from transpiring.

The first appearance of their rising in arms was about the latter end of September, when the earl of Derwentwater was informed that a warrant was issued by the secretary of state for apprehending him, and that the messengers were already in the neighbourhood of Durham. This sufficiently alarmed the whole party, and a meeting of all the chiefs was held, where it was resolved to throw off the masque, and openly declare their intentions. The Pretender was accordingly proclaimed in several towns with the usual formalities. They did not doubt of being received very willingly into Newcastle; but on approaching the town, they were surprised to find the gates shut against them. They marched immediately to Hexham, where they seized all the arms and horses they could meet with, and proclaimed the Pretender. Here they received advice, that the lord Kenmure, the earls of Nithsdale, Carruthers and Wintoun, who had taken up arms in the west of Scotland, had entered England to join them and advanced as far as Rothbury. They accordingly left Hexham on the 19th of October, and, after a long march, joined the Scots at night. They all marched the next day to Woller, where they received advice that the highlanders, who had crossed the border under Mackintosh were marching to join them upon which they continued their route to Kelso in Scotland.

The ministry being informed of these proceedings it was thought proper to demand from the king general, the 6000 men stipulated by the late treaty. The demand was immediately complied with, as the necessary preparations were made for their embarkation. But as it would be some time before the Dutch could land in England, Pitt's regiment of horse, and three regiments of foot, had been sent for from Ireland, and landed at Cheltenham, the beginning of October. Allocations were also made into throughout the kingdom for the defence of majesty's person and government; and no lord lieutenants of the counties were empowered to join into troops or companies such as should be voted or allocated, and to grant them commissions in the king's name.

In the mean time orders were sent to lieutenant-general Carpenter, (now at Newcastle.) to march immediately against the insurgents. He accordingly left that place on the 25th of October, and advanced at the head of one regiment of foot and three of dragoons, towards Kelso, where the rebels still continued. A council of war was immediately called in their camp, and it was resolved to march directly to Jedburgh. They did not long continue in that place; but by marches and countermarches gave general Carpenter the slip, and passed into England, reaching Lancaster on the seventh of November. On their approach colonel Chartres, who commanded a few troops in that place, proposed to blow up a fine bridge over which they were to pass, in order to obstruct their entry; but the inhabitants opposed this proposition. The colonel, therefore, thought it advisable to leave the town, after having ordered some barrels of powder to be thrown into a well, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels.

The insurgents, having entered Lancaster, performed the usual ceremony of proclaiming the Pretender, and levying the public revenues. Though the town could easily have been made tenable against a much greater number of forces than the government could at that time send against them, and though they expected succours from different quarters, yet they continued no longer in Lancaster than the ninth, when they left the place, carrying with them six pieces of cannon which they found in the town. They directed their march to Preston, where the horse arrived the same night, but the foot halted about mid-way. They entered the town without opposition, Stanhope's regiment of horse, and a regiment of militia, having thought proper to retire on their approach.

As soon as general Carpenter was informed that the rebels were in full march towards Lancaster, he resolved to pursue them with the dragoons only; persuaded he should be joined by the king's troops in the west. He was not mistaken, and his troops being joined by a considerable body under general Willes, they marched to Ribble bridge, fully resolved to attack the insurgents in Preston. The very morning of their arrival general Forster gave orders for the rebel army to march, not in the least suspecting the king's troops were so near. He had depended for intelligence from the gentlemen of Lancaster, who had promised that no party of the king's troops should advance within forty miles of Preston without his knowledge. He was accordingly surprised when he received advice that general Willes was within sight of the town. He advanced, however, at the head of a party of horse to view the posture of the royal forces; and perceiving they were in full march towards him, he immediately returned.

The intelligence of the king's troops being so near did not in the least intimidate the rebels, who with the greatest expedition, made the necessary preparations for their defence. They barricaded the avenues, and posted detachments in the streets, bye lanes, and such houses as were most proper for galling their enemies. The gentlemen volunteers were posted in the church-yard, under the command of the earls of Derwentwater, Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Kenmure. General Forster formed four grand barriers; the first a little below the church, commanded by brigadier Mackintosh, and supported by the gentlemen volunteers in the church-yard. The second was situated at the head of a lane leading to the fields, and commanded by Charles Murray. The third was near a windmill, and commanded by the lord of Mackintosh. And the fourth in the street leading to Liverpool, commanded by major Millar, and Mr. Douglas.

They threw up several intrenchments in an instant, and did every thing in their power to make a stout resistance; but were guilty of one capital error, which sufficiently discovered their ignorance, or rather infatuation. For in the morning, upon the first intelligence of general Willes's approach, they had detached Macpherson, at the head of 100 men, to take possession of Ribble-bridge, which was the only pass by which the royalists could march to Preston; the river being fordable only in two places, one below, and the other above the bridge, both which could easily have been rendered impassable. (The bridge terminates a long narrow lane, where Oliver Cromwell met with a stout resistance from the king's forces.) But Mr. Forster, instead of taking advantage of this pass, which he might have easily done to the destruction of the royal forces, ordered his detachment to return to the town, and by that means gave them a free passage.

General Willes expected to have met with great opposition in forcing the pass, and made all the necessary preparations for that purpose; but was greatly surprised to find it abandoned. He even suspected there was some ambuscade laid for him, and, therefore, resolved to proceed with great caution. After viewing the hedges, and laying the way open for the cavalry to enter, he perceived not the least appearance of an enemy. He, therefore, concluded they had abandoned the town, and were endeavouring by long marches to return to Scotland; but in this he was also mistaken; for, on his advancing near the town, he perceived them in a proper posture to give him a warm reception, though in a place where he could attack them with more ease than at Ribble-bridge. He immediately prepared for an attack, and disposed his troops in such a manner as he might best annoy them in the town, and prevent their escape.

After viewing the disposition of the insurgents, and finding all the avenues leading to the town strongly barricaded, with two pieces of cannon planted on each, he resolved to make two attacks at the same time. Accordingly, a captain and fifty dragoons were drawn out of each of the five regiments, and ordered to attack the avenue leading to Wigan. Another large detachment were ordered to attack the avenue leading to Lancaster.

The first attack was upon that barricade below the church, where old brigadier Mackintosh commanded. He received the king's troops very gallantly, and with a terrible fire, both from the barricade and the tops of the houses, obliged them to retire to the end of the town. At the same time lord Forster, who commanded the other detachment, entered the avenue of Wigan, and took possession of two large houses within fifty yards of the barricade, where he posted his men, finding it impracticable to force the barricade; but from these houses, which overlooked the whole town, he greatly annoyed the enemy; and from those houses they received the greater part of the damage they sustained during the action. These houses had been possessed by the highlanders, when the barricade was commanded by Mackintosh, but they were called off to support the barricade. This gave the king's troops an opportunity of seizing them, and perhaps saved the remains of that detachment, which suffered very greatly in this bold attack. The other barricades were attacked with great resolution, but without success; the king's troops being obliged to retire to the extremities of the town, and remain fatished till the next day, night now hindering their farther approaches.

Hitherto the rebels appeared to have acted with courage and intrepidity, and to have the advantage, since they repulsed the enemy in every attack, with

very little loss. But they did not long continue in their resolution to defend themselves to extremity; for being informed next morning that general Carpenter was arrived with a reinforcement of troops to surround them, their courage failed them; and from that moment they acted with great irresolution, and despaired of success.

About ten in the morning general Carpenter, accompanied by the earl of Carlisle, lord Lumley, and colonel Darcy, arrived at Preston, and marched himself to the Manchester side. He found that the rebels had been attacked the day before without success, and that most part of the king's horse and dragoons were crowded together in a deep narrow lane near the end of the town, in so incommodious a manner, that it was impossible to draw up above three or four in front; and on viewing the ground towards the river, he saw that there were no troops posted at the end of Fisher-gate-street, to block up that part of the town, where several of the rebels were said to have escaped the night before. This street leads to a marsh or meadow, which joins to that part of the river Ribble, where there were two good forts, being the high road towards Liverpool; and towards the end of the same street there was another barricade mounted with two pieces of cannon. General Carpenter, therefore, ordered colonel Pitt to post his two squadrons on that marsh; and going back to the end of the town, he ordered a communication to be made for the troops to assist each other, in case of a sally from the rebels. Invested on all sides, and sensible, when too late, of their condition, the insurgents began to consider what was to be done. The highlanders were for sallying out upon the king's forces, and dying like men of honour, sword in hand; but they were over-ruled, and not allowed to make any sally. The motion was not indeed communicated to the whole body; a capitulation having been proposed by general Forster, as it was expected good terms might be obtained from the king's officers. Colonel Oxburgh offered to go to the head quarters of the royalists and treat for a surrender. He accordingly repaired to general Willes, and offered to lay down their arms and submit, on his promising to recommend them to his majesty's mercy. The general told the colonel he could not treat with rebels; for as they had killed several of the king's subjects, they must expect to suffer the same fate. The colonel replied, that he hoped, as he was a man of honour and an officer, he would not put persons to death who were willing to submit. Willes answered, all he could do for them was, that if they laid down their arms and submitted themselves prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them in pieces, till he had received further orders; adding, that he would give them no more than an hour to come to a final resolution. Oxburgh returned into the town to acquaint Mr. Forster of the general's answer. The Scots were very unwilling to accept of such conditions, and Willes consented to allow them a longer time to give their answer. At last they agreed to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion.

In the above action about 130 men of the royalists were killed; but the loss sustained by the rebels was never known. Upwards of 1400 were taken prisoners, among whom were general Forster, the earl of Derwentwater, lord Widdrington, and several other persons of distinction: the earls of Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath and Kenmure, lord Nairn, and other Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, to the number of 143, besides several vassals and servants. All the noblemen and leaders were secured. Major Nairn, captain Lockhart, captain Shastoe, and ensign Erskine, were tried by a court martial as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son to the

duke of Athol, was also condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were confined at Liverpool and Chester; the noblemen and most considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets pinioned like malefactors, and some of them committed to the Tower, and others to Newgate.

The very day on which the rebels were subdued at Preston, a battle was fought at Dunblain, between the earl of Mar, who commanded the insurgents, and the duke of Argyle, commander in chief of the royal army. The duke's forces, amounting to 3,500 men, were drawn up upon the heights above Dunblain, having that town at about a mile and a half on his left, and a wet boggy morass, called Sheriff-moor, on his right. The earl of Mar's army, amounting to about 9,000 men, were drawn up opposite the royal army. Mar, who knew his number was much greater than Argyle's, extended his lines as far as possible, in order to take him in flank, and in this disposition advanced to the attack.

Argyle, who till now supposed that Sheriff-moor was impassable, saw that two or three nights frost had rendered it capable of bearing. At the same time he perceived the rebels coming down the moor with an intent to flank him, having their right extended a considerable distance beyond the point of his left. He found himself therefore obliged to alter the disposition of his front, to prevent his being surrounded; which, on account of the scarcity of general officers, was not so easily done. The battle was very obstinate and very bloody; different accounts were given of it, and both sides claimed the victory. But from the consequences, it appeared that it was really on the side of the royalists. The earl of Mar retreated to Perth, and abandoned the design he had formed of crossing the Forth and joining his southern neighbours; nor was it ever after attempted. About 800 of the rebels were slain on the field of battle, and 82 taken prisoners, among whom were several persons of distinction.

The rebels received another considerable shock in the loss of Inverness, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Symon Fraser, lord Lovat, who had hitherto adhered to the pretender's interest, but now declared in favour of the government. A free communication was, by this means, opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sunderland had raised a strong body of his vassals. The marquis of Huntley and the earl of Sutherland soon joined the rebel army, and submitted to the king. A considerable number of the clan of the Frasers followed the example of lord Lovat, their chief, and declared against the pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine likewise withdrew from the army, to defend his own country; and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, returned to their respective habitations.

On the 15th of November general Cadogan, with the Dutch troops, arrived in England, and marched immediately to Edinburgh, a resolution having been taken to dislodge the rebels from Perth. A considerable train of artillery was also shipped at the Low and sent to Scotland, for the use of the army.

In the mean time the Pretender, notwithstanding the desperate situation of his affairs in Scotland, resolved to visit that kingdom; he therefore passed through France in disguise, embarked on board a small vessel at Dunkirk; and, on the 22d of December, landed at Peterhead, with six persons only in his retinue, among whom was the marquis of Annandale, son to the duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen, incog. to Fortrose, where he was met and complimented by the earls of Mar and Marischal, general Hamilton, and others of his adherents. From Peterhead he repaired to Dundee, and then

to Perth, into which he made his public entry, and was proclaimed with great solemnity. Here he published several proclamations, and the soldiers were employed in fortifying the town; but on the approach of the English and Dutch forces, he abandoned Perth, retired to Dundee, and afterwards to Montrose.

The insurgents, having lost all hopes of receiving any assistance from France, and finding themselves closely pursued by the king's forces, began to be greatly discouraged. They called a council of war, in which it was resolved that the Pretender should retire in the evening. It happened fortunately for him, that there was then a small ship in the harbour, designed for a gentleman whom the chevalier intended to send as ambassador to a foreign court. This ship was now ordered to convey the Pretender, with some of his particular friends, to the continent. These were the earls of Mar and Milford, the lord Drummond, and some other chiefs. Nine English ships of war were at that time actually cruising at a small distance from the coast, but the night proved so remarkably dark, that the pretender's ship escaped the vigilance of the enemy, and landed him safely at Grave-line in France.

The rebels no sooner found that their prince had deserted them, than they despised all order, disbanded themselves, and retired.

Such was the issue of a rebellion that had proved fatal to many noble families; and which, instead of promoting the interest of the Stuart family, served only to strengthen the protestant succession in the house of Hanover.

During these transactions the barrier-treaty, after many difficulties and delays, which gave reason to suspect that the imperial court never intended to conclude it, was finally adjusted and signed at Antwerp by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the states-general, and the king of Great Britain. By this treaty, the bounds of the imperial dominions in the Netherlands, as also those of the states-general, were finally determined; and the emperor became guarantee of the succession of the house of Hanover to the throne of Great Britain, as the states were before the signing of the treaty.

A. D. 1716. The parliament met on the 9th of January, when the king made a speech to both houses; in which he congratulated them on the success of the army in suppressing the rebellion; upon the conclusion of the barrier-treaty between the emperor and the states-general; also, on a convention with Spain, that would free the merchants of England trading to that kingdom from the impositions and hardships under which they had long laboured in consequence of the late treaties: he likewise gave them to understand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between Great Britain and the states-general was now nearly concluded; and assured the commons, that he would freely give up all the estates that should become forfeited to the crown, in consequence of the late rebellion, towards defraying the extraordinary expences incurred on the succession.

To this speech addresses of thanks were severally presented by both houses. The commons, in theirs, declared, they thought themselves obliged, in justice to their injured country, to prosecute in the most vigorous and impartial manner, the authors of those destructive councils, which had drawn down such miseries on the nation. Their proceedings were fully conformable to this declaration. They expelled Mr. Forster, general of the Northumbrian rebels, and impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Wintoun and Carnwath, and the lords Widdrington, Kenmure and Nairn, of high treason. They likewise brought in a bill of attainder against the earl of Mar, William Murray, styled the marquis of Tullibardine, the earl of Linlithgow, and John lord Drummond.

The impeached lords all pleaded guilty, (except the earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for time to prepare for his defence) and on the 9th of February sentence of death was passed on them by the lord-chancellor Cowper, who was created lord high steward on the occasion.

The greatest interest was made to save the lives of these noblemen. Their unhappy wives begged with tears the intercession of parliament. The house of lords presented an address, praying his majesty to reprieve such of the condemned lords as should deserve his clemency. The king answered very coldly, that he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the security of his subjects. The earl of Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-hill on the 24th of February. The earl of Carnwath, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn were reprieved. The earl of Nithsdale was to have suffered with Derwentwater and Kenmure; but his mother saved him by a generous artifice: she obtained permission to take her last leave of him, ran to embrace him in prison, and they instantly changed dresses. By this means he escaped, and continued in prison. On being interrogated at the bar of the house of lords concerning the place of the earl's retreat, she observed a profound silence. At last, in justice to her generous affections and virtues, she was discharged. Wintoun also afterwards made his escape, as did Forster and Mackintosh out of Newgate. Twenty-two of the rebels were hanged in the country, and several at Tyburn; particularly colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Paul a clergyman, and Mr. Hall, a justice of peace.

This rigour exercised against the delinquents rendered the ministry odious to the people. The court was alarmed, and it was determined to take the most proper measures for preventing the effect. The present parliament was at the devotion of a ministry; but it was greatly feared a new one might not be so; they might possibly return upon the ministry the rigour they had exercised upon the people. The act of triennial parliaments, that bulwark of the national liberty, was justly alarming to a ministry, evidently inclined to despotism. It was indeed dangerous to attack a law of this importance, but the juncture was extremely favourable. It was therefore determined to repeal this act, though justly considered as the principal defence of the people against the attempts of arbitrary power. A motion was accordingly made in the house of peers for effecting this purpose. It was said, that too frequent elections kept up the spirit and activity of parties fomented family discords, brought on ruinous expences, and gave occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign powers; that in the present state of affairs it was necessary to remedy the evil; and that there was no better method of extinguishing the flames of rebellion, which were always ready to break out anew, than by bringing in a bill for extending the duration of parliaments. These arguments were strenuously opposed by several of the peers. "The fundamental laws of the kingdom," they said "required frequent parliaments. They were established by the custom of many ages; they were particularly interesting to the liberty and glory of the subject. What confidence could foreigners repose in a nation that would idly sacrifice its most precious rights? The expence of elections, the cabals they might occasion would be so far from weakening the new and dangerous system, that they would promote it by the interest individuals would have in procuring seats in a long parliament. The ministry would find stronger means and motives to corrupt the members. And might not the same parliament that had effected its prolongation,

gation, effect also its perpetuity, which alone was wanting to destroy the privileges of the people, and the constitution itself?" These arguments, however national, however forcible, were too weak to operate against the influence of the court. Disputes and animosities took place, but the two houses passed the bill, and it soon after received the royal assent.

The king now intimated his desire of visiting his German dominions; but as there was a clause in the act of settlement which prevented him from leaving his realms without consent of parliament, the clause was repealed by a new bill, which immediately passed both houses. When this business was done, his majesty closed the session, declaring, that he had determined to visit Germany, and had accordingly appointed his son, the prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom during his absence. He soon after embarked at Gravesend, and proceeded directly to Pyrmont, where he staid some time to drink the waters for the benefit of his health.

The king had scarce left England, before the two parties that divided the nation, broke out into fresh animosities; the disorderly multitude are always ready to follow the example of their superiors. The whigs had formed themselves into societies, and used to meet at different houses in the city and suburbs, distinguished by the name of Mug-houses, from the vessels they used to drink out of, where whiggish healths were toasted. One of the most famous of these houses was in Salisbury-court, Fleet-street, and rendered so by the following circumstance. The company assembled there having on some occasion given extraordinary demonstration of their hatred and animosity to the leading men of the opposite party, by malicious healths and reflections, the tory mob being informed of it were so incensed, that on the 20th of July they came and attacked the Mug-house, which was kept by one Read, with an intent to demolish it; but the company sending for a reinforcement from another Mug-house in Tavistock-street, they obliged the assailants to fly for the present, though many of them returned, and kept lurking about the house the two following days; and on the third one Vaughan, who had been a Bridewell boy, instigated the mob to go to the Mug-house, and revenge their late affront. Accordingly they followed him with loud huzzas of "High church and Ormond, down with the Mug-house!" Mr. Read bid them keep off or he would fire among them, but they not regarding him, he discharged his piece, and killed Vaughan on the spot, for which he was afterwards tried and acquitted. The mob still continuing their outrages, breaking the windows, pulling down the sign, gutting the house, breaking and destroying the furniture, &c. the sheriffs of London came, and ordered the proclamation against riots to be read, which proving of no effect, a party of the guards were ordered to march to the place, at whose appearance the mob dispersed. Five of the rioters, however, were taken, who being tried and convicted, were hanged before the house; which exemplary punishment effectually suppressed their tumultuous proceedings.

During these transactions at home the king concluded a private treaty with the duke of Orleans, regent of France, and the states-general. By this treaty, which was known by the name of the triple alliance, the duke of Orleans engaged that the pretender should depart immediately from Avignon, where he then resided, to the other side of the Alps, and never be suffered to return to Lorraine, or France on any pretence whatsoever: that no rebellious subjects of Great-Britain should be allowed to reside in that kingdom; and that the treaty of Utrecht, with

respect to the demolition of Dunkirk, should be fully executed to the satisfaction of his Britannic majesty. This treaty also contained a mutual guarantee of all the places possessed by the contracting powers: of the protestant succession on the throne of England as well as that of the duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defensive alliance, stipulating the proportion of ships and forces, to be furnished to that power, which should be disturbed at home, or invaded from abroad. This treaty was no sooner made public, than it excited great discontents both in France and England; but these clamours were little regarded by the king and the regent who had each secured the point he had chiefly at heart.

The king had materially strengthened himself by these alliances; but while he was on the continent he discovered an inveterate enemy in the person of Charles XII. of Sweden. George had acquired the duchies of Bremen and Verden, of which Charles had been stripped by his enemies. The latter was therefore so incensed against the former, that he determined, if possible, to ruin him; and accordingly undertook to head an invasion in favour of the pretender. His ambassadors at London and the Hague secretly conspired in this design. The measures were artfully taken, and every thing seemed to forebode success.

Intimation of this intended conspiracy being given to the king, he suddenly quitted Hanover, and returned to London. The next day after his arrival the Swedish ambassador, count Gyllenbourg, was put under arrest; and baron Gortz, the Swedish resident at the Hague, was also confined.

The plan of this intended invasion was deeply concerted: a number of vessels had been purchased, and were to repair under various pretences to Gottenburgh in Sweden, about the latter end of March, the season when the easterly winds, which are fair for bringing ships from the Baltic to England, generally prevail. Eight thousand foot, and 4000 horse, all picked men, together with a formidable train of artillery, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, and arms sufficient for 20,000 men, were to have been embarked on board these ships. The confederates were so sure of being joined by the discontented party in England, that the design had been intrusted to a very few persons only; nor was there any formal treaty drawn up between the parties engaged in this affair; the mutual interest each had in the success was thought more binding than the most solemn engagements.

In the mean time the arresting the Swedish ambassador, and seizing his papers, by which the whole plot was discovered, alarmed the other foreign ministers residing at the court of London. They complained to the ministry of this outrage committed against the law of nations. The two secretaries of state wrote circular letters to these residents, assuring them that in a few days they should be made acquainted with the reasons for this extraordinary proceeding. All, except the marquis de Monteleone, ambassador from Spain, were satisfied with this intimation. He replied, that he was extremely sorry no other way could be found to preserve the peace of the kingdom, than that of arresting the person of a public minister, and seizing his papers, the sacred repositories of his master's secrets; and that in whatever light those two facts might seem to be understood, they very sensibly wounded the law of nations. This, however, was far from being true; the English monarch acted consistently with the strictest principles of justice in imprisoning his enemy. Gyllenbourg had violated the law of nations by conspiring against the prince to whom he was sent in a public character; and therefore

the English had an undoubted right to dispense with the observance of the same law, by arresting his person.

A. D. 1717. The parliament met on the 20th of February, when the king, in a speech from the throne, informed them, that the inveterate rancour of a faction which they still possessed, had again prompted them to stir up foreign powers to disturb the peace of their native country, inasmuch that they chose rather to make Britain a scene of blood and confusion, than give over their darling design of imposing a popish pretender. The letters of baron Gortz and count Gyllenbourg were laid before the house, and soon after published by his majesty's command. Both houses addressed the king upon this occasion, and, in suitable terms, expressed their resentment. All commerce with Sweden was prohibited; and a squadron of thirty-two ships was immediately fitted out, which blocked up the Swedish fleet in their own harbours, and prevented their putting in execution the design which they had been so long projecting. The king of Sweden, finding himself thus disappointed, and in danger of feeling the resentment of his Britannic majesty, not only desisted from his enterprize, but also endeavoured to make a peace with him, which was soon after effected by the mediation of the regent of France.

On the 3d of April Mr. secretary Stanhope delivered a message from his majesty to the house of commons, informing them, that being desirous, as far as possible, of securing the kingdom against any future attempt of a foreign invasion, he thought it necessary, that such measures should be early concerted with other princes and states as might conduce most effectually to that end: and as this would require some expence, his majesty hoped the commons would, by their assistance at this juncture, enable him to make good such engagements as might ease his people of all future charge and apprehensions on that account.

This message produced great debates in the house: it was strenuously urged, that to ask money for alliances, without first acquainting them with the particulars, was no ways agreeable to the methods of parliament; and that new alliances ought not to be purchased with money. At length, however, it was proposed to grant his majesty a sum not exceeding 250,000*l.* which after some debates was carried, though only by a small majority. And thus Great Britain found herself engaged in continental connections, because the reigning family possessed estates in Germany; an inconvenience which has more than once been felt, and which always must be felt whilst a standing army shall be thought necessary to the prince as it is uneasy to the people.

The carrying this vote by so small a majority alarmed the king, and a change in the ministry was thought necessary. Accordingly Sir Robert Walpole, first commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Pulteney, secretary at war; Mr. Methuen, secretary of state; the duke of Devonshire, president of the council; and several others, resigned their employments; so that the ministry underwent an almost total revolution. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addison were appointed secretaries of state; Mr. Stanhope, first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Craggs secretary at war; the earl of Berkeley first commissioner of the admiralty; the duke of Bolton lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and the duke of Newcastle lord-chamberlain.

The earl of Oxford, who had been confined about two years in the Tower, availed himself of this quarrel in the ministry, to demand his trial. The most violent disputes happened between the two

houses concerning the manner of the process. The lords insisted that the commons should first proceed to make good the articles of high treason against the earl, before they attempted to prove those relating only to high crimes and misdemeanors. The commons refused to proceed only as they stood in the impeachment. The breach became wider between the two houses, and the lords refused a conference which had been demanded by the commons. The accusers were now ordered to appear and make good their charge against the earl of Oxford; but this they refused, and the noble prisoner was set at liberty.

The commons were greatly enraged at the escape of this nobleman, whom they had marked out for destruction; and, as a last effort of their malice, they resolved on an address, beseeching his majesty to except the earl of Oxford out of the act of grace, which was intended to be brought into the house. This address his majesty was pleased to comply with, and also forbid the earl to appear at court.

The act of grace having passed the commons, was carried up to the lords, on the 15th of July, where it also passed without the least opposition. In the afternoon of the same day the king went to the house, and having given the royal assent to that, and such other bills as were ready, closed the session.

The earl of Oxford, Simon lord Harcourt, Mr. Prior, Thomas Harley, Arthur Moore, and some others, were particularly excepted by name in the act of grace. By virtue of it the earl of Carnwath, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn were immediately discharged; but the lord Duffes was continued in prison, with an allowance of 3*l.* per week. All those who lay under sentence of death in Newgate were dismissed, as were those that were detained, on account of the rebellion, in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other prisons in the kingdom.

Soon after the act of indemnity was passed, count Gyllenbourg was discharged from his confinement, and an order was sent to Holland to release baron Gortz.

On the 2d of November the princess of Wales was safely delivered of a prince, who, on the 28th, was baptized by the name of George William. This affair was the unhappy cause of a dispute between the king and the prince of Wales: for it seems his royal highness had intended the bishop of Osnaburg, his uncle, should have stood god-father; but his majesty, in compliance with the custom which prescribed that one of the principal lords of the court, commonly the lord chancellor for the time being, should stand as second god-father, had ordered the duke of Newcastle to stand. The prince, imagining the duke had officiously forced himself into this honour, expressed his resentment in very warm terms to his grace; which his majesty being informed of, looked on the prince's anger as expressed against himself, and sent him immediate orders to leave St. James's; which he complied with, and took up his residence at Leicester house, whither he was accompanied by the princess his consort, though it was intimated to her that she might remain at St. James's, as long as she thought proper. This quarrel extended to the friends of each party, for as all in the king's service were forbid to visit the prince's court at Leicester house, so most of his royal highness's servants forebore going to St. James's. After this affair, whenever his majesty went abroad, he committed the administration to the lords justices.

The parliament met on the 21st of November, when the king made a speech to both houses, in which he informed them, that he had reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of the last session; and expressed his desire, that all those who were friends to the present happy establishment,

might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the protestant interest, of which, as the church of England was unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so would she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all protestants. Addresses of thanks were presented by both houses; and then the commons proceeded to take into consideration the estimates and accounts, in order to settle the establishment of the army, navy, and ordnance: 10,000 men were voted for the sea service, and the sum of 224,857*l.* was granted for defraying the expence of the navy. The supply for the army next came under deliberation, when a very warm debate ensued upon the number of troops that ought to be maintained. Sir William Windham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, were for restricting them to 12,000 men only; but the courtiers affirmed that 16,000 were absolutely necessary. Mr. Shippen, among many other vehement expressions, said, "that the second paragraph of the king's speech, seemed rather to be calculated for the Meridian of Germany than Great Britain; and that it was a great misfortune that the king was a stranger to our language and constitution." These words gave offence to several members, who affirmed this was a scandalous invective against the king's person and government, and moved that he should be sent to the Tower. Mr. Shippen refusing to retract, or excuse what he had said, was voted to the Tower by a great majority, and the number of land forces was fixed at 16,347 effective men; for the maintenance of whom the sum of 650,000*l.* was allotted.

Complaint being at this time made of the scarcity of silver coin in the nation, occasioned by the gold being rated too high; by the advice of Sir Isaac Newton, and the approbation of the house of commons, the value of guineas was reduced from twenty-one shillings and six-pence, to twenty-one shillings, by which means the silver coin, which had been before exported in exchange for gold, was in some measure kept at home.

A. D. 1718. This year commenced with a circumstance of a very peculiar nature. One James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, apprentice to a coach-maker, by frequenting Jacobite seminaries, and reading their books, had worked himself up to such a height of enthusiasm, that he ardently wished for an opportunity of assassinating the king, and actually wrote a letter to Mr. Leake, a non-juring clergyman, proposing a scheme for effecting this horrid design, which he termed, "finishing the usurper in his palace." Leake, terrified at such a letter, immediately communicated the contents of it to Sir John Fryer, an alderman of London, who advised him to secure the author, when he called for an answer: this was accordingly done, and he was committed to Newgate. On his trial he was so far from repenting of his execrable design, that he openly avowed it, and declared that he thought it would have been a meritorious deed: thus his own confession convicted him, and he was executed at Tyburn on the 17th of March*.

On the 21st of March the king went to the house of peers, and, after given the royal assent to such bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

A short time after the prorogation of the parliament, the famous treaty, called the Quadruple Alli-

ance, was concluded between the emperor, France, England and Holland, the purpose of which was to induce Philip V. of Spain to join in the alliance, and to make peace with the emperor Charles VI. to whom he had been some time at variance. But Philip proving refractory, the king of England proposed to support his mediation by force of arms.

Philip, taking advantage of the emperor's being engaged in a war with the Turks, equipped a new armament, and gave the command of it to the marquis of Leda; who, in pursuance of his orders, sailed from Barcelona, and landing at Cagliari, the chief of the island of Sardinia, which belonged to the imperial majesty, reduced the whole island, and then proceeded to Palermo and Messina, and laid siege to the citadel of the latter.

In the mean time a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line, commanded by Sir George Byng, arrived at Naples, where it was agreed that 2000 German infantry should be sent to Messina, for the relief of the citadel, under the protection of the British fleet. Accordingly, on the 6th of August they embarked, and three days after discovered the Spanish squadron, consisting of twenty-seven sail, in the Faro of Messina. The Spaniards, on sight of the English squadron, stood away, but kept themselves in order of battle. Sir George followed them all that day and the succeeding night. The next morning eight of the Spanish men of war, with all the gallees, fire-ships, bomb-vessels and store-ships, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore: upon which Sir George Byng detached captain Walton, with six ships of the line, in pursuit of them. The admiral himself continued to chase the main fleet, and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards made out a poor defence, and were soon totally defeated, and all taken, except three ships of the line and three frigates, which escaped to Malta.

Sir George Byng laid by for some days to rest the rigging of his ships, and to repair the damages the prizes had sustained; during which he received a letter from captain Walton, informing him that he had taken four Spanish men of war, one of sixty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Mari; one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb vessel, and a ship laden with arms. That he had burnt four others; one of fifty-four, two of forty and one of thirty guns, together with a fire-ship and a bomb-vessel. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army prosecuted the siege of Messina with such vigour, that the governor was, on the 29th of September, obliged to surrender the place by capitulation.

Philip was so enraged at the loss of his fleet, that he immediately meditated revenge. On the 11th of September rear-admiral Guevara, with some ships under his command, entered the port of Cadix, and made a seizure of all the English ships that were there. The same steps were taken in all the other ports of Spain, which was no sooner known than reprisals were made on the part of the English.

The parliament met on the 4th of November, when his majesty informed them of the circumstances that had concluded, and added that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable proposals, and broken through their most solemn engagements for the security of the British commerce; and that his catholic majesty had given orders to all the ports of Spain, and in the West

* On the same day the marquis de Palcourt, an Italian, and brother to the duchess of Devonshire, suffered the like fate, having been convicted and condemned for the murder of his own servant in a transport of passion. Great intercession was

made for him by his sister, and several foreign monarchs; but his character was so detestable, that all the intercession obtain was, to be executed by himself.

West Indies to fit out privateers against the English. He said, that he was persuaded a British parliament would enable him to resent such treatment. He then recommended to them to consider of proper methods for preventing frauds and abuses in the revenue.

As soon as the king left the house, lord Carteret moved for an address of congratulation to his majesty on the success of his arms. This motion produced very warm debates: the defeat of the Spanish fleet was thought by many to be an action contrary to the rules of good faith, and consequently dishonourable to England; while others extolled it as one of the noblest exploits which had been performed since the revolution. The address, therefore, was warmly opposed by several members in both houses, but without effect; for being carried in the affirmative by a great majority, it was presented to his majesty. The parliament therein declared their entire satisfaction of those measures which the king had already taken for strengthening the protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquillity in Europe; particularly in relation to the crown of Spain, and their resolution to enable him, in concurrence with his allies, not only to resent the injuries that crown had already done to our commerce, in breach of the treaties subsisting between the two nations, but to support him in the most effectual manner in such farther measures as he should judge necessary to complete the public tranquillity in Europe, and to check the growth of that naval power, which must otherwise prove dangerous to the trade of this kingdom.

A bill which was brought in this session, for strengthening the protestant interest in these kingdoms, and another for limiting the peerage, occasioned very warm debates; the former, however, passed into a law, but the latter was postponed to a future period.

A rupture with Spain had for some time been considered as inevitable, and on the 17th of December, his majesty put it past a doubt by sending a message to both houses, informing them, that all his endeavours to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the king of Spain proving ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. This message being read, a motion was made for an address to the king, assuring him that the commons would cheerfully support him in the prosecution of the war, till Spain should be obliged to accept of reasonable terms of peace, and agree to such conditions of trade and commerce, as the English were entitled to expect.

During these transactions in England, the prince de Cellamare, ambassador from Philip V. to the court of Versailles, acted the same part there as count Gyllenbourg had done at London, by caballing with the French malcontents, who were numerous and powerful, against the duke of Orleans. A scheme was actually formed for seizing the person of the regent and that of the young king, and entirely changing the face of that government. Every thing was in readiness for executing this plot, and the conspirators only waited for their last orders, when intimation of it was given to our king, who immediately sent advice of this transaction to the duke of Orleans, and such measures were taken at the French court as soon brought the whole intrigue to light. The prince de Cellamare was put under arrest, and cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister and first proposer of this scheme, had the vexation to find that he had, without any advantage from his project, violently offended a power, whose resentment could not but prove extremely prejudicial, not only to himself, but even to the whole Spanish monarchy. This, however, did not prevent his pursuing another scheme, which he had formed for placing the pretender on the throne of Great Britain.

Conferences had been frequently held between him and the duke of Ormond, who at this time was in Spain, wherein it was agreed to give the chevalier an invitation to come to Madrid, to put himself at the head of a large body of auxiliary force, which his catholic majesty proposed to lend him, in order to assert with success his pretensions to the British crown. Accordingly, the chevalier quitted the papal dominions, where he had taken refuge, and was received with great marks of friendship by Philip, who treated him as king of England. The earl of Stair, the English minister at the court of France, dispatched the first intelligence of the designs of Spain. They proposed sending an armament of ten ships of war and transports, having on board 6,000 regular troops, with arms for 12,000 men, to be landed in the west of England, under the command of the duke of Ormond, with the title of captain general of his most catholic majesty. He was provided with declarations in the name of that king, importing, that for many good reasons he had sent part of his troops, as auxiliaries to king James, to act for his interest in England and Scotland, and use their utmost endeavours for his restoration: and that the fear of ill success might not deter any person from openly espousing his interest, his most Catholic majesty promised a safe retreat in his dominions to all such as should be obliged to leave their country on account of the share they might take in this undertaking.

A. D. 1719. As soon as the English ministry received advice of this intended invasion, the most effectual means were taken for rendering it abortive. A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready: a proclamation was issued for apprehending James Butler, late duke of Ormond, with a promise of 5,000*l.* to the person who should seize him; and an embargo was laid on all shipping.

On the 10th of March his majesty went to the house, and acquainted the parliament that he had received certain intelligence of an intended invasion from Spain, in favour of the pretender: whereupon both houses agreed in an address, promising to support him against all his enemies: they desired him to augment his forces both by sea and land, assuring him they would make good the extraordinary expence.

In the mean time the orders which had been given for preparing a fleet were executed with such dispatch, that on the 5th of April, Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead to the westward with nine men of war; and on the 29th lord Berkeley sailed from St. Helen's with seven more ships to join him. The troops in the west of England, where it was supposed the Spaniards intended to land, were reinforced by several regiments. Necessary precautions were also taken to guard the other coasts; four regiments were sent for from Ireland, and five from Holland. At the same time the regent of France caused several regiments of horse, foot and dragoons, to march towards the coasts of Normandy and Picardy; and the governor of the Austrian Netherlands ordered German troops to file off towards Ostend, to be in readiness to sail for Great Britain, pursuant to the treaties of guarantee of the protestant succession.

The Spanish fleet, designed for the invasion of England, sailed from Cadiz on the 6th of March. It consisted of five ships of war and forty transports, having on board the duke of Ormond, and upwards of 5,000 men, a great quantity of ammunition, spare arms, and 1,000,000 of pieces of eight. On the eleventh they were overtaken by a violent storm, which lasted forty eight hours, and entirely dispersed them. Their loss could never be fully ascertained; but several of their vessels returned to Spain in a very shattered condition. A small part of the embarkation, however, escaped, for the earls of Marchmont and

Seaforth, with the marquis of Tullibardine, and about 400 men, chiefly Spaniards, on board three frigates and five transports, landed in the shire of Ross in Scotland, where they were joined by upwards of 1500 Scots. Here they remained for some time, giving out that their instructions were not to remove from those parts till they heard of the duke of Ormond's landing in England, or should receive further orders from him. They soon after took possession of the castle of Donan, from whence they were driven by captain Boyle, commander of his majesty's ship the Worcester. On the 5th of June a body of forces, under the command of major-general Whitman, marched in pursuit of the rebels, and a few days after came up with them at the pass of Glenshiel, which they endeavoured resolutely to defend, but on the near approach of the king's troops they deserted it, and retired to another pass called Strachel, where they were more advantageously posted. The general took a view of their situation here, and being resolved to attack them, disposed his forces in a convenient manner for that purpose. The enemy had then about 300 Spaniards, 1,640 highlanders, besides a second body of highlanders, who were posted on a hill, some distance off, with an intent to seize the baggage. His majesty's forces did not much exceed 1,000 men. On the 10th they came to an engagement, but the rebels, after they had discharged their muskets, ran away with great precipitation, and could not be brought to a regular battle. The general, however, drove them from rock to rock, and in that manner pursued them for three hours, when they got to the summit of the hill, after which they were soon dispersed. The king's troops lay on their arms all the following night, and marched the next morning to Glenshiel, where the remaining Spaniards, to the number of 274, surrendered prisoners at discretion, and were afterwards conveyed to Edinburgh castle. Seaforth, Marschal and Tullibardine, made their escape to the Lewis or Orkney Islands, leaving their followers to provide for themselves.

During these transactions the king of Sweden sat down with his army before Frederickshal, where he was killed by a small shot, as he was giving directions in the intrenchments for an attack against his enemies. This sudden and unexpected incident gave a turn to the affairs of Europe. Charles was succeeded by his youngest sister Ulrica Eleonora, who, on her accession, gave sufficient reasons to believe, that she designed to live peaceably with her neighbours.

In the mean time the duke of Orleans declared war against Philip V. and the command of the army appointed to invade the territories of that monarch was given to the duke of Berwick. In the month of April the marquis de Cilly advanced to Port Passage, where he found six men of war just finished upon the stocks; these he burnt, together with timber, masts and naval stores, to the value of half a million sterling, and soon after the duke of Berwick laid siege to Fontarabia.

On the 18th of April the king went to the house, and in his speech thanked the lords and commons for the zeal and affection they had shewn to his person and government during the late projected invasion; after which he prorogued the parliament.

His majesty having appointed lord-justices to govern in his absence, set out, on the 11th of May, for his German dominions, where being arrived he concluded a peace with Sweden; for the queen and her council, having consented to make the cession of Bremen and Verden to the elector of Hanover, all the

difficulties which had hitherto retarded a pacification were removed. During his stay abroad, the king offered his mediation to bring about a peace between Sweden, the Danes, the Russians and the Poles. The Czar, however, rejected his proffered service, being resolved to prosecute his schemes of conquest. He sent his fleet to the Scheuron, or Batzes, of Sweden, where his troops landed to the number of 15,000 men, and committed the most shocking cruelties.

In order to protect the Swedes from these destroyers, Sir John Norris was ordered into the Baltic with a large squadron, which in the beginning of September joined the Swedish fleet. This junction of the English and Swedes defeated all the designs of Peter, who fearing his fleet should experience the same fate with that of Spain, in the straits of Messina, thought proper to recall his ships, and, the winter coming on, Sir John Norris returned to England.

A scheme had been concerted by the ministry for making a conquest of Corunna and of Peru in South America; in consequence of which, 4,000 men, under the command of lord Cobham, were embarked at the Isle of Wight, and on the 21st of September sailed, under the convoy of five ships of war, commanded by captain Mighels, who was to be joined by captain Johnson, then cruising off Fontarabia. When the squadron arrived on the coast of Galicia, it kept cruising three days in the station appointed for Johnson to join them; but he not appearing, and the danger of lying on the coast at this season of the year with transports rendering it necessary to take some measures for acting without him, the wind just at this time offering fair for Vigo, lord Cobham resolved to attempt the reduction of that place. This scheme was executed with very little difficulty; for on the fifth day after the siege began, the citadel capitulated on honourable terms. There were in the town about sixty pieces of iron cannon; and in the citadel were forty-three pieces of cannon, of which fifteen were brass, and two large mortars, besides above 2,000 barrels of powder, and several chests of arms; seven ships were seized in the harbour, three of which were fitting up for privateers. Lord Cobham now ordered general Wade to embark with 1,000 men on board four transports, and to sail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo; which he accordingly did, and having landed his men, marched to Ponta Vedra, which place surrendered without opposition; and on the 23d of October the general returned to Vigo. Lord Cobham finding it would be impossible to maintain his ground any longer in Spain, ordered the forces, cannon, &c. to be embarked, and on the 27th he sailed for England, where he arrived about the middle of November.

In the mean time the French had made themselves masters of Fontarabia and Roses, which being two of the principal keys to the kingdom of Spain they threatened to carry their victorious arms even to its capital. In this dilemma, Philip, as the only expedient left him, had recourse to peace, and for that purpose sent orders to the duke de Borreth Land, his minister at the Hague, to accede to the quadruple alliance. To complete his humiliation, he was obliged to dismiss cardinal Alberoni from his service, and even banish him the kingdom; the king of England and the regent of France, to whom that minister had rendered himself personally disagreeable, refusing to hearken to any proposals while he continued in office.

On the 14th of November * the king returned to England, and on the 23d opened the session of parliament.

* On the 9th of this month one John Matthews, a printer in Little Britain, was executed at Tyburn, for printing and publishing a treasonable libel, intitled, "Vox Populi Vox Dei, in which the Pretender's right to the crown of these realms was

asserted, in breach of the statute of the 4th of Queen Anne, which makes the asserting any such thing in writing or printing high treason.

liament with a speech; in which he told them, that all Europe, as well as Great Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of British arms and councils; that by their assistance he had hitherto surmounted all difficulties, and by the continuance of their help he doubted not of surmounting whatever might arise in future. Both houses presented addresses of thanks, which were filled with the warmest expressions of loyalty and affection.

A. D. 1720. We are now come to a period which will always be remarkable in English history for the destructive South-sea scheme, when the insatiable hand of avarice threw the whole kingdom into confusion. At the opening of the session of parliament, his majesty had earnestly recommended the consideration of proper means for reducing the national debt, which amounted to more than fourteen millions. A scheme was accordingly formed for reducing all the public funds into one, in order to discharge the whole. This plan was laid by Sir John Blount, one of the directors of the South-sea company, a person possessed of all the art, plausibility and boldness necessary for such an undertaking. This scheme he communicated to Mr. Aislebie, chancellor of the exchequer, and also to one of the secretaries of state. It was considered by the ministry; and appearing to be very advantageous to the public, it was adopted.

It now remained to carry the plan into execution; and the South-sea company laid a proposal before the house of commons, offering to give 3,500,000*l.* for the privilege of taking in all the irredeemable debts, amounting to near 800,000*l.* per annum; and also the redeemable debts then at the bank and exchequer, mostly bearing 5 per cent. interest, either by purchase from the proprietors, or by subscriptions into their capital stock. This method of increasing their capital was looked upon as a very valuable acquisition, and excited the jealousy of the bank of England, and accordingly, the directors of that opulent body laid their proposal before the commons. They offered to give above five millions for the same privilege. This rivalry proved the destruction of the scheme. The South-sea company made a second proposal: they offered no less than 7,500,000*l.* in case the debt should be subscribed, and in proportion to any part of them. They also proposed to pay to the public one year's purchase of all the redeemable long annuities that should be brought to their capital. The bank now made a second proposal, more advantageous, in several respects, to the public, than that of the South-sea company. They obliged themselves to give 1700*l.* bank stock for every 100*l.* irredeemable long annuities. But the offer was far from intimidating the South-sea company. Determined, at any rate, to obtain the privilege of taking in the public debts, they offered to incorporate all the funds of the bank, East India company, and exchequer into their own capital. It was indeed, thought proper to adopt this proposal, but the very rumour of such a scheme raised the stock to 400 per cent. They now offered more than the bank, and also four years purchase upon all annuities they should bring to their capital; which, if all the annuities were brought, the whole would amount to 3,567,503*l.* so that their whole offer was 7,567,500*l.* Besides this, they only offered to encumber one million of exchequer annuities, but to pay 3 per cent. for that million, or a year's purchase of such annuities as should be brought into the company's capital in fourteen years.

The proposal was adopted, and a bill was ordered to be brought into the house of commons for that

purpose. While the bill was under consideration, the company's stock rose to near 400*l.* per cent. The bill passed both houses, but not without great opposition in the house of lords, and soon after received the royal assent.

On the 11th of June the king put an end to the session with a speech, in which he signified his intention of visiting his German dominions; and for which he set out a few days after the prorogation of the parliament. Before his departure he was reconciled to the prince of Wales; which desirable event was chiefly brought about by the mediation of the duke of Devonshire and Mr. Robert Walpole.

At the time of the king's departure every thing seemed to promise domestic tranquillity; but the restless passion of avarice soon obliterated these pleasing appearances, and threw the nation into the utmost distress. The South-sea company finding their stock began to sink in its value, caused a notion to be propagated that Gibraltar and Port-Mahon would be given up to the Spaniards, in exchange for a large district in Peru, where the English trade to the South-sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffused with great industry, inspired the people with such extravagant hopes, that two millions of original stock were subscribed in less than five days after the close of the session of parliament. The stock of the company rose to above 1000*l.* per cent. The Mississippi scheme in France, which had just turned that kingdom upside down, was better founded. But the passion for riches, like other passions, is sometimes too blind to be directed by experience, and too deaf to listen to the voice of reason. The desire of acquiring large fortunes drew into the snare a multitude of unhappy people, who became the dupes of interested artifice. The rage of stock-jobbing filled every head, and swallowed up every other idea. Whigs, Tories, Jacobites, the nobility, the clergy, physicians, lawyers, merchants, and the very women themselves, were all animated with the same spirit: all converted their money into paper; and all believed they should grow rich by parting with their riches. But this charm was of no long duration. It was soon found, that the South-sea commerce, the ruinous foundation of these enormous proceedings, was far from being sufficient to answer the views of avarice. Stocks, therefore, fell prodigiously; and several projects, set on foot by the fraudulent industry of covetousness, were totally rejected. No money appeared; payment of the dividends was stopped, and public credit vanished. Families, without number, were reduced to beggary; and the intoxication of frivolous and senseless hope was succeeded by the cries of despair.

Recourse was now had to the bank for supporting the South-sea company. That corporation entered into an agreement to take a quantity of the South-sea stock at 400 per cent. in payment for 3,775,000*l.* redeemable debt, which the company was to repay at Lady-day and Michaelmas of the ensuing year. This was afterwards called the Bank contract, the very rumour of which caused the South-sea stock to rise prodigiously. But this rise did not continue long. It soon appeared that this supposed contract had no real foundation, being nothing more than a temporary expedient to quiet the clamours of the people.

The directors of the bank, finding their property to be in danger of being swept away by that portentous tide of ruin, which bore down everything before it, renounced their agreement, and the South-sea company, deprived of this support, sunk under its own weight.

In the mean time repeated expresses were dispatched to Hanover, representing the state of affairs to his majesty, and earnestly beseeching him to hasten

his return. He, accordingly, shortened his stay in Germany, and in the month of November arrived in England.

The parliament met on the 8th of December, when his majesty opened the session with the following speech from the throne :

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ Since we last parted, the face of our affairs abroad is become more favourable. The peace in the south wants only the form of a congress; and that of the north is brought much nearer to a conclusion. I shall, at a proper time, order the several treaties I have made to be laid before you; by which you will perceive the success of our endeavours to establish peace throughout Europe, and to secure and support the protestant religion. At the same time, I can never sufficiently express my concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which has so much affected the public credit at home.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ I do most earnestly recommend it to you, that you consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting foundation. You will, I doubt not, be assisted in so commendable and necessary a work, by every man that loves his country, and especially by the several great societies of this kingdom. I hope you will, on this occasion, remember, that all your prudence, your temper and resolution, are necessary to find out and apply the proper remedies to our misfortunes; which will, if you succeed, serve to increase that reputation you have so justly acquired; particularly, if you shall be able, notwithstanding these difficulties, to discharge a part of the national debt. I have ordered the several estimates to be laid before you of the expence of the ensuing year, and desire you to dispatch the supplies necessary for them.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I am glad to observe to you, that our trade appears to have been more extended this year than in the preceding. We have the most flourishing navy of any nation whatsoever to protect us; and I hope you will turn your thoughts to the best methods for the securing and enlarging of our commerce. You may depend upon my hearty concurrence to all such provisions as shall appear to you necessary for the good of my people.”

After the usual addresses, Grey Neville, esq; moved, that the directors of the South-sea company should lay before the commons an account of their proceedings; and, in consequence of this motion, several orders were made by the house. Sir Joseph Jekyll moved that a select committee should be appointed to examine the particulars of these transactions. A bill was brought in, and received the royal assent, for restraining the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountants, from quitting the kingdom for the space of one year, and for discovering their estates and effects, so as to prevent them from being transported or alienated: a committee of secrecy was likewise chosen by ballot, to examine all books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the South-sea act. Soon after all the principal officers of the South-sea company were examined at the bar of the house, when all of them were declared criminal, and severely reprimanded for their illegal conduct. A bill was brought in to disable them from enjoying any office in that company, in the East-India company, or in the bank of England. Mr. Knight the treasurer, who had been intrusted with the secrets of the whole affair, thought it most prudent to leave the kingdom: upon which a procla-

mation was issued, promising a reward of 2000*l.* to apprehending him.

A. D. 1721. Several persons concerned in these iniquitous proceedings were now taken into custody. Knight was seized at Tirlemont, and confined in the citadel of Antwerp, the gates of which place refused to deliver him up, and while expresses passed to and fro, he found means once more to make his escape. A sufficient discovery was, however, made to convince the world, that a scene of the deepest villainy had been transacted. In some of the books, false and fictitious entries had been made, in others, entries with blanks; in some, entries with razures or alterations, and in others leaves had been torn out. It also appeared that, before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of 574,000*l.* had been disposed of by the directors, to facilitate the passing the bill. The commons now came to several resolutions, though just resolutions, against the directors and officers of the South-sea company; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy sufferers out of the estates of the delinquents. The sum of two millions fourteen thousand pounds was, accordingly, confiscated out of their joint estates, towards making good the damage sustained by the company, after certain allowance had been deducted from each, according to their conduct and circumstances. This was done by an act of parliament, which received the royal assent on the 29th of July, and soon after his majesty passed the bill for restoring public credit. Thus, by the timely and vigorous resolutions of the parliament, the South-sea company was soon in condition to fulfil their engagements with the public, and the calamities of the people, which had been carried to the most outrageous height, were in a great measure appeased, and tranquillity restored to the nation.

During the debates, which this affair occasioned in the house of lords, the duke of Wharton made such severe reflections on the ministry, that the earl of Stanhope, considering himself personally levelled at, replied with such vehemency as produced a violent head-ach, which obliged him to quit the house. The same night he was bled and cupped, and the next morning seemed much better; but in the evening he fell into a drowsiness, which was succeeded by a delirium, and he instantly expired. Mr. John Craggs, the other secretary, was, in a day or two after this accident, seized with the small pox, of which he died on the 16th of February. Lord count Townshend was appointed to succeed Mr. Stanhope, and the lord Carteret, Mr. Craggs. Mr. Robert Walpole, who had endeared himself to his sovereign, by his distinguished assiduity in endeavouring to restore the credit of the nation, was appointed treasurer of the exchequer, and first lord of the treasury.

On the 10th of August his majesty opened the session with a speech, in which he declared that he entertained a most sincere concern for the recovery of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, in the affair of the South-sea company. He had already given his assent to such bills as were presented to him for punishing the authors of these misfortunes, and for obtaining restitution and satisfaction to those who had been injured by their conduct in a notorious manner: that they could not but have observed the discontents occasioned by this event, which had been industriously fomented and inflamed by wicked and sedition; that he doubted not but by their prudent conduct in several committees, all the enemies of his person and government, who flattered themselves with being able to convert the present complaints into popular disturbances,

would be finally disappointed in their designs and expectations.

Previous to the prorogation of the parliament a treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain was signed at Madrid. At the same time a defensive alliance was concluded between Great Britain, France and Spain. Peace was also restored to the north, by a treaty concluded between Russia and Sweden; and a treaty was likewise agreed to between England and the Moors of Africa.

On the 19th of October the parliament again assembled, when the king acquainted them, that peace was thoroughly restored to the north, by the conclusion of the treaty between the Czar and the king of Sweden, and that a great number of British subjects were delivered from slavery, by the treaty lately concluded with the Moors; desired them to improve this favourable opportunity, by extending the commerce of the nation, particularly with regard to naval stores: took notice of the unspeakable misery and desolation occasioned by the raging of the plague in several parts of Europe, and recommended to them the taking effectual methods for suppressing the abominable practice of tanning of goods, by which the contagion might be brought into the nation.

A. D. 1722. The parliament continued sitting till the 7th of March, when the supplies being granted, and the business of the session dispatched, his majesty went to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to several bills; after which he dissolved the parliament, and ordered a new one to be chosen.

Soon after the dissolution of the parliament, the great duke of Marlborough paid the debt of nature. His faculties had been for some time greatly impaired; he was no longer capable of shining either in the senate or the field. He was succeeded as master of the ordnance and colonel of the first regiment of foot guards, by the earl of Cadogan.

The new parliament met on the 9th of October, when Spencer Compton, esq. was re-chosen speaker. The session was opened with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty informed them of new designs against his government; and that the conspirators had made, by their emissaries, the strongest solicitations to foreign powers for assistance, but were disappointed in their expectations; notwithstanding which, confiding in their numbers, and not discouraged by their former ill success, they resolved once more upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of the government: and that some of the conspirators had been taken up and secured, and endeavours had been used for apprehending the others. Upon this it was moved, that the habeas corpus act should be suspended for a time, which, after some struggle, was carried in the affirmative. The earl of Ormby, the lord North and Grey, and several other gentlemen, were committed to the Tower for high treason, and the duke of Norfolk, who had been seized by his majesty's order, was, with the consent of the house of peers, sent to the same place.

On the 21st of November Christopher Layer, esq. was tried at the King's bench, Westminster, on account of the late conspiracy. His indictment set forth, That he had been employed in forming a most traitorous, horrid plot, and conspiracy against his majesty and his government, by instigating men for the pretender's service, in order to stir up rebellion, and also that he had held a correspondence with the pretender, by carrying letters and treasonable papers to him beyond the seas, and from him to the disaffected in this kingdom. After a trial of seventeen hours, he was brought in guilty by the jury, and received sentence of death. He was reprieved from time to time in hopes of his conversion; but he either could not or would

not satisfy these expectations; and was at length drawn on a sledge to Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered, his head being afterwards fixed upon Temple-bar.

A. D. 1723. But the principal person that felt the hand of power, on this occasion, was the famous Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a prelate of obscure birth, but distinguished merit, a friend to letters, and equally remarkable for his understanding and virtues. He was odious to the court because he had not followed its principles; and odious to the whigs, because he had not followed their sentiments. Being imprisoned, he denied the jurisdiction of the house of commons, and declared he would produce his defence before the peers. The proofs against him were reduced to two letters, intercepted at the post-office, written in a very peculiar cypher, and, to all appearance, fabricated by his enemies. The commons passed a bill, whereby he was to be deprived of his office and benefice, banished the kingdom, and be guilty of felony if he returned; and that it should not be in the king's power to pardon him, without the consent of parliament; but, nevertheless, he should not forfeit his goods and chattels.

When this bill came before the lords, it met with a very strong opposition. The duke of Wharton, earl Cowper, and the lords Bathurst and Gower, spoke against it with great energy; they displayed the danger and injustice in departing, in so extraordinary a manner, from the fixed rules of evidence: that such a practice must for ever sully the lustre and glory of that illustrious house: that the admitting the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the post-office was a very dangerous precedent, especially as, in this case, it was taken for granted, that those clerks might carry the similitude of hands four months in their minds. They desired to know from whom these clerks had received authority to intercept and open letters, especially those of a lord of parliament; and whether the clerks who copied these letters had themselves intercepted the originals, or whether they had received them from any other person? "If such proceedings as these (said lord Bathurst) are encouraged, we have no other part to take, but to retire into the country, and seek tranquillity and security, if we may find them, by our fire sides. The least correspondence, the least letter intercepted, may render us criminal." He insisted on the example of cardinal Mazarine, who said, "That with two lines of a man's hand writing, added to a small number of circumstances, proved by evidence, he should be master of his life." Then turning himself towards the bishops, who shewed very little favour to their brother, he expressed his indignation against the inveterate hatred of some persons towards the bishop of Rochester; "a hatred (added he) absolutely inconceivable, unless they hold the ridiculous opinion of some savages, who believe they inherit not only the spoils, but the talents of an illustrious enemy, when they have slain him in battle." But notwithstanding these and other powerful reasons urged against the bill, it passed by a small majority, and afterwards received the royal assent. Atterbury retired into France, where he met with repose, esteem, and all the indulgences that polished society can shew to men of superior parts.

On the 27th of May the king closed the session with a speech, in which he thanked the parliament for the repeated instances they had given of their zeal and affection for his person and government, and of their inviolable attachment to the interest and welfare of their country.

Lords justices were now appointed to govern in his majesty's absence, he having resolved to visit his German dominions as soon as the parliament broke up.

Before

fore his departure he was pleased to raise the son of Mr. Robert Walpole to a peerage; an honour which the father had refused. Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, William North, lord North and Grey, Dennis Kelly, and Thomas Cockran, esqs; prisoners in the Tower; and David du Boyce prisoner in Newgate, were admitted to bail; and the royal pardon was granted to lord Bolingbroke, who owed this indulgence to the earnest solicitation of lord Harcourt, though it was vehemently opposed at the council-board, by Mr. Walpole. On the third of June his majesty embarked for Holland, and on the 11th of the same month arrived at Herenhausen, being attended by both secretaries of state.

Affairs now seemed to take a new turn on the continent. A congress had been held at Cambray, and another at Brunswick, in order to settle the interests of the several princes of Europe, but affairs had been drawn out to such a tedious length, that these princes entered into separate negotiations to attain their several purposes. The Czar and the court of Sweden were on the point of concluding a treaty that seemed to threaten the loss of Bremen and Verden, lately annexed to the electorate of Hanover. The regent of France and the king of Spain had adjusted all their differences, and the reconciliation was cemented by a double marriage: Mademoiselle de Montpelier, second daughter to the duke of Orleans, being betrothed to the prince of Austria, and another daughter to Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip V. These two princes offered new treaties to England, more advantageous than those already subsisting, but at the same time peremptorily demanded the restitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, and likewise desired, that his Britannic majesty would openly declare against the Ostend company, which had been established by the emperor Charles VI. King George was greatly at a loss how to proceed amidst such jarring interests. He was fearful that if he disgusted the emperor, he might join the Czar and the court of Sweden, and promote the designs they had formed in favour of the duke of Holstein's pretensions to Sleswick, which our king had guaranteed to his Danish majesty. All Italy at this time exclaimed against the proceedings of the congress of Cambray, and memorials were sent from the pope, the king of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuscany, Parma and Modena, whose claims upon the house of Austria were now supported by France. Thus circumstanced, the king acquitted himself in a manner which surprized all Europe. By his prudent negotiations he prevented the disagreeing powers from breaking into an open rupture; and though he could not so far prevail on the emperor as to make him relax in his disputes with Spain, or give up the Ostend company, yet he brought him to promise faithfully a strict observance of the treaties he had concluded.

While his majesty continued abroad, the duke of Orleans, regent of France, paid the debt of nature; which gave the king great concern, as a mutual esteem had long prevailed between them. His majesty being apprehensive that this event might occasion an alteration in the sentiments of the French court, prejudicial to his interest, determined to return as soon as possible to England, but being detained some time at Helvoetsluys by contrary winds, he had, during his stay there, the satisfaction of receiving the strongest assurances from France, of the great disposition of that court to cultivate, and even improve, the union established by the late duke of Orleans between the two crowns. The wind now being favourable, his majesty sailed for England, where he arrived on the 19th of December.

A. D. 1724. The parliament met on the 9th of January, when his majesty opened the session with a speech, in which he congratulated them upon the success of their endeavours last year for the safety, interest, and honour of the kingdom, and told them that the rise of the public credit, the flourishing condition of our trade and manufactures, and the great tranquillity of the people, were the happy consequences of their prudent resolutions; and it was to be hoped, that the few examples which were made of some notorious offenders, would be sufficient to deter the most disaffected from engaging in the like desperate and wicked practices; desired them to make use of the opportunity their own conduct had put into their hands, of considering of such further laws as might be wanting for the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, for the employment of the poor, and for exciting and encouraging a spirit of industry in the nation. He concluded with exhorting them to join heartily in every thing that might tend to promote the mutual happiness of the kingdom, and to extinguish the hopes of those who had been long restless in their endeavours to subject the nation to the train of miseries inseparable from popery and arbitrary power.

The principal, and, indeed, almost the only debate, during this session of parliament, was in the house of lords, on the affairs of the army. During the last year an addition of 4000 men had been made to the land forces, on account of the conspiracy; and it was now proposed to continue the same number. The commons had agreed to it, and passed the bill, but the continuance of these additional troops met with great opposition in the house of lords. The earl of Orrery, and the lords Trevor, North, Grey, and Bathurst, spoke with great force against it. They were answered by lord Townshend and the duke of Argyle. The latter observed, "That if he saw the nation unanimous in opinion, that our religion, laws, liberties and properties, entirely depend upon the present happy establishment, and on the protestant succession in his majesty's royal family, he would readily give his vote for reducing the army; but he was very much afraid that some people so strenuously insisted on disbanding the additional troops, with no other design than that of weakening the government, and thereby have an opportunity of involving their country in new troubles. And therefore those noble lords who spoke for the reduction of the army, would do well, when they went down into their several counties, to assure the people, with whom, no doubt their reasons would not fail of having great weight that their liberties and properties were entirely safe under his majesty's government." After a long debate, the motion for disbanding the additional troops was rejected, and the bill passed as sent up from the commons.

The parliament having provided the annual supplies, and discharged such business as lay before them, his majesty, on the 22d of April, went into the house of peers, and, after signing several bills, closed the session.

On the 16th of May the king sent the following circular letter to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge: "We being greatly desirous to favour and encourage these ancient and laudable universities, and to enable them more effectually to answer the end of their institution, by sending forth constant supplies of learned and able men to serve the public, both in church and state, and having observed that no encouragement or provision has hitherto been made in either of the universities for the study of modern history, or modern languages."

the knowledge of which is highly necessary towards gratifying the youth committed to their care, for several stations, both in church and state, to which they may be called: and having seriously weighed the prejudice that has occurred to the universities from this defect, persons of foreign nations being often employed in the education and tuition of youth, both at home and in their travels, and great numbers of the young nobility and gentry being either sent directly abroad from schools, or taken away from the universities before the course of their studies can be there completed, and opportunities frequently lost to the crown of employing and encouraging members of the two universities, by conferring on them such employments, both at home and abroad, as necessarily require a competent skill in writing and speaking the modern languages; in order, therefore, to remedy these and the like inconveniences, we have determined to appoint two persons of sober conversation, and prudent conduct, of the degree of master of arts, or bachelor of laws, or of some higher degree, in one of the universities, skilled in modern history, and in the knowledge of modern languages, to be nominated by us to be our professor of modern history, one for the university of Cambridge, and the other for that of Oxford, who shall be obliged to read lectures in the public schools, at such times as shall hereafter be appointed. And we have farther determined, that each of the professors shall have a stipend of 400*l.* per annum, and out of the stipend shall be obliged to maintain with sufficient salaries, in the university where he shall be established, two persons at least, well qualified to teach and instruct in writing and speaking the languages, which teachers shall be under the direction of the professors respectively, and shall be obliged to learn at least two of the languages, both the professors and teachers taking especial care that the times and hours, for teaching and instructing the scholars, be so ordered as not to interfere with those appointed for their academical studies; which professors and teachers shall be obliged once every year to give in an attested account of the progress made by each scholar committed to their care, to our principal secretaries of state, to be laid before us, that we may encourage the diligence and application of such among them as shall have qualified themselves for our service, by giving them suitable employments, either at home or abroad, as occasion shall offer."

About this time Philip V. of Spain thought fit to abdicate his crown, and retire with his queen into the monastery of St. Hdefonso. In a bigotted letter, which he sent to his son Don Lewis, prince of Asturias, he says, "preserve ever a great devotion to the most holy virgin, and put yourself, as well as the kingdom, under her protection, seeing you cannot, by any other means, better obtain what may be useful for you and for them." This curious letter was accompanied by a solemn renunciation of the crown, which was published throughout the whole Spanish monarchy; and the council resolved, that Lewis, as acknowledged prince of Spain, might assume the reins of government, without assembling cortes or estates of the kingdom.

The parliament met on the 11th of November, the next day his majesty opened the session with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am persuaded you share with me in the satisfaction I feel at the prosperous situation of affairs: we are with all powers abroad; and at home perfect plenty, plenty, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of civil and religious rights, are most distinguishing tokens of the favour and protection of the divine

providence: and these, with all their happy consequences, will, I doubt not, by the blessing of God upon our joint endeavours, be long continued to my people.

"The same provision by sea and land, for the defence and safety of the nation, will continue to make us respected abroad, and, consequently, secure at home. The same attention to the improvement of the public revenues, and to the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, will establish credit upon the strongest basis, and raise such a spirit of industry, as will not only enable us gradually to discharge the national debt, but will likewise greatly increase the wealth, power, and influence of this kingdom.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I have ordered the proper officers to prepare and lay before you the estimates of the expences of the ensuing year; and as they do not exceed what has been found, by experience, to be absolutely necessary for the security of the kingdom, I make no question but I shall have your ready concurrence in raising the supplies in such a manner as shall be most easy to my people.

"There is one thing which I must mention to you as deserving your particular consideration. It is too manifest, that the funds established for finishing the works at Greenwich hospital, and providing for a competent number of seamen there, cannot, in time of peace, be sufficient to answer the expences of this great and necessary work. It is therefore very much to be wished, that some method could be found out to make a farther provision for a comfortable support to our seamen, worn out in the service of their country, and labouring under old age and infirmities.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"You must all be sensible how much our present happiness is owing to your union and steady conduct. It is, therefore, wholly unnecessary to recommend to you unanimity and dispatch in all your deliberations. The zeal and abilities you have on all occasions shewn in supporting the interest of your country, even under the greatest difficulties, leave me no room to doubt of my having your entire and effectual concurrence in every thing that may tend to the service of the public, and to the good of my people."

The affairs of chief moment transacted this session (exclusive of the usual supplies) were, the regulating future elections in the city of London, an act to enable Henry St. John, late viscount Bolingbroke, to enjoy his estates, and the trial of Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, against whom articles of impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors were lodged by the commons in the house of peers: the tenor whereof was, that he, during the time of his being lord high chancellor of Great Britain, received several exorbitant sums of money, therein particularly specified, of certain persons, as a consideration of their being admitted into the offices of masters in chancery, though some of them were very unfit to be intrusted with such employments; and that he had been negligent in securing the effects of divers tutors of the said court, which had been deposited in the hands of the masters, by which means several of the tutors had been very great losers. The house of peers, after a long and full hearing, being satisfied of the proof of these crimes, gave the following judgement against him by their speaker, Sir Peter King: "That Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, be fined in the sum of thirty thousand pounds, unto our sovereign lord the king, and that he be imprisoned in the Tower of London, and there kept in safe custody, until he shall pay the said fine." Accordingly he was committed

committed, and detained a prisoner there till the 22d of July following; at which time having paid the fine imposed upon him, he was discharged out of custody.

A. D. 1725. This year was ushered in with an insurrection in Scotland. Ever since the union the Scots had unwillingly paid any of the taxes laid on the united kingdoms; and had behaved, on all occasions, as if they thought themselves injured, when they were obliged to contribute any thing towards the public expence. The enemies of the government failed not to cherish this disposition in the people, and, under the mask of a pretended zeal for the old constitution, to inspire the populace with a hatred of that which was now established. The malt-tax occasioned the greatest clamour; and it was foreseen that it could not be collected without exposing the officers of the revenue to the utmost danger. At Edinburgh, indeed, the excisemen were suffered to take an account of the malsters stock in hand; but those at Glasgow were obliged to apply to the commissioners of the excise at Edinburgh for protection and assistance, their lives being threatened if they dared to visit the malt-houses.

Alarmed at these proceedings, the commissioners applied to general Wade, commander of the forces in Scotland, who, on the 23d of June, sent captain Bushel at the head of two companies of soldiers to Glasgow. On entering the town they perceived a great number of people, who saluted them with the most abusive language, and threw stones at them as they marched along the streets, crying out, No malt-tax. The officer desired them to forbear, for he meant them no harm. The provost gave him billets for quartering his men, but told him he could not put him in possession of the guard-room, the populace having locked the door and carried away the key. Unwilling to exasperate the rabble by breaking open the door, the officer ordered the guard to be kept at a public house, which he had hired for that purpose. Every thing continued quiet till about eleven at night, when several thousands of the lower class of people assembled about the house of Mr. Daniel Campbell, representative in parliament for Glasgow, and threatened it with destruction. Captain Bushel, desirous of putting an end to the tumult, before the rioters had committed any disorders, sent a message to the provost, informing him of the mischief they threatened to commit, and that he was ready to give him any assistance. The provost answered, that he thought the number of his soldiers too small to oppose the rabble, and therefore he thought it more prudent not to make use of them. Encouraged by the timidity of the magistrate, they proceeded to carry their threats into execution, forced into the house, and stripped it of every thing that was portable. The magistrates took no notice of the riot, and though several of them were found next morning drunk in the house, not one of them was sent to prison. The officers of excise concealed themselves from the fury of the populace, who threatened to punish them in the most dreadful manner. About four in the afternoon the cabal began to assemble again; and captain Bushel, not knowing what their designs might be, ordered the soldiers to be ready at the guard room, which the provost had now caused to be opened. The mob did not, however, long keep them to wait, they advanced towards the guards, crying, "Drive the dog, out of town—we will cut them to pieces." The officer desired them to desist, told them they intended to do them no hurt; but if they continued to provoke the soldiers, it would not be in his power to prevent their firing. This had no effect upon the rabble, they continued throwing large stones in such quantities, that some of the locks and bayonets of the soldiers were broken, and some of them wounded. The soldiers were now ordered to fire

over their heads to intimidate them; but this had no effect; they continued to advance, and threw stones in still greater quantities. Exasperated at this usage the soldiers fired among them, and killed three or four. This had the desired effect; they were terrified, and retired to some distance. The provost now desired captain Bushel to save himself and his men by retreating out of town, as the rioters were collecting all the arms they could find; and that a desperate engagement must otherwise soon ensue. The captain followed his advice, and marched directly for Dumbarton; but was followed several miles by the mob and obliged to face about and fire upon them several times in order to secure his retreat.

As soon as he reached Dumbarton, he dispatched a messenger to general Wade, informing him of the riot, and desiring instructions how to act in future. The general perceived the danger, and saw the necessity of enforcing the laws. He therefore set out from Edinburgh, accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord-advocate, and the next day joined a body of forces that had been ordered to rendezvous on a moor within two miles of Glasgow, consisting of two regiments of horse, a detachment of dragoons, and about two regiments of foot. The general now informed the magistrates that he was preparing to march into Glasgow, and the next day about two o'clock he entered the town. The troops advanced with silence and good order, and were distributed into quarters without any disturbance. The next day the excisemen proceeded to take an account of the malsters stock in hand, and had quiet admittance. The terms of the act were complied with, and every thing continued in tranquility.

On the 31st of May the king, after giving the royal assent to the bills that were ready, prorogued the parliament; and on the 3d of June set out for his German dominions.

While his majesty was abroad, he entered into a treaty with France and Hanover. This transaction happened in consequence of two treaties, one of peace, the other of commerce, concluded between the emperor and Philip V. who, on the demise of his father, had once more resumed the sovereign rule. There was nothing in the treaty of peace which was an offence to any of the powers in Europe, but the treaty of commerce was deemed highly prejudicial to the interest of Great-Britain, as the Ostend company, which the emperor had established, was to be supported by it; another probable consequence was, the restitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to the Spaniards; and it was even rumoured that there were secret articles in favour of the pretender. Imperial forces were now considerably augmented, and other powers were solicited to engage in an alliance, to which the Czar actually acceded. These proceedings alarmed the king of Great-Britain, and in order to counteract the designs of the new alliance, he projected a defensive treaty between England and Prussia, and which was known by the name of the treaty of Hanover. This alliance was for the term of fifteen years, and contained a guarantee of the dominions possessed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, their commerce in particular, with an agreement for a translation for the protestants of the territories who had been oppressed by the papists, according to the treaty of Oliva.

These negotiations being finished, the king returned on his return to England in the middle of December, and came to Helvoetsluys, where Sir John Wootton waited with the convoy and valued his return. A. D. 1726. On the 11th of January, about midday, a little after seven in the evening, there was a violent tempest, which continued to rage, and blew the boats from their anchors, that they were

the utmost danger; but on the fourth day his majesty landed at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London.

The parliament met on the 20th of January, when his majesty opened the session with a speech, in which he informed them, "that the distressed condition of some of their protestant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements contracted by some foreign powers, which seemed to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged them to concert with other powers such measures as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable, and put a stop to the farther progress of such dangerous designs: that the enemies to his government were already very busy by their instruments and emissaries in those courts, whose measures seemed most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the pretender; but he persuaded himself, notwithstanding the countenance and encouragement they might either have received, or expected to receive, that the provision made by his parliament for the safety and defence of his kingdoms, would effectually secure them from all danger of foreign invasions, or domestic insurrection: that when the world should see, that they would not suffer the British crown and nation to be insulted with impunity, those who most envied the tranquillity and happiness of this kingdom, and were endeavouring to make it subservient to their ambitious projects, would have some regard to their own interest and circumstances, before they presumed to make any attempt upon so brave a people, strengthened and supported by powerful alliances, and however desirous of peace, able, and ready to defend themselves against all aggressors: that such resolutions and such measures, if timely taken, would, he was satisfied, be the most effectual means of preventing a war and preserving to his people the blessings of peace and prosperity."

The treaty of Hanover being laid before the house of commons, it occasioned great debates. The members who opposed it alledged, that it would engage the British nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an express provision made for the securing our religion, laws and liberties, in the act for the further limitation and succession of the crown in the protestant line. To this it was replied by the other side, that the true meaning and intent of that limitation was not wholly and for ever to deprive his majesty's foreign dominions of any assistance from this nation, for in that respect the king would be in a worse condition upon his accession to the throne of Great Britain than he was before, but that it was only designed to restrain the sovereign for the future from engaging the nation in a war for the defence of any dominions not pertaining to the English crown without the consent of parliament, who were to determine whether a war was, or was not, necessary. Mr. Pelham observed, that, for his own part, he was of opinion, that if, in the present juncture of affairs, his majesty's foreign dominions should be attacked or insulted, this nation ought to stand by and support his majesty against all his enemies, he therefore moved for an address to the king, to return him thanks for communicating the treaty of Hanover to the House, and to express their full sense of his majesty's concern for the balance and peace of Europe, and to assure him, that in the justice and vindication of the honour and dignity of the British crown, the House would effectually stand by and support his majesty against all insults and attacks that might be made upon his majesty, or power, in resentment of the just measures lately taken by his majesty, should make any attempt upon any of his territories, or dominions, though not

immediately belonging to the crown of Great Britain. The opposition to this address was so inconsiderable, that it was carried in the affirmative by a great majority: it was presented on the 19th of February, to which his majesty was pleased to return the following answer:

"Gentlemen,

"I return you my thanks for this particular mark of your duty, affection, and confidence in me: your assurances, not to suffer my foreign dominions to be exposed or insulted, on account of the measures I have taken for the interest of these kingdoms, will, I hope, be a means to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. I have no view of ambition to gratify; I have no thought of aggrandizing myself, or extending any part of my dominions at the expence of the other, and as my honour is the common cause and concern of my subjects, their particular interest shall, upon all occasions, be my constant care."

The house of lords presented an address to the same effect, and received a similar answer.

On the 24th of March, Sir Paul Methuen, knight of the Bath, delivered the following message from the king to the house of commons:

"His majesty having nothing more at heart than an earnest desire to secure his own subjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, and in the best manner to prevent and frustrate such designs, as have been formed against the particular interest of this nation, and the general peace of Europe, has found it necessary not only to augment his maritime force, but to concert such other measures as may most effectually conduce to these desirable ends: and as these services will require some extraordinary expence, his majesty hopes he shall be enabled, by the assistance of parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted and granted for the service of this year, and to enter into and make good such engagements, as the circumstances and exigency of affairs may require."

This message occasioned a long debate in the house of commons, but it was at last agreed to comply with it, and an address was voted to his majesty, informing him that his faithful commons would support him, and had agreed to the required augmentation.

By some mistake this message had not been communicated to the house of lords, though the king mentioned his hopes of being enabled, by the assistance of his parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted. This omission caused a very warm debate. The earl of Strafford asserted, "that the message was unprecedented, and struck at the ancient privileges of the house of peers, who are the grand standing council of the sovereign, the hereditary and perpetual guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, and, next to the king, the principal part of the legislature, and who, therefore, have a right to be consulted in all matters of public concern." He moved, therefore, "that an address be presented to know, who advised his majesty not to send the same message to the house of peers, as was sent to the house of commons." The lord Trevor, in order to prevent disagreeable debates, moved, that the consideration of that matter might be put off for a month, but lord Lechmere represented, "that the subject was of great importance to his majesty's service, to the honour of that noble and illustrious assembly, to the ancient constitution of parliament, and to the prosperity and welfare of the kingdom, that it ought not to be postponed at all, much less for such a length of time, as amounted to a laying it entirely aside. That it must be for the service and support of the crown upon all occasions, to have the advice of both houses of parliament, and as the message was only sent to the house of commons, and there

there had not yet been any communication with their lordships upon it, though it contained matters of the highest importance, it tended to undermine the foundation of the house of peers, and of the antient constitution of the kingdom. That the rights of the people of England were in some measure invaded, whenever they were deprived of the assistance of that house of parliament, without whom no aid can be given to the crown, nor any taxes laid upon the subjects. And, therefore, if this debate should be adjourned to so long a day, it might be inferred, from such a dilatory proceeding, that their lordships were not as jealous of their own privileges, and of the rights and properties of the people at this time, and as much determined to support and defend both, as any of their ancestors and predecessors had formerly been. That it was the unbounded, inherent, and fundamental right of the house of peers, to alter and amend all money bills which came from the commons; and though, in some late instances, the commons had disputed that right, yet the lords had never failed to maintain and assert it. That, according to ancient usage, all demands of supply should come from the throne in the house of peers; and, therefore, all other methods are unparliamentary, new, and dangerous to the constitution." He was answered by the lords Onslow and Townshend; and these were replied to by lord Bathurst, who observed, "That the appellation of parliament being given to the commons, and separately from the lords, was indeed new and unprecedented. That this was so far from being the language of former times, that though of late the commons took upon them to begin all money bills, yet there was a time when they were so inconsiderable, as to apply to the lords to desire them to provide money for the public service. That if, at this time, the lords suffered themselves to be overlooked in this manner, they might at last come to be voted useless, as they had formerly been. And, therefore, lest any mistake at this time should be attended with such ill consequences as to encourage any evil ministers hereafter to a total neglect of the house of peers, he was of opinion, that proper notice should be taken of it immediately, instead of deferring the further consideration of it for a month." The earl of Scarborough said, "He did not deny that the peers have a right to be advised with in all matters of importance, and to give their consent to money-bills. But in the case before them it seemed needless to send the message in question to the house, because their lordships had implicitly given their consent to the augmenting the number of seamen, in their address of thanks, wherein the augmentation was hinted at. As to what had been suggested, that formerly the commons applied to the lords to provide money for the public service, the reason of it was, because at that time none had any money to give but the lords, most of the lands being then in their hands; whereas since the reign of Henry VII. the case is very much altered; and, therefore, they ought not to consider how things were formerly, but how they are at present, and act accordingly." Several other speeches were made on this occasion; but the adjournment took place, and the address was afterwards rejected.

On the 24th of May his majesty went to the house of peers; and having passed such bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

During these transactions, Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy, paid the debt of nature, and his empress Catharine succeeded him on the throne. This prince's had conceived a distaste to the British court, and, by the insinuations of some Scottish people about her, had been brought to believe that it would prove no difficult matter to set up the son of the late

king James II. and so overturn the government in Britain. This scheme was highly approved of by the Spanish court, who flattered themselves that it would greatly facilitate their acquisitions in Italy.

As soon as the English ministry were informed of the czarina's intentions, it was resolved to send a fleet into the Baltic, the command of which was given to Sir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, who had under him Sir George Walton, rear admiral of the blue. On the seventeenth of April they sailed from the Nore, with twenty ships of the line, one frigate, and two fire-ships; and on the 23d of the same month the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen. The next day Sir Charles presented a letter to the king of Denmark from his Britannic majesty; and soon after quitting Copenhagen, he anchored with his fleet near Stockholm. Having had an audience of his Swedish majesty, by whom he was most graciously received, he sailed to the island of Nariguan, within a few leagues of Revel. About the same time a Squadron of Danish men of war sailed from Copenhagen for the island of Bornholm, in order to join them.

The day after Sir Charles arrived at Nariguan, he dispatched lieutenant Burnet, in the *Port-martin*, with a letter from the king to the czarina, inclosed in one to Pruxin, her admiral, who at this time was lying in the road of Cronstot, with sixteen Russian men of war besides galleys. In his letter to the czarina, the king had expostulated very freely with her majesty on the subject of the armaments by sea and land, which she had been for some time preparing; and likewise on the intrigues which her ministers had lately entered into with the agents of the Pretender. The Russian court, enraged at the appearance of a British fleet upon their coasts, was, at first, inclined to resent it, but serious reflection convincing them that the Russian fleet was in no condition to venture an engagement with that of Great Britain, it was resolved in council to order the ships and galleys to be laid up, and the empress wrote an answer to his Britannic majesty, wherein she expressed her surprize that she had not received his majesty's letter until his fleet was at anchor in one of her ports, since it would have been more agreeable to the custom established among sovereigns, and to the amity which had so long subsisted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great Britain, to expostulate with her on her armaments, and expect her answer, before she had proceeded to such an offensive measure. She assured him that nothing was further from her thoughts than any design to trouble the peace of the north; and with regard to the Pretender, she said it was a stale and frivolous accusation, which had been frequently used as a pretext to cover such like kind steps taken against the Russian empire.

Sir Charles having transmitted the czarina's answer to his majesty's letter, determined to continue in the same station, till he should receive farther orders; and in the mean time the British merchants in those parts were greatly alarmed, apprehending that their persons and effects were in imminent danger. The czarina was pleased soon after to publish a declaration, in which she assured them, that whatever liberties might be committed by the British squadron, the merchants should not be injured in their persons, goods, possessions, ships going or coming, in any other manner whatsoever, and that as well in the present as the time to come, they might trade and at their pleasure and best advantage, without any fear or apprehension, carry on their traffic in her empire, equally with all other nations in friendship with the Russians, and on all occasions be assured of her gracious care and protection, provided that they, through no disagreeable measure, should

hidden proceedings, rendered themselves obnoxious. Sir Charles Wager had also liberty to furnish his squadron with fresh provisions as often as he pleased. At length, it being judged that the czarina's affairs were not in a situation to make any considerable attempt this year, the British fleet left those parts, and returned to England.

Two other squadrons were likewise fitted out this year; one of which was destined to the West-Indies, under the command of admiral Hosier: the other, conducted by Sir John Jennings, having on board a body of land forces, sailed from St. Helen's on the 20th of July, entered the bay of St. Antonia, then visited Lisbon, from whence he directed his course to the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, and cruised off cape St. Mary's, so as to alarm the coast of Spain, and fill Madrid with consternation, but no act of hostility was committed.

Admiral Hosier had sailed in April with seven ships of war. His orders were to block up the galleons in the Spanish ports; or should they presume to come out, seize and bring them to England. Before his arrival at the Bastimentos, near Porto Bello, the treasure, consisting of above six millions sterling, had been unloaded and carried back to Panama, in consequence of an order sent from Spain, by an advice boat, which had the start of Hosier. This admiral lay inactive on that station till, from the terror, he became the jest of the Spaniards, when, a little before Christmas, he sailed to Jamaica, where he reinforced his crew, and then stood over to Carthagena. The Spaniards had by this time seized the English South-sea ships at La Vera Cruz, together with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company. Hosier finding it in vain to demand restitution, took some Spanish ships by way of reprisal; after which he continued cruising in those seas, until the greater part of his men perished by the diseases of that unhealthy climate, and his ships were entirely ruined by the worms. This brave officer who was restricted by his orders from obeying the dictates of his courage, seeing his people daily swept off by an outrageous distemper, and his ships exposed to inevitable destruction, is said to have died of a broken heart; while the English nation justly clamoured against this unfortunate expedition, in which so many lives were thrown away, and so much money expended without the least advantage to the nation.

A. D. 1727. The parliament met on the 17th of January, and the session was opened by his majesty, with a speech from the throne; in which he told them, "That the sudden conjunction between the emperor and the king of Spain, and the secret and offensive alliances concluded between them, had laid the foundation of a most exorbitant and formidable power, so directly levelled against the most valuable and darling interests and privileges of this nation, that they must determine either tamely to submit to the presumptuous and unjust demands of the king of Spain, in giving up Gibraltar, and patiently acquiesce in the emperor's usurped and extended exercise of trade and commerce, or resolve to be in a condition to assert their just rights, and defend their undoubted rights and reciprocal engagements, entered into by the most solemn treaties. He added, that he had received information from different parts, which he could entirely depend, that the placing the Pretender upon the throne of this kingdom was one of the articles of the secret engagements, and it must evince that the giving up of this nation to one power, and Gibraltar and Port Mahon to another, is made the price, and reward of supporting upon this kingdom a popish Pretender, what indignation must it raise in the breast of

every protestant Briton? Nor were these fatal combinations confined to those parts of the world alone: they even extended to Russia; and had not the designs of that court against some of their neighbours been prevented by the seasonable arrival of the English fleet in those seas, a way had been opened for invading these kingdoms, and giving a powerful assistance to any attempt made from other quarters: that such circumstances would not suffer him and his allies to be idle spectators, and regardless of their own safety and the common cause of Europe; for which purpose his most Christian majesty had been at a great expence the last year in augmenting his forces; and the states-general, sensible of the imminent danger, had not only acceded to the defensive alliance concluded at Hanover, but came to strong and seasonable resolutions for an extraordinary augmentation of their forces both by sea and land. He further told them, that the Spaniards had actually assembled a great body of troops in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, in order to attack and besiege that place; but that he rather believed those public and immense preparations were designed as an amusement, and to disguise the intended invasion, which had been for some time agreed to be the first step and beginning of the long premeditated rupture."

The circumstances mentioned in this speech raised the zeal and indignation of the commons to such a height, that, in their address, words seemed wanting to express the deep resentment at the insults offered the king, at the invasion of the most valuable branches of trade, at the designs formed against the nation, and to applaud the wise measures taken by the king to prevent the destructive designs formed against the liberties of Europe. They voted 46,000 men, together with a land-tax of 4s. in the pound.

The members of the upper house were not quite so complaisant as those of the lower. A violent debate at first seemed to promise a powerful opposition. Lord Bathurst, after representing the inconveniences of the war, observed, that considerable sums had been distributed in different places to give success to certain measures, and recommended it to the lords to make a strict enquiry into an object of such importance. "As to myself, (said he,) I have never touched either English or Spanish gold; I am neither a Frenchman nor a Spaniard, but I shall always glory in being a true Englishman, and in speaking and acting for the good of my country, while I shall have the honour of being a member of this house." The measures of the king were, however, voted to be honourable, just, and necessary.

The house of lords was not the only place where the king's speech was examined. The court of Vienna was highly offended, and passed severe censures upon it. The count de Palm's ambassador from the emperor, had orders to present and publish a remonstrance, wherein the king of England was charged with giving an imperfect, mutilated, or very groundless account of facts. It was insisted, that the article respecting the pretender was false; that there was no offensive alliance between the emperor and Spain; that the treaty of Vienna was no infringement of the lawful rights of England; and lastly, reparation for the injury done to his imperial majesty by these calumnious imputations was required.

This memorial was highly resented by the parliament. Both houses joined in an address, expressing their indignation at the affront offered to his majesty by the memorial of the count de Palm, and at the insolence in dispersing the same throughout the kingdom, assuring his majesty, that this audacious manner of appealing to the people, and turning a memorial into a seditious libel, was a proceeding that created in them the utmost abhorrence and detestation.

tion. "The endeavouring" said they in their address, "to instill into the minds of any of your faithful subjects the least distrust or diffidence of your majesty's sacred royal word, or to make a distinction between your majesty and your people, is an attempt as vain as presumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits, and important succours (conferred to have been received from Great Britain) gratitude, affection, and esteem for this nation, will be best manifested, by doing honour to the king, whom the people honour; and justice to the people, whose rights and privileges the best of kings is now defending, against the encroachments made upon them."

The secretary of state wrote a letter to the count de Palm, ordering him to quit the kingdom immediately. The two powers attacked each other at the imperial diet, by writings replete with personal animosities. Nothing less than a violent and obstinate war was expected. The king entered into new negotiations with France, Sweden, Denmark, and the prince of Hesse-Cassel. Support was also procured in Germany, but not without being attended with a vast expence to England.

The ministry now determined, if possible, to obtain a power to dispose of the supplies. Accordingly, a motion was made in the house of commons, by Mr. Scroope, secretary to the treasury, for empowering the king to apply such monies as he might find necessary to defray expences, and fulfil such engagements as already were, or might be contracted before the end of the year. This motion occasioned a long and very warm debate. It was said by the ministerial party, "That his majesty was so unwilling to put his subjects to any extraordinary expences, that he had demanded no more supplies this session than what he thought absolutely necessary for the service of the year. But, in the present posture of affairs, some unforeseen accidents might require a farther expence, for which no estimate could now be made, because some treaties his majesty had thought proper to enter into were not as yet finished; and, therefore, that the parliament ought to enable him to answer such contingencies; that the house had several times reposed the same confidence in him, which he had never abused, especially as it was now asked only for a short time." To this it was answered, "That the wisdom of parliament had always taken precautions against the improper employment of the public money; that a power so unlimited, and of such dangerous consequence, could not be admitted under a free government; that it was essential to the welfare of the state to preserve the forms of parliament, to grant supplies upon estimates, and to apply the monies granted to the purposes publicly avowed and acknowledged as necessary; in short, that if parliament should dispense with established customs and principles, such examples would become frequent, the crown would acquire an absolute power of levying taxes, and the constitution of England would soon be annihilated. But notwithstanding these reasons, the court party prevailed, and the bill passed both houses by a considerable majority.

The parliament having dispatched all the business before them, his majesty, after passing the bill, that were ready, put an end to the session with the following speech to both houses:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I acquainted you at the opening of this session with the dangers that threatened this kingdom, and the peace and liberties of Europe. I am now to return you my thanks for the zeal and dispatch with which you have proceeded on the several points I then recommended to your care, for the confidence

you have reposed in me, and for the assurance you have given me of your support and assistance in vindication of my honour, and in the maintenance and defence of the undoubted rights and privileges of this nation, so openly and notoriously invaded and attacked.

"The siege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all dispute, the end and design of the engagements entered into by the emperor and the king of Spain; but the preparations I have made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of my troops, will, I doubt not, convince them of the rashness and folly of that undertaking. However, the love of peace has hitherto prevailed upon me, even under this high provocation, to suspend in some measure my resentment; and instead of having immediate recourse to arms, and demanding of my allies that assistance which they are engaged and ready to give me, I have conferred with the most Christian king and the states-general, in making such overtures of accommodation as must convince all the world of the uprightness of our intentions, and of our sincere disposition to peace, and demonstrate to whose ambition and thirst of power the calamities of a war are to be imputed, if these just and reasonable propositions are rejected. In the mean time, I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the crown of Sweden has acceded to the treaty of Hanover; and that the convention between his most Christian majesty and the king of Denmark is actually signed."

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"The vigour and chearfulness you have shewn in raising so effectually, and upon such easy terms, the necessary supplies for the service of the current year, are not only instances of your zeal and affection to me, but demonstrate the established credit, power, and strength of this kingdom."

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It would have been a great satisfaction to me if, before your separation, I had been able to speak to you more positively, and with greater certainty, upon the present posture of affairs; but as you have now dispatched the public business, and the business of the year requires your going into your respective counties, I chose rather to put an end to the session, than to keep you any longer together unnecessarily. The provision you have made, and the union and harmony between me and my allies, will, I hope, enable me, by the divine assistance, either to withstand and defeat the designs of our enemies, if our conduct should bring upon us the necessity of a war, or to improve the blessings of peace, if peace can with any justice, honour, and security be obtained."

In the mean time the Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar with an army of 20,000 men, well provided with artillery, ammunition, and warlike stores. Lord Clayton, lieutenant governor of the place, with troops and necessaries sufficient for making a good defence, till supplies could arrive from England, which preparations had been made. But they were little to be feared from the attempt of the Spaniards, their measures were all planned and worse executed so that, after lying four months before the place, and losing half their army by slaughter, hunger, and desertion, they were obliged to abandon their enterprise.

The hostile powers, notwithstanding their agreement, had not that passion for war which produced the miseries of mankind. France effectually employed her mediation to restore the tranquillity of Europe. Preliminaries were signed, whereby it was agreed that hostilities should immediately cease, that the Offend company should be suspended, and that the

and that a congress should be held within that period for finally determining all differences.

Two years had now elapsed since his majesty last visited his German dominions; and he resolved to embrace the present opportunity of enjoying that pleasure. Accordingly, having established a regency, he embarked at Greenwich on the 3d of June, and on the 7th landed at Vaert in Holland. The next day he set out for Hanover; and the following evening, between ten and eleven o'clock arrived in apparent good health at Delden. He supped heartily, rested well, and proceeded on his journey about four the next morning. Between eight and nine o'clock he ordered the coach to stop, and finding one of his hands motionless, he said, "I cannot move this hand." A short time after this, his eyes began to move with great emotion, his mouth was distorted, and his tongue swelled, so that he was deprived of the power of speech. He continued in this state but a short time before he was seized with a violent fit of the palsy; and though he recovered a little by the opening of a vein, he soon after became lethargic, and was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnaburg, where he expired on Sunday the 11th of June, in his brother's palace, in the 68th year of his age, and the 13th of his reign. His remains were interred at Hanover among those of his ancestors.

George I. was plain and open in his address, grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the British throne, he had acquired the character of a circumspect general; a just and merciful prince, and a wise politician, who perfectly understood and steadily pursued his own interest. With these qualities it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British constitution, and the genius of the people. And if he ever seemed to deviate from these principles, we may be assured, that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry, whose power and influence were both founded on corruption.

He married the princess Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heiress to the duke of Zell, by whom he had one son, who succeeded him in the throne; and a daughter married to the late king of Prussia.

The most remarkable occurrences that happened during this king's reign were the following:

On the 2d of April, in the year after his accession, there happened the greatest eclipse of the sun that had ever been known in the memory of man. It began about 7 minutes after 8 o'clock in the morning, and ended about 20 minutes after 10. The sun, for near four minutes, was so totally darkened, that the moon and stars were as visible as in the clearest evening, and the beasts and birds were so confounded, that they retired to their respective places of rest with the greatest precipitation. Two French mathematicians, by direction of the royal academy of Sciences, came over to observe it, and were entertained with great respect by the Royal Society of London,

with whom they joined in making their observations on this singular phenomenon.

On the 13th of December, 1718, the stream of the river Thames was reduced so low by the dryness of the season, and a strong westerly wind, that the people walked across it in different parts, as also through most of the arches of London-bridge.

In the 7th year of this king's reign, inoculating for the small pox was first introduced into England from Turkey. The importing of it is attributed to Lady Mary Wortley Montague, who resided some time with her husband at the Ottoman court, where she had an opportunity of seeing the Turkish method of performing the operation; a description of which is given in the letters published under her name. The experiment was first tried with success on seven condemned criminals, which was immediately followed by the inoculation of prince Frederick, the two princesses Amelia and Caroline, the duke of Bedford and his sisters, with many other persons of distinction, who underwent the operation with great success. But notwithstanding the method of inoculation received such a distinguished sanction, the practice of it was greatly disapproved of till about the year 1760, since which time it has generally prevailed, not only in England, but most parts of Europe; and several public hospitals have been erected for the benefit of the indigent.

In the month of April, 1724, died Doctor Henry Sacheverel, who bequeathed a legacy of 500*l.* to his friend and patron, the banished bishop of Rochester.

In the following year Orator Henley, the son of a worthy Divine, set up a new sect, under the title of an Oratory: to promote which, he informed the public, that on the 3d of July the oratory would be opened; that the fundamental authority of this institution, considered as a church, would be the same with that of all the modern churches; that is, "a legal liberty of private judgment in religion, which is the very principle of the reformation, the basis of all the protestant interest, and the most valuable branch of the freedom of our constitution." At the same time, in order to prevent any disturbance that might arise on account of his separation from the church, in which he had been ordained a priest, he resolved to shelter himself under the canon of the toleration act; for which purpose he took the oaths of abjuration and allegiance before the bench of justices at Hicks's hall. The place he first adapted for his oratory was no less singular than the novelty of its institution, being a sort of wooden booth built over the staircase in Newport market, near Leicester fields, formerly used for a temporary meeting house of a Calvinistical congregation; after which he moved near the well entrance into Clare market. Notwithstanding his private fortune was greatly increased by money paid for admission into his oratory for upwards of 34 years, yet he could never form an established congregation; nor did it appear that his religion gained him one proselyte, his whole system and conduct for that time exhibiting nothing more than satire, burlesque and grimace.



S E C T. II.

G E O R G E II.

AS the late king died abroad, his death was not known in England till the 14th of June, four days after the event happened, when Sir Robert Walpole received an express with the melancholy news. At this time the prince and princess of Wales were at Richmond, whither Sir Robert immediately repaired with the important intelligence; on the receipt of which they hastened to Leicester-house, where they had for some time kept their court. On their arrival there, they were received by a number of the lords of the privy-council, and other distinguished personages, who signed an instrument for proclaiming his royal highness king of these realms; and the next morning the ceremony was performed at the usual places and with the accustomed solemnities.

George II. was in the 44th year of his age when he acceded to the throne of England; at which time the situation of affairs was particularly favourable. The nation was in a very flourishing condition. Commerce, the great idol of the English, was every day improving, and riches flowed in from every quarter. The navy was on a very respectable footing; near 200 ships of war were either cruising in different parts, or ready to sail, on the shortest warning, to protect our trade, or annoy the enemy. Several regiments of well-disciplined troops were quartered in different parts of the three kingdoms, so as to overawe the disaffected, and secure the peace and tranquility of the whole; while they strengthened the hands of government, and gave the new sovereign an ascendancy, which for many years had been unknown to his predecessors.

The parliament assembled immediately on receiving the news of the late king's death, pursuant to an act made for that purpose in the reign of queen Anne; but on the same day it was prorogued, by commission, till the 27th of the same month.

In the mean time the king caused all the privy-councillors, who composed the council of his father, to form that of his own. The system of politics established in the late reign was strictly adhered to: Sir Robert Walpole kept possession of the treasury, and all the great officers of state were continued in their respective places.

On the 27th of June the parliament met, agreeable to the royal proclamation, and his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne; in which he declared, that it should be his constant care to preserve the constitution in church and state inviolable in all its parts, and to secure to all his subjects the free enjoyment of their religious and civil rights: he proposed to lessen the public expence as soon as the circumstances of affairs would permit: he observed to the commons, that the grant of the greater part of the civil list revenues was now determined, and that it would be necessary for them to make a new provision for the support of him and his family; and he recommended it to both houses to dispatch the business that should be necessarily before them, as the business of the year and the circumstances of time required them to produce in the country.

Both houses presented addresses of condolence and congratulation immediately after which the com-

mons, in a committee of the whole house, took into consideration a motion for a supply to his majesty. Sir Robert Walpole having observed, that the annual sum of 700,000 l. granted to and settled upon king George I. had fallen short every year, and that his majesty's expences were likely to increase by reason of the largeness of his family, moved, that the entire revenues of the civil list, which produced about 800,000 l. per annum, should be settled on the king during his life. Mr. Shippen, an avowed enemy to the reigning ministry, and a shrewd sarcastic speaker, opposed this motion, as inconsistent with the trust reposed in them as representatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exercising the right of giving away the public money. He said, the sum of 700,000 l. was not obtained for king George I. without a long and solemn debate, and every member who contended for it at this time allowed it to be an ample royal revenue: although his majesty's family should be enlarged, a circumstance which had been urged as one reason for the motion, he presumed the appointments of prince Frederick would be much inferior to those settled on his majesty when prince of Wales; besides, it was to be hoped that many personal, many particular expences in the late reign, especially those for frequent journeys to Hanover, would be discontinued, and entirely cease. He proposed, that instead of granting an addition to the civil list, they should restrict that revenue to a certain sum, by concluding the question with these words, "In like manner as they were granted to George I. so as to make up the clear year sum of 700,000 l." To these particulars, which were indeed unanswerable, no reply was made, even this mark of decency was laid aside as idle and superfluous. The question was put. The house agreed to Sir Robert's motion, and a bill was brought in upon the following resolutions: "First, That towards the supply granted to his majesty for the support of his household, the same revenues which were payable to his late majesty during his life, be granted and continued to his present majesty during his life. Secondly, That the same revenues be continued from the death of his late majesty."

The commons having received a message from the king, recommending the making further provision for the queen, in case of his majesty's demise, it was taken into consideration by a grand committee of that house, when they resolved, "First, that after provision be made for the queen, in case she should survive his majesty, of 100,000 l. per annum during her life, together with his majesty's palace of Somerset house, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Old Park. Secondly, that his majesty be enabled to charge the said 100,000 l. on all other duties and revenues for the better support of his majesty's household, &c. which shall subsist after his majesty's decease."

In consequence of these resolutions bills were brought in, which passed both houses, and on the 1st of July received the royal assent. The same evening his majesty put an end to the session with a speech from the throne, in which he thanked the commons



the provision they had made for the support of his family and the civil government, and for the ample provision they had made for the queen. Then addressing himself to both houses, he added, "It is a great happiness to me to see the nation in so prosperous and flourishing a condition, at the highest pitch of glory and reputation, of great weight in holding the balance of Europe, defending themselves in their just privileges and possessions, and vindicating the honour of the crown of Great Britain."

After his majesty had concluded his speech, he prorogued the parliament to the 29th of August; but before that time it was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for choosing a new one.

On the 11th of October the ceremony of their majesty's coronation was performed at Westminster-abbey with great splendor and solemnity: the bishop of Oxford preached on the occasion, and the day was celebrated with the most extraordinary rejoicings in all parts of the kingdom.

Before the conclusion of this year a treaty or convention was concluded at Westminster, between his Britannic majesty and the duke of Brunwic Lunenburgh Wolfenbuttle; by which the duke engaged to guarantee all his majesty's dominions in Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany; and likewise to furnish a body of 5000 men, for which his Britannic majesty engaged to pay him a yearly subsidy of 25,000*l.* for four years. By a separate article in this convention it was stipulated that the duke's troops were not to be obliged to pass over to Great Britain or Ireland, but should be employed either in the replacing troops that might be drawn from his majesty's dominions, or be put into the garrisons of the states-general, in case any of their troops should be sent over to Great Britain.

A. D. 1728. The new parliament met at Westminster on the 23d of January, when the commons unanimously chose for their speaker Arthur Onslow, esq. knight of the shire for the county of Surry; a gentleman of extensive knowledge, approved integrity, and abilities every way equal to the discharge of that important office, which he afterwards fully justified in a longer series of public and irreprehensible services in that station than had ever been discharged by any of his predecessors.

The speech with which his majesty opened the first session of this parliament breathed an air of frankness and sincerity. He told them, that he was very sensible of the disagreeable and uneasy situation in which their affairs were at present placed, and had been greatly concerned to see many of the inconveniences of a war attending his subjects, without any opportunity of redressing the injuries they had sustained, or gaining, in return, any of those advantages which the vigorous prosecution of so just a cause, and the success of his arms, might probably have secured to them: that many difficulties had occurred to impede the execution of the preliminaries, and though there was great reason to believe that the congress would soon be opened, and all obstructions removed, yet it was absolutely necessary to continue their warlike preparations, which had hitherto prevented a general rupture in Europe, and procured to the British nation many advantages, which would be entirely lost through a discontinuance of their armaments: that he was extremely desirous of reducing his national expences, and would not fail to set about the necessary and important work, as soon as the interest of his people would permit. He earnestly recommended to their consideration the increase and encouragement of seamen in general: that they might be encouraged, rather than compelled, to enter into the

service of their country; a consideration, he said, well worthy the representatives of a people great and flourishing in trade and commerce: that he hoped they would make an addition to the fund of Greenwich hospital, and proceed in all their deliberations with such unanimity, zeal and dispatch, as to convince the world that none of them could be induced, from any views or motives whatever, to wish the distress of their country, or give occasion, from the prospect of divisions, that might be excited and fermented at home, to interrupt or disappoint their expectations from abroad.

This speech produced the desired effect: the commons voted 15,000 seamen for the service of the current year, and 22,955 land forces. The last vote was not, however, carried without a warm debate on the general topics of saving to the nation; the danger of the constitution from a numerous standing army, and the little effect which the augmentation of troops raised last year produced, or was likely to produce, in favour of Great-Britain, and which ought therefore now to be reduced.

The next considerable debate arose from the money voted for the maintenance of the Hessian troops in British pay. The sum amounted to 230,933*l.* for 12,000 men, horse, dragoons, and foot. These troops had been engaged by the earnest request of the late king, and to answer the ends of the treaty of Hanover. This was explained by Mr. Horatio Walpole, the minister's brother, who said, that the tranquillity of Europe being still precarious, the original reason which had been approved by the parliament for taking these troops into British pay, still subsisted. He was answered by Sir William Wyndham, who endeavoured to shew, "that the demand was preposterous, because, by the treaty of Hanover, the contracting parties were to furnish their contingencies either in troops, shipping, or money, within two months after demand made by the party attacked." To this it was replied, "that though the treaty did leave it in the option of the party called upon, not to furnish his contingencies sooner than two months after requisition; yet the state of affairs in Europe rendered it prudent for his late majesty to have in readiness, at all events, the troops stipulated, which were cheaper to the nation, and more convenient for the common cause, than any British forces that could be employed: that the differences which, since the signing of the treaty of Hanover, had arisen between the courts of Great-Britain and Prussia, (one of the three principal contracting parties in the treaty of Hanover) having occasioned a material and unforeseen disappointment in the carrying the purposes of that treaty into execution, the reason for hiring and continuing the Hessian troops in British pay became indispensable: that experience had evinced the method to be wise and proper, because it had preserved the tranquillity of Germany, an object highly meriting the attention of the British nation; and that, upon the whole, not only prudence, but necessity required it should be continued till the event of the approaching congress at Cambray should be known."

It was easily seen, from the very beginning of the debate, that the question would be carried by the ministry; but the opposition, probably for no other reason than that of knowing the strength of their party, called for a division, when it appeared that 280 were for the question, and 84 against it.

Extraordinary supplies being necessary for the service of the ensuing year, a proposition, in consequence of a motion in the house of commons, was made by the lords of the treasury, to the directors of the bank. This proposal was, that the bank might

advance 1,750,000*l.* for the purchase of 70,000*l.* per annum of the duty upon coals, to be converted into annuities; and that the bank be empowered to sell or dispose of those annuities, at such times and in such proportions as they should judge proper; and that the sinking fund should be applied to pay off 1,000,000 at the bank.

This proposal was very readily agreed to by the directors of the bank; but the city of London thought proper to present a petition to the house of commons with regard to the coal tax. They represented that the duties already laid on coals and culm, brought into the port of London only, considerably affected their trade; and that the inequality of that burden was a great discouragement to the manufactures, as well as a great hardship upon the whole trading people in and about the city of London. They therefore prayed the house to take these reasons into consideration, and grant them such relief as they should think meet. This petition was supported by the anti-ministerial party, but was rejected by a great majority.

On the 26th of February, the whole supply, amounting to near 4,000,000 was voted; and the particulars of the distribution of the money granted last year had been laid before them. But in this account 250,000*l.* not being particularly specified, they addressed his majesty for a particular and distinct account of that sum. In answer to this address, Sir Paul Methuen, by his majesty's command, acquainted the house, that the late king, his majesty's royal father, having, on the like occasion, received from the last parliament the most dutiful acknowledgments of his great care and wisdom, in taking such steps, and entering into such engagements as he thought would best conduce to the security of this kingdom and the preservation of the peace of Europe; and, at the same time, the strongest assurance of their future support in all such farther measures as he should find necessary and expedient for preventing a rupture, and for the honour and advantage of these kingdoms: and a power being accordingly given by parliament to his late majesty, for issuing and applying such sums of money as he should find necessary, for answering and defraying such expences and engagements as had been, or should be made for these great and necessary purposes; some part of the money mentioned in this address had been issued and disbursed by his late majesty; and the remaining part had been applied by his majesty for carrying on the same necessary service, for strengthening his alliances, in fulfilling engagements, of the utmost importance to these kingdoms, and to the general tranquillity of Europe, and which required the greatest secrecy. His majesty therefore hopes, that this house will repose the same confidence in him, and be assured that the money has been necessarily expended, pursuant to the power given by act of parliament, and for the uses and purposes therein directed; and that a particular account thereof cannot be given, without manifest prejudice to the public.

Though this answer was not without a precedent, yet it was far from being conformable to the constitution of parliament. The opposition would not let slip so fair an advantage; they attacked the ministry with all the power of reason and eloquence. They represented, that the answer was unparliamentary; that if such were accepted, the parliament must give up their most valuable privileges, those of enquiring into the disposal of public money, and the conduct of corrupted and corrupting ministers, to those very ministers who ought to be the objects of their censure. It was added, "That the answer was vague and frivolous, and might be made with equal propriety upon all occasions of enquiry into the disposal of public money."

On the other hand, it was urged, "That this answer was conformable to an answer returned in the late reign, upon a similar address; that there was no more reason for distrusting his present majesty, than there was for distrusting his father; and the house of commons was so well satisfied on that occasion, that instead of expressing any symptoms of dissatisfaction, they had returned the crown an address of thanks for that answer." Sir Robert Walpole added, "That it was impossible the public service, alluded to, considering the various complication of interests on the continent, could be carried on if every shilling expended for the interest of the common cause, and for maintaining the balance of Europe, was known to all the world." These reasons appeared satisfactory; for, on the question's being put, it was carried by a very considerable majority.

On the 4th of March, the commons took into consideration the state of the national debt. The house being resolved itself into a grand committee, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers, when a court member moved for the following resolution, "That it appears to this house that the moneys already issued, and applied towards discharging the national debts, incurred before Christmas 1715, together with the sum of 655,000*l.* to be issued Lady-Day next, amount to 6,000,651*l.* 7*s.* and 10*d.*" The intent of this motion was evidently to appease the clamour which had been raised by an assertion of Mr. William Pulteney's, that the public debts had increased since the establishment of the sinking fund. The anti-ministerial party on the other hand, exerted all their abilities to expose the fallacy of this motion. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, whose great knowledge of public business and foreign transactions, was universally allowed, put himself at the head of the debate upon this occasion. He was supported by his relation Mr. W. Pulteney, Mr. Shippen, and many more of the principal men in the opposition.

Mr. Daniel Pulteney was a cool but weighty speaker; and though other members in the opposition had brighter parts, none of them possessed superior abilities. Mr. W. Pulteney had by study carefully improved an excellent natural understanding; he was perfectly skilled in the knowledge of the British constitution, master of a rapid and persuasive eloquence, and spoke with great freedom and courage. Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, shrewd and satirical. Sir William Wyndham was nervous, manly, and full of senatorial dignity. These great men, in the warmest terms, declaimed upon the profuse mismanagement of the public money. They insisted that notwithstanding the very liberal grants which had been made by parliament, during the last and present reign, notwithstanding the establishment of the sinking fund, the national debt was annually increasing, and that too in a time of profound peace, a circumstance which yielded a very melancholy prospect, since at this rate the public debts must increase so fast, that in case of a foreign war, or domestic commotion, so that the heavy and numerous taxes, under which the people at present laboured, seemed likely to be entailed on them to the latest posterity. Arguments were made use of to support this assertion, notwithstanding which the ministerial party, on their point, and the motion was agreed to without a division.

Though Sir Robert Walpole was sensible that he had greatly the superiority of numbers in the house in his favour, yet he now resolved to establish himself with the nation. He knew that the wretched opposition had by numbers and calculation persuaded the people, that the sinking fund, which had been extolled as a growing treasure, turned to the disservice

of national incumbrances, had, by a shameful misapplication, proved of little or no service to the purpose for which it was originally intended. Such a notion prevailing among the public could by no means be favourable to the administration. In order, therefore, to retrieve his character, the minister made a solemn appeal to the tribunal of majesty itself, by causing a representation to be drawn up, containing a particular detail of the national debts discharged and incurred since the 25th day of December, 1716, with the state of the sinking fund, and of the public credit.

This representation, being approved of by the house, was presented to his majesty, who returned a very favourable answer; wherein he observed, "that he was highly pleased with a performance which could not fail to give general satisfaction to all his people, by removing those groundless jealousies and apprehensions which had been propagated and dispersed through the kingdom: that the happy effects of the flourishing state of the public credit were too sensibly felt and seen, not to be confessed and acknowledged by every impartial person: that the provision made for gradually discharging the national debt was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing (but some unforeseen event) could alter or diminish it; a circumstance that afforded the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged without the necessity of incurring new incumbrances; and that they might be well assured; that it should ever be his particular care and study to maintain and preserve the public credit, and improve the sinking fund, and to avoid all occasions of laying new burdens upon his people."

This answer, fraught with so many expressions of tenderness for his subjects, paved the way for a message from his majesty to the house of commons, which was delivered on the 4th of May by Sir P. Methuen, and consisted in a demand of a vote of credit, to fulfil certain engagements concerted and entered into, with the advice and concurrence of the last parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe. This message was productive of a long and violent debate; but notwithstanding all the efforts of the opposition, it was carried by 237 against 101, that his majesty's request should be granted. This completed the triumph of the minister, who now seemed to have set his foot upon the necks of his adversaries.

The attention of the parliament, during the remainder of this session, was greatly engaged in examining copies of several treaties and alliances which the king had laid before them. They likewise made an attempt to amend the statute of limitations, which in the sequel, however, did not succeed. They passed the mutiny bill, together with those relating to the public supplies, and some others of a private nature. These having received the royal assent on the 28th day of May, his majesty closed the session, having thanked the commons for the effectual supplies they had raised, and in particular for having empowered him to borrow 500,000*l.* for the discharge of wages due to the seamen employed in the navy.

Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, signor Como, agent from the duke of Parma, was ordered to depart the kingdom in two days, his master having offered a great insult to king George, by inviting the Pretender to reside in his dominions, and receiving him with the honours due to the king of Great Britain.

In the beginning of December, the nation was greatly surprized by the sudden and unexpected arrival in England of his royal highness prince Frederick, the king's eldest son, who set out from

Herenhausen on the 24th of November, attended by the marquis de la Forest, his lord chamberlain, and lieutenant-colonel Delaunay, of the Hanoverian guards, who had been sent by his majesty, they being then at the English court, to bring over his royal highness, some doubts having been urged in the privy-council concerning the non-residence of a prince of Wales in Great Britain. The marquis passed for an English gentleman by the name of Compton, and the prince for his son. Arriving in this manner incognito at Helvoetsluys, they went on board a packet then ready to sail for Harwich, where his royal highness arrived on the third of December, lodged at Colchester that night, arrived at White-chapel the next evening about seven, and from thence proceeded in a hackney coach to St. James's. The next day he was introduced to the privy-council, and created prince of Wales. There was a brilliant and numerous court to congratulate his royal highness on his safe arrival, who was soon after addressed on the same occasion from all parts of the kingdom.

During these transactions in England, a congress was opened at Soissons on the 29th of June. The British ministers were William Stanhope, esq; Horatio Walpole, esq; and Stephen Poyntz, esq. Those of the emperor were the counts Zinzendorf and Windisgratz, and the baron Pentendreecker. Those of the French court were the cardinal de Fleury, the marquis de Fenelon, and the count de Brancas. From Spain were sent the duke de Bournonville, the marquis de Santa Cruz, and don Ignatio de Bernachea. The Dutch, the Swedes, the Danes, the Russians, the Poles, the dukes of Holstein, Parma, Bavaria, and the count Palatine, had likewise their several ambassadors there. But this numerous train of plenipotentiaries did little more than assemble in form, and produce their credentials, for after six months spent in ceremonies and diversions they broke up, and separated without adjusting any one material point in dispute.

A. D. 1729. The parliament met on the 21st of January, when his majesty, in a speech to both houses, acquainted them, "that the plan of a provisional treaty had been approved by him and his allies, but that no satisfactory answer had as yet been returned by the courts of Vienna and Madrid: that this circumstance created a state of uncertainty which gave him great uneasiness: but he hoped they would believe, that nothing but a regard for the ease and interest of his people could have prevailed upon him rather to suffer some temporary inconveniences, with the daily prospect of a safe and honourable peace, than precipitately kindle a war in Europe, and to plunge the nation into greater and still more enormous expences: that he was sorry to find that the state of affairs obliged him to continue the public expences, in order to enable him, as events might require, to act with vigour, and in concert with his allies, who had all of them resolved to make the same preparations, and to keep on foot all their extraordinary forces: that he had some reason to believe that the courts of Vienna and Madrid had been encouraged in their dilatory proceedings by the hopes which were given them from hence of creating discontent and divisions among his people, but he was persuaded that their known affection for him, and a just regard for their own honour, and for the interest and security of the nation, would determine them effectually to discourage the unnatural and pernicious practices of some few, who suggested the means of distressing this country, and afterwards clamoured at the inconveniences which they themselves had occasioned."

The commons, after voting an address to his majesty, immediately proceeded to examine the charges

mates, and 15,000 seamen were voted for the ensuing year. But a motion being made for continuing the same number of land-forces which had been allowed in the preceding year, and which amounted to near 23,000 men, a warm debate ensued, in which Mr. William Pulteney and Mr. Shippen particularly distinguished themselves. They endeavoured, from history and experience, to prove the dangers into which a standing army brought the constitution. They urged that the court of Vienna having readily agreed to the preliminaries for a general pacification, there ought to be a reduction of that augmentation of the army, which the differences lately subsisting with the house of Austria had induced the parliament to agree to. These arguments were treated as absurd by Mr. Horatio Walpole, and other firm adherents of the minister, who said, that as no definitive resolution in favour of peace had been made by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, the reduction of our national troops, during such a state of indecision, would only encourage the powers with whom we were then at variance, to insist upon higher terms. The question was now put for continuing the army upon the same footing as the preceding year, which passed by a great majority.

In the meantime great depredations were made by the Spaniards on our ships and settlements in America, which so greatly exasperated the English, that they were desirous of immediately repelling their insults: but the ministry, who were entirely devoted to peace, urged, that as something decisive must shortly happen, it was most eligible, as the nation had waited so long, to wait a little longer before it broke out into open hostilities. Taking advantage of the popular sentiments, the opposition improved every opportunity of reviling and exposing the government, who for the sake of one man sacrificed the honour and interest of their country. In order to counteract these attempts, Sir George Oxendon made a motion in the lower house for an address to his majesty, in answer to his speech from the throne, to acknowledge his majesty's great goodness and wisdom in endeavouring to avoid all difficulties and delays, by concerting the most expeditious methods of bringing the negotiations at Soissons to a speedy and favourable conclusion, expressing their grateful sense of his majesty's watchful care for the ease and interest of his people, in declining to plunge the nation into an expensive war, as long as there was any prospect of obtaining a safe and honourable peace; and finally assuring him that the house, in an entire confidence of his majesty's tender regard for his own honour and that of the nation, rested fully satisfied, that as soon as necessity required, he would not fail to take the first opportunity of doing justice to himself and the nation, in securing the trade and commerce of the kingdom.

The opposition, however, took care to prevent this scheme from succeeding, and even to return it back upon the ministry, by rendering them obnoxious to the trading part of the kingdom. In order to this they moved for an amendment in Sir George's proposed address, and that the word "restore" should be substituted in the room of "secure" the commerce of the kingdom. This, it must be owned, was nothing more than a play upon words; but it answered the intention of the proposers, by giving rise to a warm debate on a point the ministerial party were unable to defend, their passive behaviour with regard to the insults of the Spaniards. Sir William Yonge, a frequent and florid speaker, but whose private life had been such as had created him many powerful enemies, and the prepossession which prevailed against him had extended itself to his parliamentary and ministerial character, exerted all his abilities on this

occasion to refute the arguments brought by opposition for the amendment. He said, that the difference between restoring and securing commerce was a distinction without a difference; because supposing, which he would not by any means admit, the British commerce was ruined, it must be restored before it could be secured. He observed, that whatever was just in the outcry against the Spanish depredations, was, in a great measure, owing to the intolerable audacity of some English interlopers, who carried on a unlawful traffic with the subjects of Spain in America in defiance of treaties, and the law of nations, as well as to the manifest prejudice of the fair British trade.

After various other debates on this occasion, the question was at length put, whether the address should stand in its original form; which was carried by a great majority.

This victory of the ministry was, however, of very little consequence; for the Spaniards, about this time having seized some of our ships engaged in a lawful trade, the indignation of the public could not be any longer restrained. Petitions were delivered to the commons by the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, complaining of the interruption they had suffered in their trade for several years, from the depredations of the Spaniards in the West Indies. The house having considered these petitions, presented an address to the king, requesting his majesty to use his utmost endeavours for preventing such depredations, procuring just and reasonable satisfaction, and securing to his subjects the free exercise of commerce, &c. navigation to and from the British colonies in America. His majesty assured them, that nothing should be wanting on his part to answer the desires and expectations of his people in an affair of such distinguished importance.

During these debates in the house of commons, the lords had taken into consideration the state of the kingdom, particularly the positive demand made by the court of Spain, for the restitution of Gibraltar, founded on a letter written by the late king to his Catholic majesty, a copy of which was laid before the house. The lords engaged in the opposition on this occasion from this letter to declaim violently against the ministry, and moved to resolve, "That for the honour of his majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, effectual care should be taken in the treaty now depending, that the king of Spain do renounce all claim and pretensions to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca, in the plainest and strongest manner."

This motion, however, was strenuously opposed by the court party. They insisted, in the first place, that the pretensions of the court of Madrid were in themselves absurd and frivolous, since it appeared from the copy of the letter before them, his majesty had only said, he would take the first opportunity to regulate the article of the restitution of Gibraltar with the consent of his parliament. The promise was therefore nothing more than conditional, and could not, in any sense, be binding to his Britannic majesty, unless his parliament should give their consent. They said further, that, in their opinion, Great Britain had a much better right, by the treaty of Utrecht, over Gibraltar and Minorca, than she possibly could have by any personal act or renunciation of his Catholic majesty. The desiring therefore any such act would, in some measure, imply a kind of invalidity of the right by which these possessions were already held. They said, it was not to be doubted, that the king and kingdom of Spain would readily embrace the first opportunity of recovering these places; nor would any renunciation, however strong and peremptory, prevent their seizing such an opportunity, whenever it should offer. Besides, should his Catholic majesty

as there was reason to believe he would, refuse to grant any such renunciation as was now proposed, all Europe would be apt to think that Great Britain held these conquests by a very weak and invalid title. Many other like arguments were made use of, after which the question was put, and a negative passed upon the motion. The court party, however, did not think it prudent to suffer a matter of so much importance to pass wholly neglected. A message was sent to the commons, inviting them to a free conference in the painted chamber, relating to the subject in debate, which being complied with by that house, the lords desired their concurrence to the following resolution, "that they do entirely rely upon his majesty that he will, for maintaining the honour, and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the present treaty to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca." The opposition in the lower house were not, however, to be moved from their first principles: they insisted strenuously upon a specific renunciation of those places on the part of Spain; and the excellency of the arguments they made use of on this occasion brought over many members from the court party, so that when the question was put, the ministry carried their point by a great majority.

The commons thus agreeing with the peers in their resolution, a joint address was presented to the king, from both houses, on the 25th of March; in answer to which his majesty declared, "that he would take care to support his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca."

A grant of 115,000*l.* being voted to make good the deficiency in the civil list, it met with a warm opposition in both houses. It was alledged, "that instead of a deficiency in the civil list revenues, there was a considerable surplus: that this was a new grant, and a new burden on the people: that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the sum designed for the civil list; and this at a time when the public debts were increased, and when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country." They observed, "that if the produce of the civil list revenue should not amount to the yearly sum of 800,000*l.* the deficiency must be made good by the public; whereas no provision was made, by which, if the produce of those revenues should exceed that sum, the surplus should accrue to the benefit of the public: that by this precedent, not only real deficiencies, but also supplies were to be given for arrears standing out at the end of every year, which should come on before the supplies could be granted, though the supply given to make good arrears in one year would certainly increase the surpluses in another: that the revenues of the civil list were variable in their own nature; and even when there is no deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: these might easily be increased by the management of designing ministers, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of stating accounts." All these arguments were, however, of no avail; every motion made by the minority was rejected, while those of the most despotic nature, proposed by the court-party, were carried by an amazing majority.

The complicated business of this session had been attended with such warm arguments, that altercation was now out of breath; and no material matter remaining to be adjusted, each party wished to retire from the bustle of business; the one to enjoy its triumph the other to brood over its discontent. On the 14th of May his majesty went to the house of peers, and, after signing several bills, closed the session with a speech, in which he signified his intention

of visiting his German dominions; and on the 20th day of the same month he set out for Hanover.

In the month of September this year, Victor Amadeus II. King of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, resigning his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont, and reserving to himself a revenue of 100,000*l.* per annum, retired to the castle of Chambery. In October, Peter II. czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter I. died in the 15th year of his age at Muscovy, and was succeeded on the throne by the princess Ann Ivanowna, second daughter of Ivan Alexowitz, elder brother of the first Peter. In November, died Pope Benedict XIII. Cardinal Laurentio Corfini was raised to the pontificate in his room, and assumed the name of Clement XII.

All this time the negotiations at Soissons seemed at a total stand; but at length it was agreed to open conferences at Seville between the plenipotentiaries of England, France and Spain. The earl of Harrington, who, previous to this, had been appointed ambassador extraordinary to his catholic majesty, had the management of this treaty on the part of Great Britain, in conjunction with Mr. Keene, the English plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid.

No material obstacle arising, the treaty was signed on the 9th of November; by which it was stipulated, "that all former treaties and conventions between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, should be as amply confirmed as if they had been expressly repeated: that their Britannic and Catholic majesties should guarantee to each other their respective dominions; and in case either of them should be attacked, the other should furnish to the party so invaded a body of 12,000 men: that all such engagements contracted by his Britannic majesty, in consequence of the treaty of Vienna, as were consistent with the treaties subsisting between the crowns of England and Spain, antecedent to the year 1725, should be rendered void and invalid: that the commerce of the English and French nations, both in Europe and the Indies, should be restored to its former footing, and orders should be instantly dispatched on all sides for that purpose: that his Catholic majesty should make reparation for all the damages that had been done by his subjects to those of the other two parties: that commissioners should be nominated with sufficient powers, on the part of their Britannic and Catholic majesties, who should assemble at the court of Spain, within the space of four months after the ratification or sooner, if possible, to decide whatever concerned the ships and effects taken on either side: that the said commissioners should likewise examine and decide, according to treaties, the respective pretensions which relate to the abuses that were said to have been committed in commerce, as well in the Indies as in Europe, and all other respective pretensions in America founded on treaties, whether with respect to the limits or otherwise: that the said commissioners should likewise discuss and decide the pretensions which his Catholic majesty might have by the treaty of 1721, to the restitution of the ships taken by the English fleet in 1718: that the said commissioners, after having examined, discussed and decided the above mentioned claims and pretensions, should make a report of their proceedings to their Britannic and Catholic majesties, who by the present treaty promised, that in the space of six months after making the said report, they would cause to be executed punctually and exactly what should have been decided by the said commissioners. His Catholic majesty engages to send 6,000 of his troops, without loss of time, to garrison Leghorn, Porto, Ferraro, Parma and Placentia, for

the better securing and preserving the succession of those states in favour of Don Carlos, and to be ready to withstand any enterprize and opposition that might be formed to the prejudice of what had been already regulated touching the succession. The contracting powers also promise to take the softest and most effectual means of persuading the dukes of Tuscany and Parma to admit these garrisons, upon their promising to take an oath to be faithful to the reigning powers in every thing that should not be contrary to the right of succession reserved to the infant Don Carlos; and upon their engaging not to meddle directly nor indirectly in the government of the places where they should be garrisoned, and to pay to the dukes of Tuscany and Parma, all the honours due to sovereigns in their own dominions; and as soon as the succession of these territories should be quietly settled in the person of Don Carlos, his Catholic majesty engaged to withdraw his troops from the said garrisons: the contracting princes agree, on their parts, to become guarantees to Don Carlos for the quiet possession and enjoyment of the said states of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, after he shall have once obtained them. By the thirteenth article of this treaty, the kings of England and France promise to ratify and guarantee all the particular regulations that shall be concerted between his Catholic majesty and the dukes of Tuscany and Parma, relating to the aforesaid garrisons. The fourteenth and last article stipulates, that the states-general of the United Provinces shall be invited to accede to the treaty, the ratifications of which were to be dispatched within the space of six weeks at farthest."

Such were the contents of the famous treaty of Seville, which, by the concurrence of other events, afterwards produced a material alteration in the system of Europe.

A. D. 1730. The parliament met on the 3d of January, when his majesty (who had been some time returned from his German dominions) opened the session with a speech, in which he informed both houses, that he had concluded an absolute peace with Spain, and thereby prevented the miseries and calamities inseparable from a war. He assured them that the peace was agreeable to the purport and intention of former treaties, and calculated to render effectual the stipulations of the quadruple alliance: that sufficient provision had been made for the indemnification and future security of the trading interest; and that he had given orders for making an immediate reduction both of his land and sea forces. He then concluded with recommending to their consideration the state of public credit, and the hardships of poor artificers and manufacturers.

The commons were no sooner returned to their house, than Sir Robert Walpole laid before them the treaty of Seville; and one of his friends moved for a particular and loyal address to the throne, almost in the very words of the speech. This motion was opposed by the country party, who were for saying no more than, "To assure his majesty of the steady and zealous attachment of the house to his royal person, government and family; and that the house would effectually support his majesty in all measures necessary for the honour and dignity of his crown, and the interests and welfare of his people."

In support of this alteration and omission, many severe things were said of the treaty, which had been published some time. Sir John Hind Cotton said, that the ministry had imposed upon his majesty in calling the peace an absolute one, because the most important interests of Great Britain were left to a future discussion. On the contrary, the minister maintained, that the peace was absolute, and that no difference could happen in the execution of it, unless

the Spaniards and other powers were encouraged to raise them by the dissention that might happen at home. Several other speeches were made on both sides, but the motion for the omission was rejected by a great majority.

The debates in the house of lords, when the treaty of Seville came before them, were of great importance, and carried to a considerable length. It was urged, that his imperial majesty would certainly detach himself from a people whose ministers had concluded a treaty so essentially different from the quadruple alliance. To this it was replied, that there never was, nor could be, any essential difference, if the emperor was sincerely resolved to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance with regard to the eventual succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; and that introducing Spanish, instead of neutral troops, into the garrisons of these dominions, could make no material difference, especially as the treaty had, in the strongest manner, stipulated, that the troops should be withdrawn as soon as the succession to these duchies, which was a principal object of the quadruple alliance, should be secured. It was farther urged, that though there was an immaterial difference, which might give umbrage to the court of Vienna, between the treaty in question and the quadruple alliance; yet the preservation of the tranquillity of Europe, and the obtaining satisfaction and security to our commerce, were considerations that ought infinitely to outweigh any apprehension from a resentment that could be founded only upon pride and ambition.

Great exceptions were also taken by the lords in the opposition at the sixth article, whereby the merchants, and others, who had suffered greatly by the Spanish depredations, were obliged to repair to the court of Spain, in order to make proof of their losses. This was represented as not only a discouragement to the sufferers, but derogatory to the honour of the nation. This was, however, considered as an unreasonable objection, since it was necessary for the merchants to apply where only they could have redress. The commissaries were to meet at the court of Spain; they could not properly meet elsewhere, because the validity or invalidity of the captures complained of must be discussed in those courts where the proofs remained; and the law of nations establishes the sentence of the court of admiralty of that nation where the capture is made, and to be used in all cases, and in all parts. Had the Spaniards been the complainants, the causes must have been tried in Great Britain.

After a very tedious debate, objections being made to almost every article, the treaty was approved by a very considerable majority. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that the ministry, in concluding it, were chiefly desirous of preserving the public tranquillity, by which England was every day making immense acquisitions of wealth, and improvement in commerce. But this was totally destructive of the views of the opposition, who well knew that the power of the ministry could only be shaken in time of war and commotion. On the other hand, the ministry treated the opposition they met with too superciliously within doors, and too cautiously without. Secure of their own numbers in the house of commons, and persuaded that the opposition proceeded only from views of interest and ambition, they did not enter into that length and solemnity of debate that was necessary either for the conversion of the few who opposed them, or from principle only. They carried their measures rather by dividing than debating. Many noblemen and gentlemen of independent fortune, were provoked at this method of proceeding, and resented it.

by voting against the ministry. This gave the public such unfavourable impressions of his majesty's measures, that nothing either spoken or wrote on the side of the ministry received the least countenance.

In the mean time his imperial majesty was not quite so passive as the British minister and his friends had represented him; so far from looking upon the introduction of Spanish garrisons into Tuscany and Parma as a trifling variation from the quadruple alliance, he resented both the matter and the manner of it in the strongest terms, as a downright infraction of treaties, derogatory to his honour, and dangerous to his interests, as well as to the rights of the empire. Neither did he seem disposed to express his resentment by words only; for he made actual preparations for sending a number of forces into Italy, with orders to oppose the execution of the treaty of Seville; but being in want of money, he set a negotiation on foot in England, the only country where he could raise it, for a loan of 400,000*l*. Such a proceeding greatly alarmed our ministry: they resolved, if possible, to prevent the success of this negotiation; and for this purpose a bill was brought into the house of commons, to prohibit his majesty's subjects to lend any sum of money to any foreign prince, state, or potentate, without licence first obtained from his majesty, under his privy-seal, or some greater authority. This, however, was not to extend to prohibit any subscription to the public funds or trading companies of foreign kingdoms.

When this bill was read a second time, Mr. Daniel Pulteney opposed it in very strong terms. He observed, "that it would make Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations on the continent: that the article of lending money was so advantageous, that the Dutch, when engaged themselves in a war with the Spaniards, who treated them as rebels, lent money, arms, and ammunition to the enemy: that this bill would disable the British merchants from lending money to the king of Portugal, a restriction that might be attended with very bad consequences to the nation: that the act, in any event, armed the ministry with too great and extensive a power; and that while the licensing power remained in the crown, the licences would be issued through the hands of the minister, who by that means might put many thousands a year into his pocket: that while this bill restrained the merchants from assisting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted the stock-jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption: that it was well known for whose benefit this compliance was designed; but that jobbing in the stocks of foreign nations, so far from being encouraged, ought to be principally prohibited; this kingdom having suffered severely by that means already, without being able to obtain the least relief or assistance from the ministry."

Mr. Barnard positively declared he would never consent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, and a grievous hardship on individuals. He then proposed an exception by which the prohibition should be restricted to the emperor alone, without extending to other powers. But the bill, which was vindicated by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke, attorney general, and supported by the whole weight of ministerial influence, not only passed through the house, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

The commons, having examined the estimates for the ensuing year, voted 17,700 men for the land service: they continued the subsidies to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, and in order to defray these and other necessary expences they granted the sum of 2,380,000*l*. These measures were strongly opposed by the anti-

courtiers, who made several motions, which they were certain, if agreed to, would render the minister uneasy; and if rejected, would make him unpopular. The two following of these were the principal: first, "that an address be delivered to his majesty, humbly to represent, that the house having, in consideration of the present state of affairs, voted such a number of land forces for the current service of the year, assured themselves that his majesty, from his just regard to the constitution of the kingdom, as well as his earnest desire to ease his people of every charge not absolutely necessary, will take the first opportunity to make a farther reduction of those forces, if the state of affairs will admit, before the conclusion of this or the beginning of next session of parliament." The second motion was, to bring in a bill "for making more effectual the laws in being for disabling persons from being chosen members of parliament who had any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any office held in trust for them from the crown."

The first of these motions was rejected by the house of commons without a division; but the question was carried in favour of the second by a very great majority; notwithstanding which, after great debates, it was thrown out by the house of lords, and in consequence of this proceeding, a protest was entered by twenty-six peers.

During this session several acts were passed in favour of the subjects; among which were the following: an act for appropriating one million of the surplussage arising from the sinking fund, towards the discharge of the national debt. An act for extinguishing the duties upon salt. A third, for the better regulation of juries; and a fourth for explaining and amending an act made in the last session of parliament, entitled, "An act for the relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons."

The national business being finished, on the 15th of May his majesty went to the house of peers, and put an end to the session with a speech, the conclusive part of which ran thus:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am very glad that, for the general satisfaction, you entered into the state of the nation; and it is a great happiness to see, after so many unjust and unreasonable clamours, raised with all possible art, industry, and malice, that upon mature deliberation, and the most solemn debates, you were so far from finding any thing worthy of blame or censure, that all matters which came under your cognizance met with your approbation.

"This must inspire all mankind with a just detestation of those incendiaries who, from a spirit of envy and discontent, continually labour, by scandalous libels, to alienate the affections of my people, and to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonour of me and my government, and in defiance of the sense of both houses of parliament.

"But I entirely rely upon your prudence and your concern for the peace and happiness of your country, to discountenance all such seditious practices, and to make my people sensible, that these wicked proceedings have no other view and end than to create confusion and distraction amongst us."

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament seven chiefs of the Cherokee nation of Indians in America arrived in England. They were brought by Sir Alexander Cumming, and introduced to the king, at whose feet they laid their crown and regalia, and by an authentic deed acknowledged themselves subject to his dominion, in the name of all their countrymen, who had vested them with full powers for the

purpose. They gave their assent in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce proposed to them by the government; and being loaded with presents suited to their taste and inclination, were re-conveyed to their own country.

A great remissness of government prevailed at this time in England. Peace, both at home and abroad, continued to be the great object of the minister. Prosperity in commerce introduced luxury; hence necessities were created, and these drove the lower class of people into the most abandoned wickedness. Averse to all penal and sanguinary measures, the minister gave not that encouragement to the ordinary magistrates that would enable them to give an effectual check to vice among the multitude. This produced a very pernicious effect among the higher class; so that an almost universal degeneracy of manners prevailed. It was not safe to travel the roads or walk the streets; and often the civil officers themselves dared neither to repel the violences, nor punish the crimes that were committed. A species of villains now started up, unknown to former times, who made it their business to write letters to men of substance, threatening to set fire to their houses, in case they refused their demands; and sometimes their threats were carried into execution. In short, the peculiar depravity of the times became at length so alarming, that the government was obliged to interpose, and a considerable reward was offered for discovering the ruffians concerned in such execrable practices.

A. D. 1731. The parliament met on the 21st of January, when his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne. It was generally supposed that the obstinacy of the emperor would occasion a war, he having given orders for a large body of troops to march into Italy, to oppose the introduction of Spanish garrisons, stipulated by the treaty of Seville. The king hinted at this in his speech; and almost the whole of it consisted of earnest exhortations to his parliament to enable him to be ready to carry the treaty into execution by arms, if force should be found necessary.

As soon as the commons returned to their house, a very loyal address, in answer to the king's speech, was moved for by Mr. Campbell; but the opposite party made a motion that all the complimentary part of it should be left out, and only promise to concur with such means as should be absolutely necessary to procure the satisfaction due to the allies, and provide for the interests of the people; and then to insert the following words: "assuring ourselves, that his majesty will take effectual care to prevent the breaking out of war upon the Rhine, or in the Austrian Netherlands; the preservation of which, in the hands they now are, is of the greatest importance to these kingdoms, and the maintenance whereof has cost the nation so much blood and treasure."

The principal speakers, in support of this motion, were Sir William Wyndham, and Messrs. Daniel and William Pulteney, who enjoyed the infinite advantage of having on their side all the popular topics, which experience has since evinced, in many cases, to have been mere sounds; and yet, at that time, were of such force, that the court party durst not dispute them. The power of France was represented as threatening the liberties both of England and Europe. Evidence was again offered to be produced of their having cleared and repaired the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the treaty of Utrecht. Great complaints were made of their encroachments upon us in the West-Indies; and all was ascribed to the pernicious connections we had lately run into with them. It was farther represented, that, for England to join with France in any attempts against the emperor, either in Flanders, or upon the Rhine, would

be acting against the most established maxim of the late glorious confederacy, that had humbled the power of France under the duke of Marlborough; and that it would undo the balance of power, which had been so happily established, and was the chief acquisition which England or Europe had obtained by that confederacy. Some observations were likewise made on the danger and inexpediency of the house promising indiscriminately the first day of the session, to support all his majesty's measures and engagements, before they knew what they were; and that, in fact, such an assurance rendered all their future deliberations, for that session, totally useless.

Several of the ministerial members were in some degree flagnated at the forcibility of these arguments, particularly Sir Robert Walpole and his brother, lord Hervey, and Sir William Young. Being professed whigs, they could not, with consistency, deny, that it would be very dangerous for public liberty, should England co-operate with the French upon the Rhine, or in Flanders, against the emperor; and yet nothing could be more plain, than that the amendment proposed was impolitic in itself, and disrespectful to his majesty. In the course of the debate, they publicly declared their sentiments on this head; observing, "That if the amendment was agreed to, it would be attended by the worst of consequences, both at home and abroad, and appear as if his majesty had intended any thing that was not absolutely necessary for the interest of England, and strictly agreeable to the principles of public liberty: that such an insinuation could only tend to discourage the friends of the protestant succession at home, and animate their enemies abroad; and therefore they ought to trust to his majesty's wonted prudence; and, that the putting such words in the address would look like an encroachment upon the prerogative of the crown, and directing the operations of the future war." Lord Hervey observed, "That the house of Austria, as well as the house of Bourbon, might, by its ambition, destroy that balance of power, so justly dear to England: that as the conduct of the French court upon the continent could give no just umbrage, the destroying the house of Bourbon, only to enable the house of Austria to rise on its ruins, was highly absurd: that he did not doubt but his majesty had sufficient interest with his allies, to concert measures which would prevent every bad consequence apprehended, and, that to agree to the proposed alteration, would be making proclamation to all Europe, that the emperor might act as he pleased, since he was invulnerable at present in Italy, by the situation of his dominions, and the great number of troops he had there: if, therefore, the allies should agree, that he was not to be attacked on the Rhine, or in the Netherlands, his majesty and his allies had nothing to do, but meekly submit to laws imposed by the court of Vienna."

These arguments being admitted by the house and the proposed alteration on the point of being rejected, one of the members moved, that it should be inserted in the address, "that they would support his majesty's engagements, so far as they related to the interests of Great Britain." But the amendment being subject to the very same, if not greater objections than the former, they were both rejected and the address, as moved for, was voted without any division.

This matter being adjusted, the anti-counter-revolution bill, which had been rejected in the last session. The motion was introduced with great solemnity; and after passing, with very little opposition through the house of commons, was sent to the house of peers, where it